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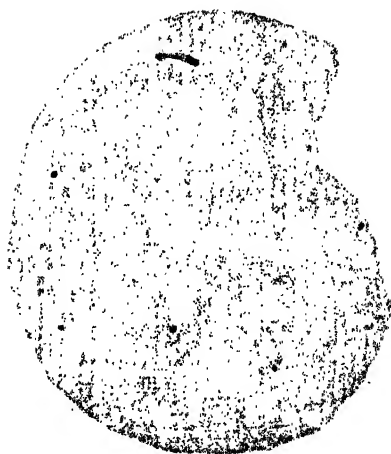
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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY.



PATNA

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JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. V.]

[PART I.

Annual Address.

By His Honour Sir E. A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., President of
the Society.

GENTLEMEN—

It is a great pleasure to meet you again at the end of the fourth year of our Society's existence and to be able to congratulate you once more on its continued progress and prosperity and on the tangible results which have been achieved in various directions. The number of members of all kinds is now only 257 against 367 a year ago, but the falling off is nominal rather than real. It is due to the removal from the roll of a number of members who, though they had joined the Society and received the Journal regularly, never paid their subscriptions and were therefore a source of loss to us rather than gain. On the other hand 28 new members have joined the society. Our library now contains nearly 1,400 volumes. It has been enriched during the year by the purchase *inter alia* of 200 volumes of well-known editions of Sanskrit texts.

The Journal has continued to appear with fair regularity. It has maintained the reputation which it had already gained, and I have more than once received gratifying letters from England telling me of the interest which some of the papers published in it have aroused amongst European savants. This is specially the case in regard to several papers by our talented Honorary Secretary, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, who is rapidly making a name for himself as an investigator and epigraphist.

The March number of the Journal contains a paper by him on the chronology of the Brīhadratha dynasty of Magadha. From a close examination of the Matsya, Vāyu and other Purāṇas, Mr. Jayaswal concludes that there were fifteen kings of this line before the Mahābhārata (in which great war Sahadeva of that line fought and fell) and twenty-seven after, the whole dynasty reigning for one thousand years and the last twenty-seven for seven hundred (or more accurately 697) years until 727 B.C., when they were succeeded by the Śaiśunāka dynasty.

Under the heading " Revised Notes on the Brāhman Empire " Mr. Jayaswal deals with various questions concerning the Śuṅga dynasty, which Pushya-Mitra founded about 187 B.C. after another Brīhadratha, the last of the Mauryas, whose general he was, had been assassinated in the sight of the whole army. Mr. Jayaswal supports, and gives evidence to confirm, Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasad Shastri's view that the Śuṅgas were Brāhmins. He thinks that the revolution was the result of a Hindu reaction against Buddhism and of dissatisfaction with Brīhadratha's inaction in the face of Menander's Græco-Bactrian invasion. The rise to power of the Śuṅga dynasty was followed by a general persecution of the Buddhists and the revival of orthodox Hinduism. It was a period of great literary activity, and to it is to be ascribed the compilation of the Mahābhāṣya and the Mānava-Dharma-Sāstra and the Brahmanical redactions of the great epics of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. The overweening claims put forward in these works

on behalf of the Brāhmans, and the hostility therein displayed to the Sūdras, are explained by the fact that a Brāhman dynasty was in power and that it had displaced a line of Sūdra kings.

Mr. Panna Lal has discussed the chronology of the Gupta Emperors on the basis of the dates assigned to two of them in two inscriptions on images of Buddha discovered recently at Sarnāth near Benares in the course of excavations made by the Archaeological Survey of India. He comments on the paucity of coins of Buddha Gupta, who is now known to have ruled over the whole country from Malwa to Bengal from 477 to 494 A.D. and urges that the members of our Society should make a systematic search in the bazars for such coins.

Mr. Jadunath Sarkar who, in the first volume of our Journal, gave an account of Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam based on that contained in the *Fathiyya-i-ibriyya* of Shihabuddin Talish, has contributed some notes on the Topography of Garhgaon which was then the Assam Capital. These notes should be very useful to local antiquarians. The same gentleman has compiled from the old factory records and original correspondence preserved in the India Office a narrative of the relations between Sivaji and the English of the Rajāpur factory in the Ratnāgiri district of Bombay during the period from 1659 to Sivaji's death in 1680. The Rajāpur factory was closed about two years later.

Mahāmahopadhyāya Pandit Hara Prashad Shastri, on whose election as President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal I take this opportunity to offer him publicly, as I have already done privately, my most hearty congratulations, has continued to send valuable contributions to our Journal. The March number contains an instructive paper by him on Gazetteer Literature in Sanskrit. He reviews the information of this nature contained in (1) the *Brahmakhaṇḍa* of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa ; (2) Vidyāpati's account written in the fifteenth century of the countries visited by Balarāma, Śrī Kṛiṣṇa's elder brother, in the course of his expiatory tour; (3) and (4) the *Fakra-māsāgara*, by some member of the Vaijāla family, and the *Pāṇḍava*

digvijaya by Rāmakavi, both more than three centuries old, and finally (5) the *Deśāvalivivṛiti*, written by a learned Brāhman named Jagamohan, whose patron Deva Vijala, a Chauhān Jāgirdār of four parganas round Patna, died in the year 1650 A.D. The last mentioned, which is by far the least incomplete, purports to give an account of the fifty-six countries (almost all in India) which comprised the world as then known to the Hindus. Unfortunately no complete copy of the manuscript has yet been found.

The same learned Pandit contributed to the June number papers on three more Orissa copper-plates. The **Epigraphy.** first, of unknown provenance, is now in the possession of the Yuvarājā of Tekkali. It dates probably from the eleventh century but the record is incomplete, as at least two plates are missing. The name of the donor is on a missing plate, but he seems to have been a member of the Śailodbhava family of Kōngada in Kalinga. The princes of this family were not always independent rulers; and in the seventh century they owed allegiance to Śusāṅkā, king of West Bengal.

The second plate is a grant of Ranastambhadeva of the Sulki family, whose land grants are already well known—no less than five having been published by the Pandit in the third volume of our Journal. The present inscription does not add materially to our knowledge of the dynasty, which ruled about the tenth century, but an interesting question is suggested by the fact that the land granted was in the village of Jārā in the Rādha country. There is a village of this name in the Hooghly district on the border of Midnapore. The latter district contains an influential agricultural community known as Sukli, who trace their origin to a place called Kodālaka, and the question is whether there is any connection between these names and the Sulki kings whose capital was at Kodālaka.

The third plate bears record of a grant by Rapabhañja-deva, of the line of Virabhadra, who is said to have been hatched out from the egg of a peahen, and whose dynasty ruled the country now forming the Māyurbhanj State. The plate was found by some cowherds in the Bāmanghāṭī subdivision of that State.

Several similar plates are already known, and the present one does not add much to our previous knowledge. It has however enabled several misreadings in other plates to be corrected.

An account of the Jānibighā inscription is contributed by Mr. Panday to the September number. The stone containing this inscription was found in the village of Jānibighā, six miles east of Bodh Gaya, and has been presented to the Patna Museum by the Mahant of that place. It records the grant of a village to a Singhalese monk for the maintenance of a monastery by king Jaya Sena, ruler of Pīṭhī (Magadha) and son of Buddha Sena, in the 83rd (expired) year of the reign of Lakshmaṇa Sena. In a separate note Mr. Jayaswal argues that, as the date given in this inscription is expressly stated to refer to the reign of Lakshmaṇa Sena, there is no possibility of the era known after him having started with the reign of some predecessor ; and the ruler of the same name who fled from Navadip must, therefore, have been a descendant (probably grandson) of the original Lakshmaṇa. The expression used in connection with this date is identical with that in two inscriptions (II and III) discussed in the J. A. S. B. for 1913, page 271, by Mr. R. D. Banerji, who, taking the word *atīta* to refer to *rājya*, regards it as showing that Lakshmaṇa Sena's reign had ceased before the inscription was made. Muhammad, son of Bakhtyar, conquered the town of Bihar in 1199 A.D., but as the date on the Jānibighā inscription corresponds to 1202 A.D., it is clear that the country a few miles to the south remained for some time longer under the rule of a scion of the Sena family. The grant was no doubt made through a regular *Śāsana* or copper-plate charter, and the inscription on the stone was merely intended as a local notification of the fact. The representation of a donkey and a sow below the inscription, as indicating that anyone violating the grant will be reborn of such an unnatural and discreditable parentage, is, I believe, the first instance that has come to notice in Bihar of a form of imprecation which is already known to be fairly common in Orissa and the adjacent part of Chota Nagpur.

Mr. Panday has also published a revised translation of the inscription on a stone recently brought to the Patna Museum from the sculpture shed at Bodh Gaya. The palaeographical evidence indicates that this inscription was incised in the fifth century A.D. It records that certain arrangements for worship were made by the monk Prakhyāta Kīrtti, who belonged to the royal family of Ceylon, in the hope of thereby acquiring merit and eventually attaining Buddhahood.

Mr. Jayaswal, whose important papers on the Hāthigumphā inscription of the emperor Khāravela in the Journal for 1917 have attracted widespread interest, has published in the December issue of the current year a fresh recension of certain passages based on a close personal examination of the rock itself in the varying conditions of light and shade at different hours of the day. He has thus *inter alia* fixed more definitely the site of the capital of the Mushikas, ascertained the name of Khāravela's queen, found that Khāravela's army crossed the Ganges on elephants, and proved that the Jains already had images as far back as 460 B.C. Finally he has shown the well-known Rānigumpha, or rock-cut palace, a short distance from the site of the inscription was constructed by Khāravela as a temporary habitation for his queen.

Mr. Jayaswal has also two papers on certain expressions used in the Aśoka inscriptions. He shows, for instance, that "anusamyāna" means "going out of office" and not, as previously rendered, "assembly" or "tour of inspection".

Mr. C. W. Anderson, who in 1917 contributed a valuable **Prehistoric** paper on the stone implements found in the **Antiquities**. Singhbhum district, has given us an account of some prehistoric rock paintings discovered by him in and near two caves, not far from the small village of Singanpur in the Raigarh State. All the paintings but one (in black) are in a red colour, the pigment used being the red oxide of iron which occurs in veins throughout the rock. The drawings include human beings, a stag and other animals, several hunting scenes, and, among the more ambiguous symbols, some marks which are

possibly a primitive script. They have their counterpart in the wall paintings of the prehistoric troglodytes of France and other European countries. The author has, however, failed to find in the caves any direct evidence of human habitation, with the single exception of an agate flake, which Dr. Hayden thinks was undoubtedly chipped artificially.

The year has not been very productive in the discovery of stone and copper implements, but there is one find which deserves special notice. When the large copper axeheads, figured opposite page 386 of our Journal for 1916, were found in Māyurbhanj, some of the people on the spot suggested that they were intended for the record of land grants. As no instances of their use for this purpose were then known, this explanation was rejected in favour of the view that they were weapons intended for ceremonial use. I was recently, however, shown by Maulavi Abdus Samad of the Provincial Executive Service a piece of copper, shaped like an axehead, on which is inscribed the record of a grant of land made to one of his ancestors by Rājā Purushōttama Deva who ruled in Orissa towards the end of the fifteenth century. The plate in question is figured opposite page 361 of the December issue of our Journal. The records of ancient land grants are ordinarily inscribed on rectangular plates, and the question arises whether the use of a different shape for the purpose of this grant is due to the chance discovery and utilization of an old casting, or to the fact that copper axeheads continued to be manufactured for this purpose after their use as implements had ceased owing to the discovery of iron. Personally I incline to the latter view, as similar instances of the survival for ceremonial or superstitious use of superseded implements or materials are by no means rare. For instance, in the Darjeeling district stone celts are still fabricated as part of the stock-in-trade of the local medicine men.

Some months ago 363 copper coins were discovered in the property of the Cape Copper Co. at Rakha in Dhalbhum. These coins have been examined by the Hon'ble Mr. Walsh, who has written a paper regarding them which will appear in the next number. The coins

**Numisma-
tics.**

in question were found close to old copper workings and slag heaps, and their edges had not been trimmed. These facts suggest that they must have been made at a mint in the immediate neighbourhood. These coins, like those found in the Puri district a quarter of a century ago, are imitations of the coins of the Kushān king Kanishka, and they were therefore designated Puri Kushān coins in his account of the Puri find by the late Dr. Hoernle whose recent death is so deeply regretted, not only by his friends, but by all who are interested in Indian archæology. They bear on the obverse a standing figure of the king, with his right hand extended over a fire altar ; and on the reverse a figure of the moon god. From the character of the letters in the word *Tanka*, which occurs on one (only) of these coins, Mr. Walsh concludes that they cannot be earlier than the seventh century A.D. As there would be no object in imitating an obsolete coinage, this conclusion is interesting as, if correct, it shows that the Kushān coins were current in India for several centuries after the extinction of the dynasty to which they belonged. Another interesting paper by Mr Walsh deals with 108 silver punch-marked coins found in a *ghara* in the bank of the Ganges. Mr. Walsh shows that the marks on the obverse side of these coins occur in certain regular and constant groups, and although other varying symbols were added, the occurrence of these regular combinations cannot have been fortuitous; the theory that the marks were affixed haphazard by shroffs and others must therefore be abandoned, and it must be recognized that they constitute a regular coinage. Mr. Walsh thus supports the conclusion already arrived at by Dr. Spooner and Mr. W. E. M. Campbell, I.C.S.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy has continued his account of the tribe of Birhōrs, describing in much detail their marriage, death and funeral customs ; their birth, childhood and puberty ceremonies, and their religion. The Birhōrs are one of the most wild and primitive tribes of Chota Nagpur, and most of them still lead a nomadic life and live mainly on jungle products. They have preserved intact many ancient institutions which other tribes

Ethnology.

have forgotten or changed almost out of recognition ; and the study of their customs is therefore one of very special importance to ethnologists. On the other hand it is interesting to find that many ceremonies and beliefs of relatively advanced communities have their counterpart amongst the Birhōrs and may therefore be regarded as survivals from very ancient times. A minor point, worthy of mention as a possible relic of the copper age, is the fact that the Birhōrs' ear-boring instrument is still made of that metal.

Mr. S. C. Mitra has furnished some notes on the use of the swallow worts and Mr. Sukumar Haldar has given some further Hō folk stories. The September number of the Journal contains a paper by Mr. W. Crooke, the well-known author of " Tribes and Castes of the United Provinces, " on the headdress of Banjāra women. The distinctive feature is a stick, about 6 inches long, which is worn upright like a horn on the top of the head, the hair being wound round, and the head-cloth draped gracefully over, it. Similar fashions are found elsewhere, chiefly in the Himalayan region, Central Asia and Syria. The ancient Scythians wore similar headgear, and Mr. Crooke conjectures that the Banjāras may have originated from one of the tribes which joined in the invasion of India by the Ephthalites, or White Huns, during the sixth century of the Christian era. He rightly notes, however, that the use of a single article of dress is not a sufficient basis for any definite conclusion.

When our Society was inaugurated it was thought that it would be able to do a great deal in the way of **Biography.** commemorating former provincial worthies by means of biographical notices, but the results in this direction have been disappointing, the only paper of the kind prior to the year under review being that by Mr. S. C. Hill on Major Randfurlie Knox, who commanded the force deputed for the relief of Patna, which performed a wonderful march of 300 miles in thirteen days in the hot weather of 1760. I am glad to say, however, that this year Khān Bahādur Saiyid Zamir-ud-din Ahmad has given an interesting account of Dāud

Khān Quraishi, the most famous of the Moghal Governors of Bihar. In the struggle between Shāh Jahān's sons Dāud Khān fought at first on the side of Dārā Shikoh, but after Dārā's cause had become hopeless, he transferred his allegiance to Aurangzeb. He fought on Aurangzeb's side against Shāh Shujah; and when the latter retreated eastwards he was made Subadar of Bihar. Dāud Khān took an active part in the campaign which ended in the final defeat of Shāh Shujah. His next enterprise was the invasion of Palāmau (1660 A.D.) where he captured without difficulty the Chero Raja's well-known forts near Betla. On his return journey he founded, on the bank of the Sone, the town of Dāudnagar, where his descendants still have their home. After holding charge of Bihar for five years, Dāud Khān was transferred to the Subah of Khandesh where he took part in the operations against Sivāji. He subsequently held charge in turn of the Subahs of Berar and Allahabad.

The Khān Bahādur has also given an account of the life and writings of Golām Āli Rāsik, who lived at Patna in the latter half of the eighteenth century. A complete collection of this poet's voluminous writings is to be found in the Patna Oriental Library.

The June number of our Journal contains two papers by **Miscellaneous.** Mr. D. N. Sen, Principal of the Bihar National College. In one of these papers Mr. Sen discusses a number of sites in Rājgir, which are associated with Buddha and his disciples. Many of these sites have now been definitely identified, thanks to the labours of Sir John Marshall, Mr. Jackson and others. In the other paper Mr. Sen examines the relationship between Buddhism and Vedantism, and shows that both arose out of the same movement of thought, resulting in the one case in the doctrine of a Transcendent Being in the background, and in the other of a transcendent state of being, in which the finite, the unreal and ephemeral ultimately lose themselves. The Vedantist attains salvation by contemplation and the Buddhist by right conduct.

In a paper in the June number Mr. Sikdar reviews all the references to education which are to be found in the *Jatakas*. From the frequency with which Taxila is mentioned, he infers that that place was the chief intellectual centre of the age, to which students flocked from all parts of northern India. Benares came next in importance. There were also numerous hermits who gave instruction to their disciples in the great forests with which the country at that time was covered. Most of the students lived in residence, those who could afford to pay the fees being treated as sons; while those who could not, performed menial duties in return for the instruction which they received. Discipline was strict and corporal punishment was in vogue.

Rai Bahādur Joges Chandra Ray has described the sugar industry in ancient India. He says that while there is no mention in the Vedas of any saccharine substance other than honey, the occurrence of the word *ikshu* shows that the sugarcane was known, and as it could not have grown wild in northern India it must already have been cultivated there. The art of manufacturing *gur* and other products was already known in the fifth century B.C.

The Patna Museum, in the establishment of which our Society took a prominent part, continues to develop satisfactorily, and it already contains a large number of very interesting exhibits. The most valuable is perhaps the beautiful polished stone statue of a female, which was mentioned in Mr. Walsh's address last year. Dr. Spooner's paper on this statue has been somewhat delayed, but it will appear in the next issue of the Journal. Thanks to Mr. Walsh's intervention, the Museum has recently obtained from the Indian Museum in Calcutta a number of statues which had been sent there from Bihar many years ago. The Museum has also received from Dr. Spooner the valuable collection of 231 seals found by him at Bāsārḥ. The inscriptions and emblems on these seals convey much valuable information: for instance they confirm the identification of Vaiśālī with modern

Basārh. We hope shortly to get also the seals, coins, terracotta figures, etc., which were dug up by Dr. Spooner in the course of the excavations at Kumrahar which were paid for by the late Sir Ratan Tata, whose name will be permanently associated with this collection. In this connexion I cannot refrain from mentioning the remarkable discovery just made by Mr. Jayaswal that the inscriptions on two figures which were found a century ago in a field near Kumrahar and are now in the Calcutta Museum, show that they represent two kings of the Śaishunāka line who lived in the fifth century B.C. namely Udayin, who founded the city of Patna, and his son, Nandi Vardhana. I wish it were possible to get back these statues and set them up in the city where they ruled more than 2,300 years ago. If I may be permitted a further digression, I would mention that the Pātali tree (*stereospermum suaveolens*) to which Patna owes its name, has recently been found growing in the neighbourhood of Kumrahar, and I am taking steps to have this tree, which bears a yellow trumpet-shaped flower, planted out in various parts of the city.

To revert to the Museum. It now contains as good a collection as is to be found anywhere in India of ancient stone and copper implements. It also contains a fair collection of articles of ethnographic interest and specimens of many different minerals. The hilly portion of Bihar and Orissa is rich in mineral wealth, and it is therefore very desirable that special attention should be paid to the mineralogical section of the Museum. My friend Dr. Hayden has recently inspected our collection, and has promised to depute an officer of the Geological Survey to prepare a proper catalogue of it and to make arrangements for filling in the gaps which still exist.

The collection of coins, though still a small one, is steadily growing. The Hon'ble Mr. Walsh is now in charge of the coin cabinet. He has arranged every coin in a separate envelope, on which he has recorded its description, and has prepared a register in which all particulars regarding each coin are given in a very complete form. This register already contains about 900 entries.

Another matter to which the Society has devoted attention is **Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts.** the systematic examination of Sanskrit manuscripts in private libraries.

The importance of this measure was urged upon the Local Government by the Council of our Society, with the result that two Pandits have been appointed to work in Orissa and Tirhut, respectively. The Orissa Pandit was appointed about two years ago. His work has been supervised at intervals by Mahamahopadhyāya Hara Prashad Shastri, and it was recently inspected by Mr. Jayaswal. The Pandit has now catalogued nearly 6,000 manuscripts including 300 of works yet unpublished, and has discovered several of considerable importance, including one of the Piākṛita Sarvasva by Mārkaṇḍēya. This manuscript which belongs to Mahamahopadhyāya Pandit Sadasiv Misra of Puri, has been lent by that gentleman to Sir George Grierson, who after photographing it has just returned it to the owner. Sir George Grierson is publishing a critical edition of this important work. Another valuable discovery is a metrical history of the Gangā dynasty which was composed in 1441 A.D. A Vedic grammar (*chhandōvyākaraṇa*) by one Javadāsa and a new commentary on the Rāmāyana by Hari Pandit have also come to light.

During the year which has elapsed since his appointment the Tirhut Pandit has catalogued 1,680 works of which 175 are unpublished. In 22 of these manuscripts the colophons contain the names of kings of Mithila. Amongst the unpublished manuscripts is a work on politics by Chandēśvara entitled *Rājanīti Ratnākara* which is now being edited by our Secretary. A manuscript in the poet Vidyapati's own handwriting which recently came to light has been purchased by the Maharaja of Darbhanga. Another interesting find (in Patna) is that of a paper copy of the *Bhagavata Purana* dated Samvat 1146 (1188 A.D.). This is probably the oldest manuscript on paper yet discovered in India.

Dr. Spooner has continued his excavations at Nalanda. He has driven a broad trench 1,500 feet long from south to north, crossing the whole series of stupas, which promises to lead to fresh

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discoveries of interest. It has already resulted in the discovery of a splendid stone statue of Avalokiteśvara. Another find of interest is that made by Mr. Panday at Salempur near Hajipur of the capital of a Mauryan pillar; it is of fine-grained sandstone and consists of two pairs of bulls set back to back. Mr. Panday has also found the head of a stone lion which appears to belong to the Mauryan period and is possibly the capital of the pillar near Masarh in the Shahabad district which Hiuen Tsang mentioned as bearing an inscription. If so, there is hope that the pillar itself with the inscription may be found in the same locality. Arrangements have recently been made with the Director-General of Archæology for the deputation of the Curator of the Museum to make a further examination of the traces of human habitation in the caves and ruddle drawings at Singanpur, which form the subject matter of Mr. Anderson's paper mentioned by me above, and also of some other caves which have been reported near Rhotas and Harchokā. Good progress is now being made with the preparation of an archaeological atlas for the province showing by means of conventional marks the places where ancient monuments of various kinds (prehistoric, Buddhist, etc.) are to be found.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, I would appeal once more for fresh recruits and research workers. To the archaeologist, the historian, the anthropologist and the geologist alike, our province is one of the most interesting in India. There is a wide field for research, but the real workers are still very few in number, while the number of members who have contributed brief notes to the section provided at the end of the Journal for miscellaneous contributions has been extremely small. I would again invite the attention of all our members to what I said on this subject in my first annual address.

There is one more matter to which I must refer, and that is the fact that our Vice-President Mr. Walsh is shortly going on leave preparatory to retirement. Mr. Walsh has a high reputation as a scholar, and for many years past he has rendered valuable services to the cause of Indian research. He has done

great deal of most useful work for our Society, and also as President of the committee of management of the Patna Museum. Mr. Walsh will leave a gap which it will be extremely hard to fill, and I think it would be well if we took this opportunity to pass a vote of thanks to him for all that he has done to promote the welfare of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—An Examination of a Find of Punch-Marked Coins in Patna City, with Reference to the Subject of Punch-Marked Coins Generally.

By E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I.

The 108 punch-marked silver coins which are described in the present paper, were found in July, 1917, buried in an earthen *ghara* in the bank of the Ganges at Golakhpur in Patna City.¹ The *ghara* was unearthed owing to the bank of the river having been scoured away, and a woman who went to bathe in the morning saw the earthen pot projecting from the remaining portion of the bank. The place where the *ghara* was found is about 15 feet below the present surface of the ground above the river bank. The *ghara* had become filled with earth, and the coins, when found, were all covered with a smooth dark green coating of verdigris and mud, which gave them the appearance of having been painted over with green paint, which shows, as also appears from an examination of the coins, that some of them contained an alloy of copper. They were described in the Police report of their discovery as "round thin plates (*patar*) resembling broken pice." The weight of the coins when found was Rs. 43-14-0 of which broken fragments, which were not forwarded with the present coins, weighed Rs. 9-2-0. The weight of the present coins was therefore Rs. 34-12-0 and after the thick coating of verdigris and dirt was removed their total weight is Rs. 30-11-0. The verdigris deposit therefore weighed Rs. 4-1-0, or nearly 13 per cent. of the weight of the coins after they were cleaned. The reason for this large amount of copper is due to the

¹ These coins are in the Bihar and Orissa Coin Cabinet in the Patna Museum and are serials, Nos. 723 to 830, of the General Register—E. H. W.

fact that, apart from any proportion of alloy in the coin, several of the coins have been debased by the addition of molten copper to the original silver coin, presumably to make up for weight. That this was subsequently added is shown by the fact that it remains over the punch marks. This is particularly noticeable on coins 11, 18, 62, 75, 88 and the reverse of 104.

It is known that such debasing of the coinage took place. The *Artha Śāstra*, which was written by Kauṭilya,¹ better known as Chanakya, the Brahman Minister who overthrew the last of the Nanda dynasty and placed Chandragupta Maurya on the throne, and which gives such detailed information regarding the government and state of society in his time, refers to the different methods of debasing the currency.

In some others (*e.g.* No. 37), the silver appears to have been plated over copper. Theobald² refers to a passage in the *Mahāvamsa* quoted by Thomas *l. c. Num. Orient.*, page 41, that Chanakya "with a view to raising resources, converted, by re-coining each *Kahapana* into eight, and amassed eighty *Koṭis* of *Kahapanas*." He also mentions examples of *purāṇas* which had been plated with silver over copper.³

Punched-marked coins have been described by Cunningham,⁴ by Theobald,⁵ by Professor Rapson,⁶ and have been very fully discussed by Mr. Vincent Smith.⁷

¹ Kauṭilya's *Artha Śāstra*, translated by R. Shamasastry, B.A., M.B.A.S. Government Oriental Library Series. Bibliotheca Sanskrita, No. 37, Part II. Bangalore Government Press. 1915.

² J.A.S.B., 1890, page 182.

³ J.A.S.B., 1891, page 58.

⁴ Coins of Ancient India by Major-General Sir A. Cunningham (C.A.I.) pages 54-63.

⁵ Notes on Some of the Symbols found on the Punch-marked Coins of Hindustan, and their relationship to the archaic symbolism of other races and distant lands, by W. Theobald, M.B.A.S., J.A.S.B., Vol. lix, Part I, 1890, page 161, and A Revision of the Symbols on the Karshapana Coinage, described in Vol. lix, J.A.S.B., 1890, Part I, and description of many additional symbols by W. Theobald, M.B.A.S., J.A.S.B., Part I, 1901, page 38.

⁶ Indian Coins (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie, 1898), pages 2-3.

⁷ Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Volume 1, pages 311-142.

The interest of the present find lies in the fact that an examination of the marks on them shows that they occur in certain constant and regular groups on the obverse, and although other varying symbols were added to these constant groups, the above regular combinations which cannot have been fortuitous, shows that the theory that these marks were affixed haphazard by shroffs and moneyers through whose hands the coins passed cannot be maintained, and that the present coins in fact constitute a "coinage."

On examination of the present coins, I found that two marks are found on all the coins, namely (1) a figure of three *chhatras*, or umbrellas, and three ovals, alternately, round a central circle, (Plate IV, *Fig. 1*) and (2) the Sun (Plate IV, *Fig. 2*). The sun does not occur on one coin, No. 108, which only contains two marks; but as this coin bears only *Fig. 1* and one other mark, elephant *facing left* (*Fig. 9*), and as this coin and also Nos. 99 to 102, 105 and 107 appear to be of a different type to the others, being smaller and thicker, and have evidently not had the same amount of wear as the others, they appear to be more recent, and it is possible that this particular coin was not completed.

• In addition to the above, two other marks, namely (3) a pot of foliage (*Fig. 3*) and (4) two interlaced triangles (*Fig. 4*), occur, forming a constant group of four marks, on 63 of the coins (No. 1-63), which I have called Class A.

In addition, each of these coins bears a fifth mark, which varies on different coins, and according to which I have divided Class A. into 20 sub-classes, as given in the List.

Sub-class I contains 18 coins (Nos. 1-17 and 61) which bear a fifth mark of elephant *right* (*Fig. 5*); sub-class 2 contains five coins (Nos. 18-22); sub-class 3, four (Nos. 23-26); sub-class 4, nine (Nos. 27-35); sub-class 5, two (Nos. 36-37) but as the additional mark in sub-classes 2 and 3 is in each case a plant, though of a different design, it is probable that the emblem is really the same and that these two sub-classes are really one class; sub-class 6, five (Nos. 38-42); sub-class 7, one (No. 43); sub-class 8, two (Nos. 44-45); sub-class 9, one (No. 46);

sub-class 10, four (Nos. 47-50) ; sub-class 11, two (Nos. 51-52) ; sub-classes 12 to 19, one each ; sub-class 20, two (Nos. 62, 63).

Six coins (Nos. 64-69) which I have called 'Class B', while bearing the above marks 1, 2 and 3, have not got the fourth mark of interlaced triangles, but in its place have as a fourth mark a humped bull *facing left* (Fig. 6.)

Twenty coins (Nos. 70-89), which I have called Class C, have a constant group of four marks, namely, *Figs. 1 and 2*, as in the previous Classes, the two other marks being a lion, (Fig. 7) and a bull's or cow's head with a garland round the neck, (Fig. 8). Two of these (sub-class 2) have also an additional mark of a branch (Fig. 13.)

Eleven coins (Nos. 90-100), which I have called Class D, have a constant group of marks (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2,) and a third mark, elephant *left* (Fig. 9). Five of these, sub-class 1, have a fourth mark of a triangle with three dots in it, Fig. 42. The fourth mark in the other coins of this class is different in each of the four sub-classes.

Seven coins (Nos. 101-107), which I have called Class E, have the two fixed marks (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2), together with additional marks which vary. One coin (No. 108) does not bear mark 2. I have therefore placed this coin in a separate class, G.

When I made the above classification I was not aware that a similar conclusion that the marks on punch-marked coins occur in regular groups had been arrived at from the examination of previous finds.

I subsequently came to know that Dr. D. B. Spooner came to the same conclusion from the examination of a find of 61 punch-marked coins, which were found at Peshawar in 1906 and are described and illustrated by him in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1905-06 (page 150) ; and Mr. R. D. Bhandarkar came to a similar conclusion from the examination of a find of 83 punch-marked coins found during the excavation at Besnagar (51 of which were found at Khām Bābā and 32 at Ganeshpurā), which he has described and illustrated in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1913-14 (pages 210-213 and 220-226). The coins in the latter case were copper.

Mr. W. E. M. Campbell, I.C.S., has also come to the same conclusion from the examination of a most extensive and important find of 1,215 punch-marked coins, found at Paila in the Kheri district of the United Provinces.

Another extensive and important find of 2,873 punch-marked coins was found at Patraha in the Purrea district of this Province in 1913 in the bed of a small river which had been scoured out by the water. Rivers in India, which frequently change their courses, are great excavators. These coins were sent to Mr. R. D. Banerji, the Treasure Trove Officer for this Province, and have not yet been received back from him; so I have not been able to examine them. The classification in the Treasure Trove Report has, however, only been made with reference to the size and shape of the coins.¹ They should be systematically examined with regard to the marks on them.

The conclusion to which Dr. Spöcner came from the examination of the Peshawar coins is as follows:—

"It has been stated by various authorities that the symbols are arbitrary figures, the arbitrary marks of particular moneys, perhaps, and that they were punched into these coins from time to time by these different authorities as they chanced to come into their hands. But my tabulation of the marks occurring on the coins of the present collection tends directly to a refutation of this view. The above-mentioned group of 5 symbols occurs on 20 of the 61 coins in the collection, with one symbol regularly in each corner, and one, with like regularity the dharmacakra, impressed on one edge and overlapping the nearest two. This alone would have rendered the old theory doubtful, but when it is added that in every case where the punch-mark on the reverse was decipherable it was found to be what Cunningham called the 'Taxila mark,' we have an

¹ Mr. Banerji has classified these coins in the Treasure Trove Report forwarded with his letter 452 J. M., dated the 2nd November 1916, as follows:—

" 1,450	Thick square.
420	Thin square.
215	Thin round
788	Thick round "

2 873.

invariable concomitance established between a particular group of 5 symbols on the obverse and a particular 'mint mark' on the reverse, which cannot conceivably be lacking in significance and which points decidedly to these coins having been the regular coinage of some one accepted central authority, and the symbols or their selection the recognized insignia of the same, *not* the private marks of individual moneyers impressed haphazard from time to time."¹

The mark which Dr. Spooner then considered to be the "dharmachakra" is the sun mark (*Fig. 2*). Dr. Spooner subsequently revised his opinion as to this mark,² and now considers it to be the sun; as it has always been considered, and which there can be no doubt that it is.

Mr. Campbell has kindly let me see his Treasure Trove Report and his notes on the Paila coins. He has found that they bear a group of 4 marks on the obverse, which is constant for each class of coins, and has classified them according to such groups, as follows :—

Class I, 291 coins; Class II, 481 coins; Class III, 254 coins; Class IV, 5 coins; Class IV-A, 6 coins; Class V, 44 coins; Class VI, 4 coins; Class VII, 2 coins; Class VIII, 1 coin; Coins of the type of Class I, II or III, but with distinctive symbol missing or obscure, 138 coins; the remainder being 12 broken pieces and 7 corroded.

Mr. Campbell has also let me see the list of the figures of the marks on these coins.

It is to be hoped that he will publish the result of his examination, which will be a most valuable contribution to the subject.

With reference to the systematic occurrence of constant groups of marks, it is interesting to note that three of the coins illustrated by Cunningham (C. A. I., Plate I, *Figs. 2, 4 and 5*) contain a variety of the present mark, *Fig. 1*; *Fig. 2*; elephant

¹ Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report (A.S.R.), 1905-06, p. 153.

² The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History by D. B. Spooner, J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 413.

right, *Fig. 5*, and bow and arrow, *Fig. 47*; with an additional mark which is the same on 4 and 5. This is the same group of four marks as on coins of Class D, sub-class 2 (Coins 97 and 98) except that the elephant on the coins figured by Cunningham faces right, (like *Fig. 5*) while on the present coins mentioned it faces left.

It would seem probable that the occurrence of this group of four marks on the coins mentioned may be due to the same cause as their occurrence together on the coins of Class D, sub-class 2, and that they are therefore coins from the same state or area. Unfortunately, the provenance of those coins is not given.

It is accepted that punch-marked coins are the oldest form of coinage in India, and that it was an indigenous coinage, and not derived from, or based on, the coinage of other countries. The proof of the independent origin of this coinage in India has been summarized by Professor Rapson in *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 869. This coinage had been in existence long before the time of Buddha, as is shown by the fact that the name *purāṇa* ("ancient") is given to them in the stories of Buddha in the *Jatakas*. As noted by Mr. Vincent Smith,¹ the fact that they have been found in one of the very ancient earthen tumuli at Lauriya-Nandargarh in Champaran and in the ancient tanks known by the name of *Pandu-kulis* in Coimbatore shows that they go back to very early times. The latter fact may, possibly, show that this coinage originated during the early Dravidian civilization.

Cunningham refers to "two monumental evidences of the antiquity of these square Indian coins in the Buddhist sculpture of Mahabodhi and Bharhut. The former is as old as Asoka himself, 250 B. C., having been executed during his reign; the latter are somewhat later, or about 150 B. C. In both of these there is a representation of the famous story of the Jeta-vana, or purchase of the garden of Prince Jeta by the merchant Anatha. According to the legend the purchaser had to cover the whole surface of the garden with a layer of gold coins. In both sculptures the servants of Anatha are seen laying the coins,

¹ *J. M. C.*, Vol. I., p. 165.

edge to edge, as the inscription states. As all the pieces are *square*, they clearly represent the punch-marked money that was current in the time of Asoka."¹

Cunningham also mentions that some much worn punch marked silver coins were found "in company with hemi-drachms of Antimachus II, Philoxenus, Lysias, Antialkidas and Menander,"² which proves that these coins were old but current in about 200 B. C.

Silver punch-marked coins are of two types :—

Square, being lengths cut out of a bar of the metal and the corners then clipped, if necessary, to reduce the coin to the required weight; or oval, as in the case of the present coins. The copper coins are always of the square form.

They were the *signatum argentum* presented by Omphis to Alexander at Taxila in 326 B.C. and the fact that their symbols were continued on the square cast copper coins leads to the inference that they were still current at the commencement of that coinage.

Cunningham stated that punch-marked coins are found "from the Himalaya Mountains to Cape Comorin and from Seistan to the mouth of the Ganges."³ Few finds, however, have been recorded west of the Indus. There is the Peshawar find already referred to, and Mr. R. D. Banerji⁴ has described 44 coins said to have been found in Afghanistan, which were obtained from His Majesty the Amir when in Calcutta. The locality from which these coins were obtained is not stated.

With coins of this class extending over such a long period and such extended area, results obtained from the examination of coins of a particular period, or locality, will not necessarily be applicable to coins of other periods or distant localities, in which other forms of government and other conditions may have prevailed.

¹ C. A. I., p. 52.

² C. A. I., p. 54.

³ C. A. I., p. 42.

⁴ J.A.S.B., 1910, p. 225.

Cunningham has fully discussed the question of the weight of the punch-marked coins. These early coins were based on the Indian system of weights as given in Manu, VIII., 132 *et seq.* which Professor Rapson summarizes as follows :—

“The basis of this system is the *rati* (*raktikā*), or *gunja* berry, ¹ the weight of which is estimated at 1·83 grains = ·118 grammes. Of the gold standard coin, the *suvarṇa* of 80 *ratis* = 148·4 grains or 9·48 grammes, no specimens are known ; but of the silver *purāṇa* or *dharaṇa* of 32 *ratis* = 58·56 grains or 3·79 grammes, and of the copper *kārśāpaṇa* of 80 *ratis* (same weight as the *suvarṇa*), and of various multiples and subdivisions of these, numerous examples have been discovered in almost every part of India.”²

The theoretical weight of 58·56 grains is, however, rarely attained in the known specimens. The weight of those of the present coins that are complete and less worn vary from 53·4 to 52· grains ; and the weights of the coins in the India Museum Catalogue also follow practically the same variation as in the present coins.

The essential part of the coinage was the *rupa*, or marks stamped on them. Mr. R. D. Bhandarkar refers to the expressions such as *rūpam chhinditvā kata māsako*, or *rupam sāmūt-ṭhāpetvā kata māsako* used by the Commentary *Sāmanta pāṇḍikā* on the *Nisaggiya pāchiliya*. It is these marks stamped on the *purāṇa* or *kārśāpaṇa*, which constituted the coinage.³

Until our present sources of information are added to, the significance of the marks on punch-marked coins must remain the subject of speculation and surmise.

Mr. Bhandarkar quotes a passage from the *Visuddhimagga* of *Buddhaghosha* on the subject and notes :

“The purport of it is to describe how a lot of coins lying on a wooden slab would strike a raw boy, a rustic and shroff ; and

¹ *Abrus precatorius*.

² Rapson. Indian Coins, p. 2.

³ “Excavations at Besnagar” by R. D. Bhandarkar, M.A., A.S.R., 1913-14, p. 210.

we are told that the boy would notice simply that some coins were oblong, some round and some elongated in shape, that the rustic would know all this and also that the coins were like gems, worthy objects of enjoyment to mankind, but that the shroff not only would be conversant with all these matters but also would be in a position to decide, after handling the coins in a variety of ways, which of them were struck at which village, borough, town, mountain and river bank, and also by what mint master. It is thus clear that every place whose coinage was issued had its own distinguishing mark stamped on it, and in confirmation of it may be noted that on the majority of *kārshāpaṇas* unearthed at Besnagar the device of the river is prominently noticeable, indicative probably of the Vetravati (Betwā). Consequently, we may safely conclude that these *kārshāpaṇas* which have the mountain or the river on them, were struck at those places and in order that the different mountains and rivers may be distinguished we find them differently figured. Figures 46-52 on Plate VIII of Mr. Theobald's article (J. B. A. S., Vol. LIX., Pl. I), e. g. shows how an attempt is made to distinguish one mountain from another on *kārshāpaṇas*. The different symbols of one and the same object the shroff of the ancient day was of course conversant with, and could tell from what different mountains or rivers the coins came. It would be interesting to know what the symbols representative of a village or town were.

"Another group of devices noticeable on *kārshāpaṇas* is the auspicious marks of which *svastika* and *nandipada* are the most conspicuous. Both these are met with also in old cave inscriptions, which either begin or end with them."¹

The Artha Śāstra,² in referring to the duties of the Collector General of Revenue, mentions, together with taxes and other matters, *rupika*, the meaning of which appears to be *premia*,

¹ "Excavations at Besnagar" by R. D. Bhandarkar, M.A. A.S.R., 1913-14, p. 212.

² Artha Śāstra, p. 66.

or seignorage on coins. It also enumerates the duties of the Superintendent of the Mint as follows :—

“ The Superintendent of Mint (*lakṣhaṇādhyakṣhaḥ*) shall carry on the manufacture of silver coins (*rūpyarūpa*) made up of four parts of copper and one-sixteenth part (*māsha*) of any one of the metals, *thikṣhṇa*, *trapu*, *sīsa*, and *añjana*. There shall be a *paṇa*, half a *paṇa*, a quarter and one-eighth.

“ Copper coins (*tāmra-rūpa*) made up of four parts of an alloy (*pādajīvām*) shall be a *māshaka*, half a *māshaka*, *kākāṇi*, and half a *kākāṇi*.

“ The examiner of coins (*rūpadarśaka*) shall regulate currency both as a medium of exchange (*vyāvahārikim*) and as legal tender admissible into the treasury (*kośapravesyām*) : The premia levied on coins paid into the Treasury shall be eight per cent. known as *rūpika*, 5 per cent. known as *vyāji*, one-eighth *paṇa* per cent. as *pārikṣhika* (testing charge), besides (*cha*) a fine of 25 *paṇa* to be imposed on offenders other than the manufacturer, the seller, the purchaser and the examiner.”¹

It would, therefore, appear that the reason for the mark of the *saṅgha*, or village union, in which the coin was in use may be that the local authority affixed its marks on every coin in which it had levied seignorage, and that no coin on which seignorage had not been so levied was allowed to circulate within its jurisdiction.

An indication of the order in which the marks were punched on the coins is shown in some cases by certain marks being punched over others. Thus, the mark of interlaced triangles, *Fig. 4*, has been punched over marks, pot of foliage, *Fig. 3*, and Elephant right, *Fig. 5*, on coin No. 4 ; and over mark, *Fig. 1*, on coin No. 57. Mark *Fig. 10* has been punched over mark, *Fig. 4*, on coin No. 22 ; mark, *Fig. 20*, has been punched over mark *Fig. 1* on coin No. 50 ; mark, *Fig. 26*, has been punched over the sun mark, *Fig. 2*, on coin 57 ; and an indistinct mark has been punched over mark, *Fig. 1*, on coin No. 68.

¹ *Artha Śāstra*, p. 98.

The Artha Śāstra also enumerates the duties of the goldsmith of the mint in regard to the mintage of gold coins *Suvarna* and gold ornaments (page 107).

It therefore appears that in the Artha Śāstra, which deals with matters of the Mauryan age, coinage was a royal prerogative carried on in the royal mints. The marks on the coins would therefore primarily be royal or state marks and not the marks of individual moneyers through whose hands the coins passed.

It may be suggested, to account for a constant group of marks, that one mark may represent the state, one the reigning king, one the place where the coin was struck, and perhaps one a religious mark recognizing the presiding deity (like the *dei gratia* on English coins)*; also the master of the mint may have had his mark, which would fix his responsibility for the coin, and the additional varying marks may have those of the *saṅghas*, village communities, in which the coin was current, affixed at the time the *rupiya* or local tax on it was levied on its admission to circulation in that jurisdiction. And the various and unsystematic punches on the reverse may have been the marks of private shroffs and moneyers through whose hands the coin passed in the course of circulation.

In this connection Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has called my attention to a rule laid down by Pāṇini; "*Saṅgh = āṅka-lakṣhaṇeshv = āṅ-yañ-inām = aṅ*," the meaning of which is "aṅ-suffix takes place in nouns ending in aṅ, yañ aṅ in the case of (i.e. to denote) āṅkas and lakṣhaṇas of saṅghas;" which shows that a Saṅgha had its *anka* or *lakṣhaṇa*, which latter Mr. Jayaswal would identify with the *lāncchana*, or heraldic crest of later Sanskrit.

The word *Rājā-anka*, "the royal mark," or the "king's arms" occurs in the Artha Śāstra, and would therefore appear to be the personal mark of the ruler. In the same way while each saṅgha had its own lakṣhaṇa, the elected body of rulers for the time being may have had its own personal āṅka which remained in use during its term of office and was given up when that body went out of office. This would account for the large number of different marks which are found on punch-marked coins.

In this connection Mr. Jayaswal also notes that the Harappa seals, which are found in a well-known republican area, have the permanent figure of a peculiar animal, with changing legends, in which the animal may be *lakṣhaṇa* and the legend correspond to the *aṅka*.

That the *aṅka* was the personal mark or emblem adopted by the individual, the king in the case of a state and the governing body in the case of a *saṅgha*, would also seem to be borne out by the inscription "Srimānāṅka" and "Sriguṇāṅka" on the early coins of Nepal figured by Cunningham in *Fig. 1* and 2 on plate XIII of *Coins of Ancient India*. Cunningham has taken these to be the names of the respective kings. But they are given in the Nepal dynastic lists as Māna Deva and Guṇa Deva. I would therefore read these two legends as "the *aṅka* (mark) of Sri Māna" and "the *aṅka* of Sri Guṇa."¹

Professor Rapson has also held the view that the marks on punch-marked coins were stamped by the village communities, and that "it seems probable that such matters as the issue of coinage were regulated by local authorities—money-changers or merchants—and not by the imperial authority. The very great variety of early Indian coins would thus be naturally explained, and such inscriptions as are found on them have been interpreted by Dr. Bühler in a sense which entirely supports this view."²

In the case of later inscribed coins, which bear the word "*negāma*" ("the traders") on the reverse, Professor Rapson considers that they were issued by guilds and were guild tokens.³ These, however, are obviously coins of a very much later date, being struck with a single stamp, and do not therefore necessarily imply that the primary marks on the early punch-marked coins were of this nature. And the *Artha Śāstra* clearly shows that the minting of coins was the function of the state. And it cannot therefore be held that the primary marks on them were

¹ Examples of these coins are also given in my paper on "The Coinage of Nepal," J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 669, *et. seq.*—E. H. W.

² "Counter Marks on Persian and Indian Coins" by E. J. Rapson, M.A. J.R.A.S., 1895, p. 971.

³ *Ibid.*

those of the saṅghas, except in the case where such saṅghas were independent or semi-independent governing bodies; though, as is shown by the Vissuddhimagga they also bore the marks of the Saṅghas, which may show that the Saṅghas were allowed to mint for the State, or they may have been allowed to affix them for the purpose of levying their royalty on the coins that came within their jurisdiction, and confirming their currency.

The number of different marks found on punch-marked coins is very great. Theobald has described and figured 277 which he obtained from the examination of 150 coins.¹ He subsequently revised that list by excluding the symbols on the later coinage of Ujain and Eran, which reduced the number of symbols of the older coinage to 247, to which he added further marks, making a total of 342. The number of marks, however, greatly exceeds that number, and new finds bring fresh marks to light.

For instance: out of the 83 marks on the present coins illustrated on Plate IV, only 16 correspond to marks illustrated by Theobald, or are varieties of them,² and his *Fig. 124* (six dots) might perhaps be the upper portion of present *Fig. 3*, if the mark were incomplete on the coin he referred to. The remaining 66 marks are not amongst those illustrated by him.

As the meaning of some of the marks is not clear and individual interpretation of them may be mistaken, and a mark may also be misleading when incompletely punched on a particular coin, I have given illustrations of the coins so as to show almost every one of the marks which occur on them.

As an example of the above remarks I would refer to the mark *Fig. 32*, which I first took to be a separate mark and figured it accordingly, but on further examination found to be a portion of the mark elephant *right, Fig. 5*. Also *Fig. 38*, which I at first took to be a separate mark, but which I subsequently or

¹ J.A.S.B., Part I., 1890, p. 263, Plates VIII-XI.

² *Fig. 1* on Plate IV = *Fig. 92* of Theobald; *Fig. 2* = 138, 139; 5 = 108 = 3; 9 = 11; 12 = 64; 13 = 68; 16 = 157; 18 = 145; 26 = 107; 32 = 29; 35 = 31; 36 = 35; 47 = 56; 53 = 162 and 54 = 115.

further examination think is a part of *Fig. 4*, interlaced triangles, only partly punched, and with the angle shown as rounded. I also think that Theobald's interpretation of some of the marks which he figures is doubtful.¹

I do not propose in the present paper to discuss the possible meaning of the various marks which are found on punch-marked coins, other than those which occur on the present coins. But I would remark that I agree with Mr. Bhagwan Lal Indrajī and Mr. R. D. Bhandarkar that the mark which in its simplest form consists of an arch superimposed on two other arches, and which has been considered by Cunningham to be a *chaitya* and by Theobald as a *stupa* is really intended to represent a mountain. The passage quoted from the Vissuddhimagga that coins sometimes bore a mark indicating mountains also supports this view. This conclusion is of importance; as it shows that it is not necessary to presume any necessary connection of the coins on which it occurs, with the Buddhist religion, or that, consequently, such coins would not, therefore, be anterior to the Buddhist religion.

Similarly, the larger pyramid formed, in the same manner, of a large number of such superimposed arches would represent a higher or larger group of hills, as the distinguishing feature of the place where the coin was struck, which is in accordance with the passage in the Vissuddhimagga; or may, possibly, in other cases represent Mount Meru, as has been suggested by Dr. Spooner² who notes that combined with a crescent on its apex, it is the recognized symbol of the Jains to represent one

¹As an example, Theobald's No. 118, *fig. 3*, which he describes as "a rude human figure holding a club in the left hand. Above it are five dots and these are probably intended to represent five heads. As the *lingam* has sometimes five heads, this figure is probably intended for *Śiva*" (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1890, p. 234), would appear to be the "bull's or cow's head with garland" *Fig. 8* of the present coins, looked at the wrong way up; the five dots being the garland, and the "club" one of the ears. Also Theobald's *Fig. 216*, which he describes as "Ornamental Fillet or Rib'on" appears to be the Eran river-mark. And there are others of which the description given appears to be doubtful.—E. H. W.

² The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History, *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 413.

of the Tirthankars and is called by them "Mount Meru." It may, therefore, in some cases be a mark of power and strength, the "eternal hills," similar to the symbols of the sun and moon.

I would note that this mark occurs on the lower end of the pillar that has been excavated at Kumrahar in the site which, as Dr. Spooner shows there is good reason to believe, was the Palace of Chandragupta¹ Maurya, where it could not, therefore, refer to a *stupa* or *chaitya*, or have any Buddhistic significance; as that religion had not then been adopted by the Maurya kingdom. Even if this palace were the later place of Asoka, the same observation would equally apply; as the Buddhist religion had not then been officially recognized and its symbols would not have been adopted. I think, therefore, that this symbol must be definitely abandoned as having the above Buddhist or any special religious significance.

The fact that this mark does not occur on the present coins is natural, as there are no hills in the neighbourhood though it might be expected to occur on coins struck at Rajgir.

As the passage in the *Vissuddhimagga* says that the shroff on examining the coin would know at which village, borough, town, mountain and river bank the coin was struck, where, therefore, other marks are combined with the hill-mark they would appear to indicate which particular hill or group of hills was intended. Theobald gives a number of such hill-marks (*Figs.* 46-53), in which the animal over *Fig.* 49, the peacock over *Fig.* 50, the tree over *Fig.* 52 and the (?) river turtles under *Fig.* 53, appear to be such distinguishing marks. Theobald's *Fig.* 59, three arches side by side, would also appear to be another variety of the hill-mark.²

¹ "Excavations at Pataliputra" by D. B. Spooner, A.S.R., 1912-13, pp. 53-83, Plate XLIX. p. 78.

² Theobald described this mark as "No. 61. Three huts, the central being the largest," etc., J. A. S. B., Part I, 1890, p. 237.

Assuming this to be a variety of the hill-mark, which I think it is, there would appear to be an interesting example of the later use of this symbol to represent hills on the three coins in a row on a coin of the Puri Kushan type which is described in my paper on "Puri Kushan Coins" found at Rakha, in the present number of this Journal. (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. V., p. 79)—E. H. W.

There also does not appear to be any sufficient ground for considering a simple branch, such as *Figs.* 10, 11, 12, 12 (a), 18 and 33 and reverse *Fig.* 81 necessarily to represent the *bodhi* tree, though it may do so when it is combined with the figure consisting of four or more squares, which is considered to represent a rail; as in that form it is found on the coins of Taxila and other coins together with other Buddhist emblems. Even in the latter case it does not always represent the *bodhi* tree, as is shown by Theobald's *Fig.* 223 which he described as "Jackal looking up at a tree, protected by a railing."

The figure called a "rail," *Fig.* 53, also occurs in a variety of marks in combination with various other objects besides trees.

The existence of a branch on certain of the present coins does not, therefore, imply any connection with the Buddhist religion.

A wheel, *Fig.* 55, appears on one coin, No. 102, but it has a double circumference and it differs from the accepted form of the *Dharmachakra* and there is no reason to suppose that it is intended to represent it.

With regard to the remark of the *Vissuddhimagga*, that the shroff would know at which river bank the coin was struck, the mark of two wavy lines representing a river occurs on the square copper coins found at Eran and Besnagar, and as this symbol is also found on the cast copper coins which succeeded the above, the presumption is that those coins were current when succeeded by the cast coins and are therefore of much later date than the silver *purāṇas*. The *Vissuddhimagga* was written in Ceylon at same date before 450 A.D., and, therefore, refers to punch-marked coins of a much later date; as this form of coinage continued in Southern India much longer than in other parts of India. As far as I know, the river-mark has not been found on any of the early silver punch-marked coins. If such mark had then been in general use to represent a river it might, perhaps, have been expected to have been found on the present Pāṭaliputra coins, but it does not occur.

In the present stage of knowledge regarding punch-marked coins it is not possible to judge their probable age except on general considerations.

Speaking generally, it would appear to be a reasonable inference that more elaborate designs, and those composed of more than one symbol are later than more simple designs and those of one symbol. This statement cannot, however, at present be made with certainty without an examination of a much larger number of coins than have been so far examined and without the assistance of the nature of their provenance in each case.

The present coins would appear to be of early date from (1) the depth at which they were found ; (2) the fact that their marks are all of a simple nature ; (3) the absence of any marks which indicate the Buddhist religion which might be expected to be found on coins later than Asoka.

There are two marks which somewhat resemble the Brahmi letter *Ga*, namely *Fig. 22* on coin No. 54 and *Fig. 23* on coin 55. But an examination of these shows that they differ from the form of that letter found in inscriptions and on other coins, e. g. in the word *negāmā* on the square copper coins of Taxila.¹

Some indication of their period may, however, be inferred from the fact that amongst the objects found in the excavations of Pāṭaliputra carried out by Dr. Spooner at Bulandibagh, in which what are believed to be the old wooden city walls, described by Megasthenes, have been discovered, amongst the numerous fragments of antiquities which have been found in the earth, with which the space between the two wooden palisades was filled, I have seen a small square-shaped piece of light green opaque glass, or other vitreous material about the same size as a small square punch-marked coin, on one side of which this mark (*Fig. 1*) is very clearly moulded, exactly similar to the mark on these coins. These excavations have as yet been only provisionally described. But, I believe, that Sir John Marshall is of opinion that this infilling between the palisades may have been made in part from older rubbish-heaps. If this idea is correct, the mark in connection with Pāṭaliputra is earlier even than Chandragupta.

¹ C. A. I., Plate III, Figs. 8, 9, 10.

In *Fig. 22*, on coin 54, the two sloping strokes are separate; and in *Fig. 23*, on coin 54, the character does not form an angle but is distinctly rounded at the top, and the line is not of uniform thickness, as in the letter *Ga*, but the right hand portion swells out and is distinctly and, apparently, intentionally thicker than the rest of the character. If, therefore, these figures represent the letter *Ga*, it would appear to be an older form than in the inscriptions at present known.

There is also another mark on coin 58, which may be the Brahmi letter *to*. The mark has not been given on Plate IV, as I did not, at first, grasp its possible significance. It will, however, be seen on the upper margin of coin 88, Plate II, by looking at the coin from the lefthand side.

The predominant symbols on the coins are (1) the three *chhatras* and three ovals alternately round a central circle (*Fig. 1*) and (2) the sun (*Fig. 2*). These two marks also occur together on 50 out of the 61 coins found at Peshawar described by Dr. Spooner¹ and one or other of them occurs on the remaining coins. They also occur generally together on several of the punch-marked coins which have been described.²

They do not, however, occur on any of the 1,226 coins found at Paila, though other forms of the solar symbol appear on the reverse of some of those coins.

Several varieties of the first symbol (*Fig. 1*) are given by Theobald, who notes that its great antiquity is shown by the fact that it was found by Schlieman in the lowest stratum of the excavations at Troy.³

¹ A. S. R., 1905-06, p. 156, 157.

² E.g., I. M. C. Vol I, Plate XIX, figures 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11. Also C.A.I. Plate I, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 13, Plate II (Taxila) figs. 1 and 2.

³ "27. Central Sphere supporting three 'Chhatras', 'Umbrellas' or 'Broad Arrows', Fig. 91.

The same type of symbol also occurs in the lowest stratum at Troy 23 feet below its surface in *terracotta* whorls mixed with stone implements. In this archaic form of the symbol the apex of the "chatra" is directed inwards instead of outwards, and the solar nature of the inner disk on which the "chhatras" rest (as it were topsyturvy) is placed beyond doubt by the numerous radiating lines surrounding it. (Schlieman's Troy, page 80.)

(Footnote continued on p. 35.)

The "Pot of Foliage" (*Fig. 3*) occurs in most of the coins as an oval boss with six dots over it. The concave curve of the mouth of the *ghara* is, however, clearly seen on some of the coins, e.g. Nos. 19, 20, 21, which leaves no doubt as to its significance.

The interlaced triangles (*Fig. 4*) is a mark which I have not seen on other coins.

It is not clear what object is intended to be represented in *Figs. 18A., 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 30, 31, 38, 40, 43, 46, 49* and *50*; and reverse marks *62, 65, 71, 73, 75, 76* and *80*.

Of the animals on the present coins, the elephant frequently occurs on silver *purānas*, the humped bull less frequently, the bull's or cow's head with garland is, I believe, as already noted, Theobald's *Fig. 3*. But I am not aware that the lion has been found on the silver *purānas* which have hitherto been described, though it is found on subsequent copper coinages of Taxila.¹ If, therefore, *Fig. 7* is a lion, the presence of that animal on the present coins is very interesting.

I have taken the animal (*Fig. 7*) to be a lion, rather than a tiger, on account of the comparatively large size of the head. There is, however, no attempt to indicate the mane, as is done in the examples of that animal on later Indian coins, and it may, consequently, be intended for a tiger. In either case I am not aware of either lion or tiger occurring on other silver punch-marked coins.

28. Symbol 27 with three intervening bulls. *Fig. 92*.

In this variant the "chitras" are separated by three intervening bulls, and the antiquity of this form of the symbol is proved by this identical pattern being found in Troy, only the balls and "arrows" (as Schlieman calls them) are ranged on the *terracotta* whorls in fours instead of threes (Schlieman's Troy, Plate XLIII, fig. 458).

33. Symbol 27 with three owl heads. *Fig. 95*.

In this form, the "balls" are replaced by a symbol which may be described as the Greek letter "phi" with the upper projecting limb cut off. It is essentially the same as occurs on symbol 20 and is also found on Trojan pottery and has been designated "owl's head" (Schlieman's Troy, page 313, fig. 227).

J.A.S.B., Part I, 1900, Plate IX, figures 91-93, 100, 102, 104, 106; and pages 215-217.

¹ C. A. I., Plate III.

The snake, in the form of the letter S, (*Fig. 35*) and; with an egg (*Figs. 28 and 44*), the tortoise (*Fig. 36*), the humped bull, of a different design to *Fig. 6*, are amongst the marks illustrated by Theobald.

Cunningham suggested that the marks on the *purānas* might be punning allusions to the names of the rulers or places, e.g. a bull or a cow (Sk. *Vatsa* = *Vacca*) a very common symbol on the coins of Kosāmbi, the capital of the *Vatsas*; ¹ or that another explanation was possible or even probable that they were shroff marks, and that the animals found on those coins might be adopted by the shroffs as indicating their names.²

The shroff theory, as already noted, cannot stand as regards the obverse marks. The animals on *purānas* may be the *lakshanas* or emblems of the *saṅghas*, or be the *aṅkas* of particular rulers or governing bodies; for instance the Mahābhārata says that the standard of the Bṛihatratha dynasty of Magadha which came to an end about 727 B.C. bore a bull on it. They may also indicate the names of places.

If the early punch-marked coinage was the outcome of the Dravidian civilization, there may, possibly, be a connection between the animals adopted as *lakshanas* and the totems of clans.

The marks on the reverse of the present coins, as is invariably found in punch-marked coins, are of an entirely different type to those on the obverse, and are less deeply punched. And when they represent the same objects they are smaller than the similar obverse mark.

Only three obverse marks of the same size occur on the reverse, viz. *Fig. 16*, which occurs on the obverse of coins 4, 36 and 87 and on the reverse of coins 26, 41, 74 and 79; *Fig. 18* which occurs on the obverse of one coin only, No. 43, and on the reverse of coin No. 20; and *Fig. 24* which occurs on the obverse of coin 56 and on the reverse of coin 103. Except the above,

¹ C.A.I., pp. 56-57.

² "The old money changers might have had symbols referring to their own names, thus: the "Sun" for Surya Das; a "Snake" for Naga Sen; and an "Elephant" for Gaj Singh. Bir Deo might have had a "Soldier," Gopal a Bull, and Khajur Varma, a Palm tree (Khajur)." C.A.I., p. 58.

where the same marks occur on the reverse as on the obverse, they are either somewhat different in design, and even where they are the same in design are smaller. Thus the interlaced triangles on the reverse of coin 105 is smaller than the obverse mark *Fig. 4*; the bull's or cow's head with garland (*Fig. 77*) is about half the size of the similar mark (*Fig. 8*) on the obverse; also *Fig. 66*, snake in shape of the letter S, is much smaller than the somewhat similar mark on the obverse (*Fig. 35*); and the phallus (*Fig. 58*) is only half the size of the similar mark (*Fig. 54*) on the obverse.

Coin 103 is peculiar. The marks on the reverse of this coin are full size and appear to be all of the nature of obverse marks and are deeply punched into the coin in the manner of marks on the obverse. There are eleven marks on it. They are punched indiscriminately over each other. Only one mark, the nine-petalled flower, is intact. A possible suggestion might be that the reverse of this coin may have been used as a test for trying various obverse punches.

The marks on the obverse of this coin, on the other hand, are more lightly punched than those on the reverse.

The remaining reverse marks, as will be seen from *Figs. 58* to *81*, are entirely distinct and even where they apparently represent the same objects, e.g. *Figs. 68, 69* and *79*, which appear to be intended for the sun, they are quite distinct from the sun mark (*Fig. 2*) on the obverse.

Professor Rapson refers to the injunction of Manu, VIII, 403, that "All weights and measures must be duly marked, and once in six months let him (i.e. the *nripa*, the prince) re-examine them," and he thinks that coins were included in this injunction, and that the marks on the reverse are perhaps the marks affixed by the "prince," the governor of the district, or other official included in the term *nripa*, at the time of periodical testing of the currency. He therefore considers that "the merchants or money-changers to whom we have attributed the obverse punch-mark, had simply to submit their coins to the chief authority in the district, who rejected such as were

deficient in weight or quality of metal, and sanctioned such as were approved by marking them with his official stamp, which may perhaps be identified with the solitary punch-mark so often found in the centre of the reverse. The occasional occurrence of more than one of these reverse punch-marks on a coin is naturally explained by supposing the coin to have passed current in more than one district, and consequently to have been officially tested more than once."¹

The theory that the marks on the obverse were affixed by the merchants or money-changers through whose hands the coins happened to pass, cannot, however, be maintained in view of the occurrence of certain constant groups of those marks on a number of coins.

The theory that the reverse marks were the official stamp of the local authority and indicated that the coin had been tested and sanctioned for currency within that area appears, as a general statement, to be subject to equally material objections. If this were generally the case, the official test and currency mark would be expected to be found on all coins that had been in circulation, or, at any rate, on the very great majority of them, and there would also be far greater uniformity amongst the reverse marks, which were affixed on all coins current within a given area, than amongst obverse marks which according to the above theory were affixed by merchants or money-changers through whose hands the coins passed.

Neither of these conditions, however, is found to exist in the case of the old silver punch-marked coins that have hitherto been brought to light. If we exclude the coins of Taxila and the Peshawar find, the majority of which bear the "Taxila mark," which has hitherto been considered to be a mint mark, on the reverse, and the coins found at Eran, which would appear to be of later date, punch marks do not occur on the reverse of all the old silver *purāṇas*, and when they do occur, there is no general uniformity amongst the reverse marks on the coins found in the same locality.

¹ J. R. A. S., 1895, page 874.

Reverse marks are found on only 38 of the present coins, and there is no uniformity amongst them. Only two marks (*Fig. 59* and obverse *Fig. 16*) occurs on four coins, one mark (*Fig. 62*) on three coins, one mark (*Fig. 66*) occurs twice, and the others are marks which occur only once. A description of the marks will be found in Table III.

That there is no general uniformity amongst the reverse marks is also the case in the coins found at Paila. Mr. Campbell's Treasure Trove Report, and his list of marks, which he has kindly let me see, show that while, as already noted, only 13 marks occur in certain fixed groups on the obverse of 1,226 coins, no less than 89 marks, in which also all varieties of the same object have been included under one number, occur on the reverse.

Among the coins from Afghanistan described by Mr. R. D. Banerji,¹ out of the 39 rectangular coins 11, namely one-fourth, bear no mark on the reverse, and out of the 5 "Roughly Circular or Oval Coins" two, namely more than one-third, bear no mark on the reverse.

The marks on the reverse may be the marks of merchants and money-changers through whose hands the coins passed.

One mark on the reverse of the present coins (*Fig. 59*) is very interesting, as a close examination of it shows that this mark on the reverse of coins Nos. 18, 42 and 83 not only is it the same mark, but that it has been punched with the identical *punch*.

The illustrations of the coins on the plates are not quite full size. They are .92 of the actual size of the coins.

My thanks are due to Dr. Caldwell, B.Sc., M.A., Ph.D., F.I.C., F.O.S., F.P.U., for having kindly weighed the present coins.

NOTE.

On Plate III, the obverse and reverse of coin 103 have, by mistake, been transposed. The one shown as the obverse at the top of the Plate being the reverse; and the one shown as the reverse at bottom of the Plate being the obverse.

On Plate IV, *Fig. 56* is a reverse mark, occurring on the reverse of coin 103, and has, by mistake, been shown amongst the obverse marks.

¹ J.A.S.B., 1910, p. 227.

LIST OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS A.			
Figure composed of three circles and three <i>chhatras</i> alternately round a central circle with a dot in the centre, <i>Fig. 1</i> ; Sun, <i>Fig. 2</i> ; Pot of foliage, the foliage being represented by six dots, <i>Fig. 3</i> ; interlaced triangles, <i>Fig. 4</i> .			
SUB-CLASS 1.			
An additional mark; Elephant facing right. <i>Fig. 5</i> .			
1	53.1 1.1 x .9	Five marks as noted above — <i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4</i> and <i>5</i> . Pl. I.	Blank.
2	52.8 1.05 x .95	Ditto ...	Ditto
3	53.1 1.05 x .85	Ditto ...	Ditto
4	52.5 1.05 x .95	As on coin No. 1, with an additional mark of six dots round a central dot (<i>Fig. 16</i>). This mark has been punched partly over No. 3 (Pot of foliage) and partly over No. 5 (Elephant); Pl. I.	Ditto
5	50.9 1.05 x .9	As on coin No. 1; Pl. I...	Ditto
6	51.8 1.15 x .9	Ditto ...	Ditto

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS A.			
SUB-CLASS 1—contd.			
7	53.5 1.05 × .9	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, also an additional mark of a small oval object in an oval incuse.	Blank.
8	50.8 1.05 × 1.0	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, as on coin 1.	Ditto
9	49.7 1.3 × .76	Ditto Pl. I. The coin is broken and a piece is missing.	Very small circular mark, Fig. 58, and another indistinct mark.
10	48.5 1. × .95	As on coin No. 1; Pl. I.	Blank.
11	51.8 1.12 × .95	Ditto Pl. I ...	Ditto
12	51.5 .96 × .96	As on coin No. 1; Pl. I ...	Ditto
13	40.1 .96 × .9	Ditto. (This coin is broken and a piece is missing).	Ditto
14	52.2 1.26 × .87	Ditto ...	Ditto
15	50.3 1.05 × 1.05	Ditto. (This coin is broken into two pieces but is complete.)	Ditto
16	52.2 1.05 × 1.05	Ditto. (This coin is broken into two pieces but is complete.)	Ditto
17	51.2 1.2 × .9	Ditto (This coin is broken into two pieces but is complete.)	Ditto

NOTE.—Coins 61 and 69 also belong to this class. But I only identified the fragment of the punch of Fig. 5 (Elephant right) on further examination after the coins had been arranged in the list in their serial order, as a separate class. As the change in their place on the list would have affected the numbers of the coins on Plates I and II, these coins have been left in their original place in the list.

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
<p style="text-align: center;">CLASS A.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SUB-CLASS 2.</p>			
		<p>An additional mark. A plant with berries or, perhaps, flowers. This mark is clearest on coin 19; <i>Fig. 10.</i></p>	
18	51.2 1.15 × .06	Marks 1, 2, 3 and 4, and additional mark; a plant with berries, <i>Fig. 10.</i> (This coin is broken into four pieces but is complete.)	A flower of seven petals. <i>Fig. 59.</i>
19	52.9 1.02 × .9	As on coin 18; Pl. I. ...	Minute circular mark with small boss in the centre. There are other indistinct marks which do not appear to be punches but look like the grain of wood on which the coin may have been placed for striking the obverse punches. Similar marks occur on the reverse of several other of these coins.
20	53.2 .95 × .95	As on coin 18; Pl. I. ...	Five dots in a square similar to the additional obverse punch on coin 43; <i>Fig. 18, Pl. III.</i>
21	52.9 1.02 × .81	Ditto ...	Figure resembling flower of six petals, <i>Fig. 60</i> , and small star of six square rays, <i>Fig. 61</i> ; Pl. III.
22	51.5 .92 × .85	Ditto (The Branch, <i>Fig. 10</i> is punched partly over <i>Fig. 4.</i>) This coin also has an extra mark. <i>Fig. 40</i> ; Pl. I.	Very small indistinct mark.

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS A.			
SUB-CLASS 3.			
		An Additional Mark; A Plant of somewhat different design, <i>Fig. 11.</i>	
23	51.2 96 × 85	Four Marks, <i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4,</i> as in the previous coins, and fifth Mark. <i>Fig. 11;</i> Pl. I.	Mark. <i>Fig. 62;</i> Pl. I. I.
24	52.5 1.1 × 94	Ditto ...	Blank.
25	53.1 1.06 × 86	Ditto ...	Ditto
26	53.2 1.08 × 92	Ditto, Pl. I.	Six dots round central dot the same as <i>Obverse Fig. 16;</i> and <i>Fig. 63;</i> Pl. III.
SUB-CLASS 4.			
		An Additional Mark; A Six pointed Flower, <i>Fig. 14.</i>	
27	52.8 1.02 × 97	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and additional mark of six-pointed flower, <i>Fig. 14</i>	Minute circular Mark with raised line in centro, <i>Fig. 64;</i> Pl. III.
28	52.8 1.04 × 97	As on coin 27; Pl. I.	Blank.
29	50.3 1.03 × 1	Ditto ...	Ditto
30	49.7 1.16 × 96	Ditto, Pl. I.	An indistinct mark which does not appear to have been a punch.
31	52.5 1.15 × 91	Ditto ...	Blank.

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS A.			
SUB-CLASS 4— <i>contd.</i>			
32	51.4 1.1 × .90	As on coin 27; Pl. I ...	Mark <i>Fig. 62</i> ; as on reverse of coins 23 and 70.
33	52.6 1.2 × .95	Ditto ...	Blank. •
34	52.8 1.02 × .90	The impression of the additional mark, <i>Fig. 14</i> , is faint on this coin and only half of it shows on the edge of the coin.	Ditto
35	53.1 1.01 × .96	As on coin 27, with an additional mark of a star or wheel without a rim, <i>Fig. 15</i> ; Pl. I.	Ditto
SUB-CLASS 5.			
With Additional mark; A nine-leaved branch, <i>Fig. 12</i> .			
36	49.1 1 × .95	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 with additional mark. A nine-leaved branch, <i>Fig. 12</i> . Also two extra marks; six dots round a central dot, <i>Fig 16</i> , and an indistinct mark of a small boss in the centre of a circular <i>incuse</i> ; Pl. I. With additional mark; nine-leaved branch with a boss at the base (<i>Fig. 12a</i> . Pl. I).	Impression of an <i>incuse</i> but the mark is indistinct.
37	48.8 1.02 × .92	Marks 1, 2, 3 and 4 with additional mark, <i>Fig. 12(a)</i> .	Mark as <i>Fig. 65</i> ; Pl. III.

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS A.			
SUB-CLASS 6.			
		An additional mark ; three dots in <i>incuse</i> . (<i>Fig.</i> 17, Pl. I.)	
38	53.1 1.05 x .94	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 17. •	Blank.
39	52.8 1.06 x .86	As on coin 38 and an addi- tional mark. (<i>Fig.</i> 18A ; Pl. I).	Ditto
40	51.7 1 x .88	As on coin 38 ; Pl. I ...	Snake, <i>Fig.</i> 66 ; and two squares over a semi-circle, <i>Fig.</i> 67 ; Pl. III.
41	52.3 1.15 x .85	Ditto ...	Six dots round central dot, like obverse <i>Fig.</i> 16, but smaller ; and, probably in- complete, mark of two dots on the edge of the coin. Pl. III.
42	• 51.1 1.11 x .77	• Ditto ...	Flower of seven petals, <i>Fig.</i> 59 ; struck from the same punch as on reverse of coin 15 ; Pl. III.
SUB-CLASS 7.			
		An Additional Mark. Five dots in a square. <i>Fig.</i> 18, Pl. I.	
43	52.8 1 x .90	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 18.	Blank.

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS A.			
SUB-CLASS 8.			
44	52.2 1 x .93	An additional mark; a figure resembling a fleur-de-lys on a horizontal line over five vertical lines (<i>Fig. 19.</i>) Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 19; in which only three of the vertical lines show in the mark on this coin. It also has an extra mark of three parallel lines joined at one end; this mark is incomplete (<i>Pl. I.</i>)	Blank.
45	51.8 1 x .84	Punches 1, 2, 3, 4 and 19. The five vertical lines are clearly shown on this coin as in <i>Fig. 19.</i> <i>Pl. I.</i>	Star, <i>Fig. 68</i> ; and a distinct mark with oval outline <i>Pl. III.</i>
SUB-CLASS 9.			
46	51.5 1.1 x .92	With additional mark of seven vertical lines and a horizontal line, resembling a comb (<i>Fig. 43.</i>) Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 43.	Blank.
SUB-CLASS 10.			
47	50.1 1.15 x .71	With additional mark, possibly a snake. (<i>Fig. 20.</i>) Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 20; <i>Pl. I.</i>	Ditto
48	53.5 1 x .90	Ditto ...	Ditto
49	52.3 1.1 x .95	Ditto <i>Pl. I.</i> ...	Ditto
50	52.5 1 x .98	Ditto ...	Ditto
The additional mark (<i>Fig. 20</i>) has been punched over mark 1.			

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS A.			
SUB-CLASS 11.			
Additional Mark as shown in <i>Fig. 21.</i>			
51	51.7 ·94 × ·92	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 21. Pl. I.	Blank.
52	53.1 1.1 × ·90	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 21. Mark 21 appears only partly on the margin of the coin. Pl. I.	Blank.
SUB-CLASS 12.			
Additional Mark of oval curved line with boss in centre. <i>Fig. 44.</i>			
53	52.9* ·93 × ·84	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 44. Pl. I.	Ditto
SUB-CLASS 13.			
Additional Mark. <i>Fig. 22.</i>			
54	51.7 1 × ·78	Punches 1, 2, 3, 4 and 22. Pl. I.	Ditto
SUB-CLASS 14.			
Additional Mark. <i>Fig. 23.</i>			
55	52.8 1.04 × ·96	Punches 1, 2, 3, 4 and 23. Pl. I.	Three Marks—Star of curved rays, <i>Fig. 69</i> ; similar star but fewer rays and not so curved; and small circular boss. Pl. III.

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS A.			
SUB-CLASS 15.			
Additional Mark; eight-petalled flower. <i>Fig. 24.</i>			
56	46.8 1.08 x .85	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 24. Pl. II.	Blank.
SUB-CLASS 16.			
Additional Mark; thick object. with the two extremities curved in opposite directions; <i>Fig. 25.</i>			
57	52.0 1.02 x .98.	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 25. This coin also has a sixth mark, an object in a triangle (<i>Fig. 26</i>) punched over 2. In this coin mark 4 has been punched over mark 1; Pl. II.	Minute circular dot.
SUB-CLASS 17.			
Additional Mark; Four-pointed flower. <i>Fig. 27.</i>			
58	47.7 1.08 x .95	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 27. There are also three additional marks; a curved line with a dot; <i>Fig. 28</i> ; a mark which may possibly be the Frahmi letter <i>to</i> and an indistinct circular mark. Pl. II.	Blank.
SUB-CLASS 18.			
Additional mark, a Triangle. <i>Fig. 29.</i>			
59	52.0 1.0 x 4.87	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 29. Also a sixth mark, <i>Fig. 30</i> ; and the oval <i>incuse</i> of a seventh mark, which is indistinct. Pl. II.	Ditto.

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
		CLASS A.	
		SUB-CLASS 19.	
		Additional Mark; a curved line and a dot. <i>Fig. 31.</i>	
60	45.4 1 × .96	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 31 ...	Blank.
		SUB-CLASS 1.	
61	51.2 1.61 × .70	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 32. <i>Fig. 32</i> proves on closer examination to be a portion of Mark 5. Elephant right. <i>Fig. 5.</i> This coin therefore belongs to Class A, Sub-Class 1. Pl. II.	Do.
		SUB-CLASS 20.	
		No additional mark.	
62	49.5 1 × .70 (incomplete)	Marks 1, 2, 3, 4. Mark 2 is punched in two places, each only showing in part.	Do.
63	37.7 1 × .83	Incomplete as the coin is broken. On this piece of the coin there are only marks. <i>Figs. 1, 2 and 4.</i>	Do.
		CLASS B.	
		Marks 1, 2, 3 (but not 4) together with an additional fourth mark.	
		SUB-CLASS 1.	
		With a fourth mark; humped bull. (<i>Fig. 6.</i>)	
64	53.28 1.04 × .91	Punches, 1, 2, 3 and 6; Pl. II.	Do.

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS B.			
SUB-CLASS 1— <i>contd.</i>			
65	51.8 1 × .85	As on coin 64; Pl. II.	Blank.
66	45.5 1.1 × .98	As on coin 64. The coin is broken in three pieces, one piece missing containing half of the mark of the humped bull.	Ditto
67	52.6 1.16 × .90	As on coin 64. This coin is broken, but is complete.	Ditto.
SUB-CLASS 2.			
Extra mark obscure.			
68	51.2 1.1 × .81	Marks 1, 2, 3 and an indistinct mark. Mark 1 is punched in two places. Pl. II.	Ditto.
SUB-CLASS 3.			
No fourth Mark.			
69	52.5 .96 × .91	Marks 1, 2 and 3 ...	Ditto.
CLASS C.			
Marks 1 and 2; Lion (<i>Fig. 7</i>) and cow's or bull's head with garland (<i>Fig. 8</i>).			
SUB-CLASS 1.			
No additional Mark.			
70	52.8 .96 × .92	Marks 1, 2, 7 and 8. Pl. II.	<i>Fig. 62</i> ; Pl. III.
71	53.1 1.05 × .85	As on coin 70; Pl. II.	Blank.

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS C.			
SUB-CLASS 1— <i>contd.</i>			
72	53.1 ·97 × ·94	As on coin 70; Pl. II.	Blank.
73	53.2 ·98 × ·87	Ditto	Ditto.
74	52.3 1.04 × ·80	• Ditto, Pl. II. ...	Six dots round central dot <i>Obverse Fig. 16; Pl. III.</i>
75	50.9 1.05 × ·90	Ditto	Star but slightly different from <i>Fig. 2</i> ; also sun, or flower, <i>Fig. 70</i> . The rays more resemble the cogs of a wheel, there is a double ring in the centre, and no outer rim to the rays, as in <i>Fig. 2</i> .
76	50.0 1.02 × ·74	Ditto ...	Blank.
77	47.2 ·80 × ·80 (Part only) •	Ditto ...	Blank.
SUB-CLASS 2.			
	•	An additional Mark; a Branch of seven leaves (<i>Fig. 13</i>).	
78	52.5 1.03 × ·86	Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 as on coin 70, and additional mark. <i>Fig. 13; Pl. II.</i>	<i>Fig. 71.</i>
79	52.3 1.02 × ·86	As on coin 78 ...	Six dots round central dot <i>Obverse Fig. 16; Pl. III.</i>
SUB-CLASS 3.			
		Additional Mark; a Branch of seven leaves rising from a round boss, <i>Fig. 33</i> .	
80	53.2 1.02 × ·88	Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 and 33. Also an additional mark, a cross with each arm terminating in a small boss.	Equilateral triangle with three smaller triangles round it. <i>Fig. 72; Pl. II.</i>

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS C.			
SUB-CLASS 4.			
With Additional Mark ; which resembles a stand- ing figure with a tail but without the head shown separately, perhaps a monkey. <i>Fig. 34</i> ; Pl. II.			
81	52.6 ·96 × ·90	Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 and 34 ; and a small indistinct object in a circular <i>incuse</i> .	Blank.
82	52.8 1.25 × ·74	Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 and 35. Also an additional mark ; a snake in shape of the letter S ; <i>Fig. 35</i> .	Ditto
SUB-CLASS 5.			
With an Additional mark of a triangle, <i>Fig. 29</i> .			
83	52.5 ·94 × ·92	Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 (as on coin 70) and 29 ; Pl. II.	Flower of seven petals. <i>Fig.</i> 59. This mark is made by the identical punch as on the reverse of coins 18 and 42 ; Pl. III.
SUB-CLASS 6.			
With an Additional Mark ; resembling a tortoise. <i>Fig. 36</i> .			
84	53.1 ·95 × ·89	Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 (as on coin 70) and 36 ; Pl. II.	An object, the meaning of which is not clear ; <i>Fig.</i> 73 ; Pl. III.

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
		CLASS C.	
		SUB-CLASS 7.	
		With an additional mark of a six petalled flower, <i>Fig. 14</i> ; Pl. II.	
85	44.0 1.04 × 97	Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 and 14.	Blank.
		SUB-CLASS 8.	
		With an additional mark of a wheel with six spokes, but without a rim, <i>Fig. 15</i> . This coin is broken and a piece is missing. Pl. II.	
86	51.4 1 × 95	Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 and 15.	A snake in the form of the letter S, <i>Fig. 66</i> ; Pl. III.
		SUB-CLASS 9.	
		With two additional marks; a central dot with six dots round <i>Fig. 37</i> ; flower of six petals, or star of six rays ending in dots, similar to reverse mark, <i>Fig. 60</i> , and a cross in round cornered <i>incuse</i> ; Pl. II.	
87	52.5 1.05 × 10	Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 and 37, Reverse mark 60, and a cross in square <i>incuse</i> .	A minute mark of a cross in a rounded <i>incuse</i> similar to the mark on the obverse of this coin but smaller. <i>Fig. 74</i> .

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS C.			
SUB-CLASS 10.			
With an additional mark ; a central boss with six straight lines and six lines ending in a boss. radiating from it alternately. <i>Fig. 39</i> ; Pl. II.			
88	47.2 1 x '94	Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 and 39 ...	Blank.
SUB-CLASS 11.			
With two additional marks ; a many petalled flower, <i>Fig. 45</i> ; and a figure resembling the figure 8 within a circle, <i>Fig. 46</i> ; Pl. II.			
89	51.5 1 x '82	Punches 1, 2, 7, 8, 39 and 46.	Blank.
CLASS D.			
Marks 1, 2 and Elephant, left, <i>Fig. 9</i> .			
SUB-CLASS 1.			
With an Additional mark ; crescent with five dots, <i>Fig. 41</i> , and triangle with three dots inside, <i>Fig. 42</i> .			
90	48.5 1.1 x '90	Marks 1, 2, 9, 41 and 42 ; Pl. II.	Blank.
91	52.0 '92 x '88	Ditto ...	Blank.
92	52.3 '98 x '94	Ditto, Pl. II. ...	Blank.

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS D.			
SUB-CLASS 1— <i>concl'd.</i>			
93	51.5 1 x .88	Marks 1, 2, 9, 41 and 42, Pl. II.	Blank.
94	53.4 .95 x .90	Ditto, Mark 42 is very faint.	Traces of two marks too worn and indistinct to decipher.
SUB-CLASS 2.			
Similar to the above but no triangle mark <i>Fig.</i> 42. The coins are both incomplete in shape and the triangle mark may be on the missing portion.			
95	52.5 .91 x .85	Marks 1, 2, 9 and 41 (but not 42). Pl. II.	Blank.
96	51.1 .95 x .91	Ditto. The shape of this coin shows that a portion is missing on which there might have been another mark. The sun mark, <i>Fig.</i> 2, is punched in two places on this coin.	Flower of seven petals, <i>Fig.</i> 59, as on the reverse of coins 18, 42 and 83, and, apparently, made with the identical punch. Pl. III.
SUB-CLASS 3.			
With Additional mark; bow and arrow. <i>Fig.</i> 47.			
97	52.6 .85 x .84	Marks 1, 2, 9 and 47; Pl. II.	Ellipse with a dot at each apex, <i>Fig.</i> 75; and a figure consisting of an oval and four parallel lines united by a line at right angles; possibly two separate marks, <i>Fig.</i> 76; Pl. III.

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS D.			
SUB-CLASS 3— <i>contd.</i>			
98	49.1 ·82 × ·80	Marks 1, 2, 9 and 47. This coin has an extra mark of a circle with eight dots round it. <i>Fig. 43; Pl. II.</i>	Four marks. Small cow's or bull's head with garland, similar to <i>Fig. 77. cf. Obverse Fig. 8</i> , but smaller design, <i>Fig. 78</i> ; small obverse mark in rounded <i>incuse</i> ; and a boss towards the side of a circular <i>incuse</i> ; <i>Pl. III.</i>
SUB-CLASS 4.			
With additional mark; six-petalled flower, similar to <i>Fig. 24.</i>			
99	53.2 ·97 × ·70	Marks 1, 2, 9 and 24 and an additional mark; a solid semi-circle, <i>Fig. 49, Pl. II.</i>	Indistinct mark in circular <i>incuse</i> .
SUB-CLASS 5.			
Marks 1, 2, 9, with additional mark. <i>Fig. 50.</i>			
100	51.4 ·90 × 80	Marks 1, 2, 9 and 50, <i>Pl. II.</i>	Blank.
CLASS E.			
Marks 1 and 2 with additional marks.			

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS E.			
SUB-CLASS 1.			
With two Additional marks; four dots in a triangle, <i>Fig. 51</i> , and a square divided into four with a dot in each, <i>Fig. 52</i> , Pl. II.			
101	51.4 ·97 × ·80	Marks 1, 2, 51 and 52, and two additional marks; a solid equilateral triangle; and an indistinct mark.	Mark <i>Fig. 79</i> , resembling the sun mark, <i>obverse Fig. 2</i> , but with rays at the quadrants only, three of which show on the part struck. It differs entirely from the sun mark, <i>Fig. 2</i> , on the obverse of this and the other coins.
SUB-CLASS 2.			
With two Additional marks. The "Rail" mark of a square divided into four, <i>Fig. 53</i> . A six spoked double-wheel, <i>Fig. 55</i> .			
102	48.5 ·82 × ·75	• Marks 1, 2, 53, and 55. Also an additional mark; a small object (phallus?) <i>Fig. 54</i> .	Blank.
103	53.2 1.1 × ·70	Marks 1, 2, 53 and 55; and small plain ovoid object. <i>The obverse of this coin is shown, by mistake, among the Reverse coins on Pl. III.</i>	Ten marks. Some of them over others, nine-petalled flower; eight-petalled flower; six-petalled flower; <i>Fig. 56</i> . Over the last is punched one-half of a smaller six-petalled flower; four dots round a central dot, in a circular incuse; sun with four rays; branch (?) and small portion of an indistinct mark on the margin. <i>The reverse of this coin is shown, by mistake, among the obverse coins on Pl. III.</i>

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS E.			
SUB-CLASS 3.			
With additional mark; a large circular boss probably part of <i>Fig. 3</i> .			
104	52.6 1.15 x .93	Broken in three pieces; but complete. Marks 1 and 2 and a large circular boss, probably part of mark 3 (pot with foliage) the six dots of which would fall outside the coin. The rest of the coin is covered with a layer of copper which was apparently melted on.	Blank.
SUB-CLASS 4.			
Additional Mark a cow's or deer's head. <i>Fig. 57</i> .			
105	47.7 .84 x .80	Marks 1, 2 and 57. Pl. III.	Interlaced triangles. Similar to, but smaller than <i>obverse, Fig. 4</i> ; and a mark as shown in <i>Fig. 80</i> ; Pl. III.
SUB-CLASS 2—(contd.)			
106	51.1 .86 x .77	Marks 1 and 2; "Rail," <i>Fig. 53</i> ; double wheel, <i>Fig. 55</i> ; and another indistinct mark only partly on the coin, Pl. III.	Branch of five leaves, <i>Fig. 81</i> Pl. III.

No.	Weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
107	49.1 ·82 × ·80	<p>CLASS E.</p> <p>SUB-CLASS 5.</p> <p>Additional Marks; two indistinct marks.</p>	Indistinct mark; a portion of a mark of a circular ring round a small central boss.
		<p>Marks 1 and 2; and two indistinct marks; one apparently a branch but of different design to <i>Figs. 12, 12(a) and 13.</i></p>	
108	44.7 ·95 × ·74	<p>CLASS. F.</p> <p>Marks 1 and 9 (Elephant left) only, Pl. III.</p>	Blank.

TABLE
The Classification of the Coin

Class and Sub-class.	Distinctive marks of each class; Fig. in Plate IV.	Distinctive additional mark of each sub-class; Fig. in Plate IV.	Number of coins in each class and sub-class.	Serial number of the coins in the list of coins.	Coins bearing extra marks.		
					Number of coins.	Serial number of coins.	Description of marks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
CLASS A. ...	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4</i> ...	...	...	1-63	...	...	...
Sub-class 1 ...	...	<i>Fig. 5</i> ...	20	1-19 and 61	1	...	Small object in oval <i>incuse</i> . <i>Fig. 40.</i>
Do. 2 ...	...	<i>Fig. 10</i> ...	5	18-22	1	22	...
Do. 3 ...	...	<i>Fig. 11</i> ...	4	23-26	None	...	...
Do. 4 ...	...	<i>Fig. 14</i> ...	9	27-35	Do.	...	...
Do. 5 ...	...	<i>Fig. 12</i> ...	1	36	1	36	<i>Fig. 16</i> and a small indistinct mark; a boss in a circular <i>incuse</i> .
Do. 5(a) ...	...	<i>Fig. 12(a)</i> ...	1	37	None	...	...
Do. 6 ...	...	<i>Fig. 17</i> ...	5	38-42	1	39	<i>Fig. 18A.</i>

Sub-class 7	...	Fig. 18	...	1	...	43	None	...	...	...	.....
Do. 8	...	Fig. 19	...	2	...	44, 45	Do.	...	...	...	.....
Do. 9	...	Fig. 43	...	1	...	46	Do.	...	...	...	.....
Do. 10	...	Fig. 20	...	4	...	47-50	Do.	...	...	...	.....
Do. 11	...	Fig. 21	...	2	...	51, 52	Do.	...	...	...	.....
Do. 12	...	Fig. 44	...	1	...	53	Do.	...	...	...	.....
Do. 13	...	Fig. 22	...	1	...	54	Do.	...	...	...	.....
Do. 14	...	Fig. 23	...	1	...	55	Do.	...	...	...	.....
Do. 15	...	Fig. 24	...	1	...	56	Do.	...	...	...	.....
Do. 16	...	Fig. 25	...	1	...	57	1	...	...	57	Fig. 26.
Do. 17	...	Fig. 27	...	1	...	58	1	...	...	58	Fig. 28 and another mark, which may perhaps be the Brahmi letter to. Fig. 38; and an indistinct circular mark.
Do. 18	...	Fig. 29	...	1	...	59	1	...	...	59	Fig. 30.
Do. 19	...	Fig. 31	...	1	...	60	None.	...	...	...	.....
Do. 20	...	No additional mark.	...	2	...	62, 63	Do.	...	...	...	.....

Class and Sub-class.	Distinctive marks of each class; Fig. in Plate IV.	Distinctive additional mark of each sub-class; Fig. in Plate IV.	Number of coins in each class and sub-class.	Coins bearing extra marks.			
				Serial number of the coins in the list of coins.	Number of coins.	Serial number of coins.	Description of marks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
CLASS B ...	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3</i> ...	...	6	64-69	...	...	.....
Sub-class 1	<i>Fig. 6</i> ...	4	64-67	None.	...	.....
Do. 2	Indistinct mark	1	68	Do.	...	.....
Do. 3	No additional mark.	1	69	Do.	...	.....
CLASS C ...	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 7, 8</i> ...	...	20	70-89	...	...	.....
Sub-class 1	No additional mark.	8	70-77	None.	...	.....
Do. 2	<i>Fig. 13</i> ...	2	78, 79	Do.	...	.....
Do. 3	<i>Fig. 33</i> ...	2	80, 81	2	...	.....
Do. 4	<i>Fig. 35</i> ...	1			80	A cross with each arm terminating in a small boss.
Do. 5	<i>Fig. 29</i> ...	1		None.	81	Small indistinct object.
Do. 6	<i>Fig. 36</i> ...	1		Do.	...	.....

Sub-class 7 ...	...	Fig. 14 ...	1	85	None	...	...	.....
Do. 8 ...	...	Fig. 15 ...	1	86	Do.	...	...	.....
Do. 9 ...	...	Fig. 37 ...	1	87	Do.	...	...	.....
Do. 10 ...	...	Fig. 38 ...	1	88	Do.	...	...	.....
Do. 11 ...	...	Fig. 45 ...	1	89	1	...	89	Fig. 46.
CLASS D. ...	Figs. 1, 2 and 9 ...	...	11	90-100	...	...	...	.....
Sub-class 1 ...	...	Figs. 41 and 49	5	90-94	None	...	...	.....
Do. 2 ...	...	Fig. 41 only	2	95-96	Do.	...	...	.....
Do. 3 ...	...	Fig. 47 ...	2	97-98	1	...	98	Fig. 48.
Do. 4 ...	...	Figs. 49 and 24	1	99	None	...	...	.....
Do. 5 ...	...	Fig. 50 ...	1	100	Do.	...	...	.....
CLASS E ...	Figs. 1 and 2 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sub-class 1 ...	...	Figs. 51 and 52	1	101	1	...	101	A solid equilateral triangle; and an indistinct mark.
Do. 2 ...	...	Figs. 53 and 55	3	102, 103, 106	1	...	102	54
Do. 3 ...	...	Circular boss	1	104	None.	...	...	...
Do. 4 ...	...	Fig. 57	1	105	Do.	...	...	...
Do. 5 ...	...	Two indistinct marks.	1	107	Do.	...	...	...
CLASS F. ...	Figs. 1 and 9 ...	...	1	108	Do.	...	...	...

TABLE II.

Coins with Marks on the Reverse.

Serial No. of coin in the List.	Class and Sub-class of Coin.	Figure in Plate IV.
1	2	3
9	A. 1	58
18	A. 2	59
19	A. 2	Minute circular mark with small boss in centre (not figured).
20	A. 2	Obverse mark 18.
21	A. 2	60 and 61
22	A. 2	Very small indistinct mark.
23	A. 3	62
25	A. 3	63 and obverse mark 16, which also occurs on the reverse of 41, 74 and 79.
27	A. 4	Minute circular mark with raised line in centre.
32	A. 4	62
36	A. 4	Indistinct mark.
37	A. 5	65
40	A. 6	66, 67 and a star or flower.
41	A. 6	Obverse mark 16.
42	A. 6	59
45	A. 8	68
55	A. 14	69 and a star similar to 69, but with fewer rays and a small circular boss (not figured).
57	A. 16	Minute circular dot (not figured).
70	B. 1	62
74	C. 1	Obverse mark 16
75	C. 1	70 and a variety of Sun mark (Fig. 2).

Serial No. of coin in the List.	Class and Sub-class of Coin.	Figure in Plate IV.
1	2	3
78	C. 2	71
79	C. 2	Obverse mark 16.
80	. 3	72
83	C. 5	59
84	C. 6	73
86	C. 8	66
87	C. 9	74
94	D1	Traces of two indistinct marks.
96	F2	59
97	D. 3 {	75 76
98	D. 3 {	77 } and one obscure mark in circular <i>incuse</i> and 78 } small round punch.
99	D. 4	Indistinct mark in circular <i>incuse</i> .
101	E.	70
103	E.	<p>Eleven marks. Figs. 56 and 79, obverse Fig. 24, also another similar flower but with nine petals; also another similar eight-petalled flower, or, possibly, wheel, as the petals or (?) spokes are straight; mark of four large dots round a central dot; a mark of five dots round the upper part of a lemon-shaped object; and three other indistinct marks.</p> <p>The marks on this coin are peculiar; as they are all full size and appear to be all of the nature of obverse marks, and are deeply punched into the coin in the manner of marks on the obverse. They are punched indiscriminately over each other. Only one mark, the nine-petalled flower, is intact. It would appear that this coin may have been used as a test for trying various punches.</p> <p>The marks on the obverse of this coin, on the other hand, are more lightly punched than those on the reverse.</p>

Serial No. of coin in the List.	Class and Sub-class of Coin.	Figure in Plate IV.
1	2	3
105	F.	Interlaced triangles (smaller) 80.
106	E.	81
107	G.	Indistinct marks.

TABLE III.

Description of the Marks on the Coins as illustrated on Pl. IV.

Figure on Plate IV.	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
1	Three ovals and three <i>chhatras</i> alternately round a central circle with a dot in the centre, the "Troy mark."	All	108	All
2	The Sun mark; a circle with rays round it and a dot in the centre.	A-E	106	All, except— and 108.
3	Pot of foliage; represented by an oval boss surmounted by six dots.	A. 1-20	63	1-62 and 69
4	Two interlaced triangles with a circle inside them in the centre; and six dots round them within the outer angles.	A. 1-20	62	1-62
5	Elephant facing right ...	A. 1	19	1-17, 61, 69
6	Humped bull facing left ...	B. 1	4	64-67
7	Lion [or (?) tiger] facing right.	C. 1-11	20	70-89
8	Bull's or cow's head, with garland, represented by dots.	C. 1-11	20	70-89
9	Elephant facing left ...	D 1-5	11	90-100
10	A plant with berries or, perhaps, flowers. This mark is clearest on coin 19.	A. 2	5	18-22
11	A plant of different design, without berries.	A. 3	4	23-26
12	A branch of nine leaves ...	A. 5	2	26
12a	A branch of nine leaves rising from a circular boss.	A. 5 (a)	1	37
13	A branch of seven leaves ...	C. 2	2	78, 79
14	Six-pointed flower with hollow centre.	A. 4	10	27-35, 68

Figure on Plate IV.	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
15	A wheel of six spokes, but without a rim; perhaps a star.	C. 8	1	86
16	Six dots round a central dot ...	A. 4-5, C. 9	3	4, 36 and 87
17	Three dots in <i>incuse</i> ...	A. 6	5	38-42
18	Five dots (<i>quincunx</i>) within a square.	A. 7	1	43
18a	Figure representing one letter T superimposed on another.	A. 6	1	39
19	A figure resembling a fleur-de-lys over a horizontal line over five vertical lines (clearest on coin 45).	A. 8	2	44-45
20	Curved figure, probably a snake.	A. 10	4	47-50
21	A thick raised line forming an oval, with a straight line through it lengthways, and a line curving inwards on one side.	A. 11	2	51-52
22	Two straight lines sloping so as to form an acute angle and a sloping line to the right of them. The meaning is not apparent. May, possibly, be the Brahmi letter <i>ga</i> .	A. 13	1	54
23	A curved line from the edge of <i>incuse</i> and, to the right of it, a curved line with thickness cut towards its right extremity. The meaning is not apparent. May, possibly, be the Brahmi letter <i>ga</i> .	A. 14	1	55
24	Eight-petalled flower ...	A. 15	1	56
25	Thick object, with the two extremities curved in opposite directions. The meaning is not clear.	A. 16	1	57

Figure on Plate IV.	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
26	Circular boss in a triangle ...	A. 16	1	57
27	Four-petalled flower ...	A. 17	1	58
28	Curved object with a dot ...	A. 17	1	58
29	Triangle in circular <i>incuse</i> ...	A. 18, C. 5	2	59, 83
30	Two lines sloping together with dots.	A. 18	1	59
31	A slightly curved line and a dot.	A. 19	1	60
32	Head of elephant facing right (on coin 61).	A. 1	18	1-17 and 61
33	A plant with berries ...	A. 17	2	80
34	A standing monkey, or human figure.	C. 3, 4	2	81, 82
35	Snake in form of letter S ...	C. 4	1	82
36	Tortoise (?) ...	C. 6	1	84
37	Flower of six petals ...	C. 9	1	87
38	An arched line intersected by a straight line.	...	...	...
39	An eight-petalled flower with alternate petals ending in dots, or eight-rayed star.	C. 10	1	88
40	Figure as illustrated ...	A. 2	1	22
41	Horseshoe shaped curved line ending in two dots and five dots within it.	D. 1, 2	7	90-96
42	Three dots in a triangle ...	D. 1	5	90-94
43	Figure like a comb ...	A. 9	1	46
44	Thick curved line with a dot within it.	A. 12	1	53

Figure on Plate IV.	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
45	Twelve-petalled flower ...	C. 11	1	89
46	Figure resembling the figure 8	C. 11	1	89
47	Bow and arrow ...	D. 3	2	97, 98
48	Eight dots round the circle ...	D. 3	1	98
49	A solid semi-circle ...	D. 4	1	99
50	Five parallel lines, the centre line being longest, joined by a line at right angles.	D. 5	1	100
51	Five dots in a triangle ...	E. 1	1	101
52	A figure composed of four squares with a dot in each square.	E. 1	1	101
53	The "Rail" figure of four squares.	E. 2	3	102, 103, 106
54	Object as illustrated, probably phallus.	E. 2	1	102
55	One circle within another, with six spokes from the centre.	E. 2	3	102, 103, 106
56	Flower of six petals, with an oval dot between each petal; this is a Reverse mark on coin 103 included by mistake amongst the obverse marks.	...	...	...
57	Cow's, or deer's head with horns.	E. 4	1	106
MARKS ON THE REVERSE.				
58	Object as illustrated; probably phallus.	A. 1	1	9
59	Flower of seven petals ...	A. 2, 6. C. 5, D. 2.	4	18, 42, 83, 98

Figure on Plate IV.	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
60	Flower of six petals ...	A. 2	1	21
61	Small flower of six petals ...	A. 2	1	21
62	Figure as illustrated ...	A. 3, 4, C. 1	3	23, 32, 70
63	Figure of three squares as shown. The <i>incuse</i> shows that this is not an incomplete impression of a mark of four squares.	A. 3	1	26.
64	Minute mark. Small thin object in circle.	...	1	27
65	Figure of six small squares and four triangular marks.	A. 5(a)	1	37
66	Small thick object curved like an S, probably a snake.	A. 6, C. 8	2	40, 86.
67	Two squares placed diagonally over a semi-circle.	A. 6	1	40.
68	Sun or star	A. 8	1	45
69	Sun with rays curved from right to left.	A. 14	1	55.
70	A double circle with dot in centre and small rays or petals round.	C. 1	1	75.
71	Figure as illustrated ...	C. 2	1	78.
72	An incised triangle surrounded by three others.	C. 3	1	80.
73	Figure as illustrated; the meaning is not clear.	C. 6	1	84
74	Small mark; a cross in circular <i>incuse</i> .	C. 9	1	87
75	Elliptical figure with a dot at each apex.	D. 3	1	97

Figure on Plate IV.	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
76	Four vertical lines joined by a horizontal line, and an oval; possibly two separate marks.	D. 3	1	9
77	Bull's or cow's head with garland; similar to Obverse Fig. 8, but smaller.	D. 3	1	9
78	A central boss with three lines curving outwards round it, two of them having three dots on their outer side. The mark appears to be a complete one.	D. 3	1	9
79	Mark like the Sun mark, but with only four rays at the quadrants.	E. 1	1	10
80	Three longer and three shorter straight lines, converging together, as illustrated.	E. 4	1	10
81	Branch of five leaves ...	E. 2	1	10



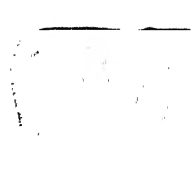
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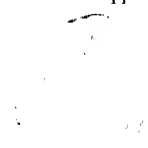
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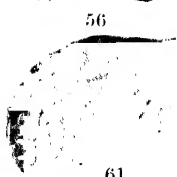


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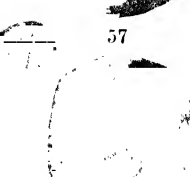


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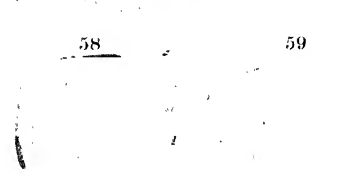
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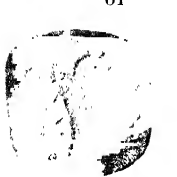


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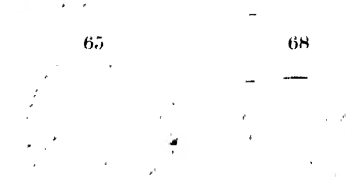
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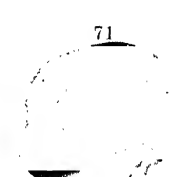


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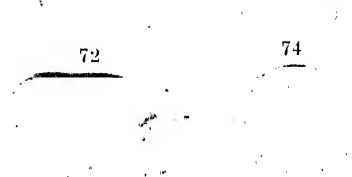
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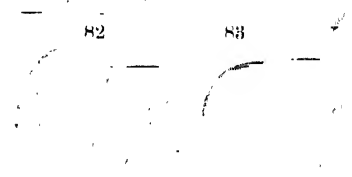
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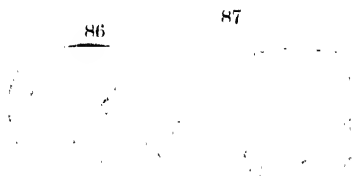
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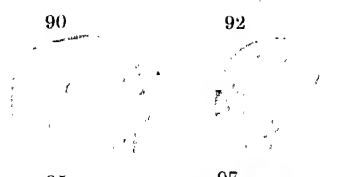
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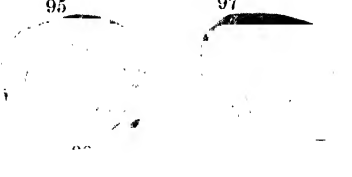
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OBVERSE.



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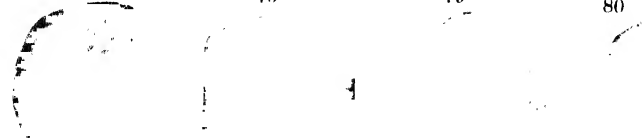


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II.—“ Puri Kushan ” Coins.

By E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I.

The coins which are described in the present paper were found on the northern slope of the Rakha Hills in the district of Singhbhum.¹ They were found buried about one foot below the surface. Three of the coins were lying exposed to view, and this led to further search by the removal of the top soil. In all, 363 coins were discovered lying together. Small fragments of a broken clay pot were found with the coins, and might or might not have been used originally to contain the coins. The pieces of pot are, however, so small that no conclusions can be drawn from them. The coins were found in one place; the major portion were discovered on May 31st, 1917, and the balance a few days later, upon a further search being made. Nothing corresponding to a mould was discovered, and no evidence has been discovered, as yet, that a Mint stood near the place where the coins were found. An old road runs past the place of find in close proximity to a small river, within a quarter of a mile of ancient copper workings and surrounded by copper-slag heaps. It is possible that the Mint might have been erected near the spot.² The fact that the edges of the coins had not been trimmed lends a measure of support to this possibility.

The coins are of the type known as “ Puri Kushan,” so called from the fact that a number of those coins were found in the Puri District in 1893 and were described by Dr. Hoernle in the Proceedings of the Asiatic³ Society of Bengal in 1895.

¹ The coins which are illustrated on the Plate to the present Paper, are in the Bihar and Orissa Coin Cabinet in the Patna Museum and are serials, Nos. 831 to 842, in the General Register—E. H. W.

² The above information has been kindly furnished by Mr. C. Olden, Superintendent of the Cape Copper Company, Ltd., Rakha Hills Mines, within whose mining lease the place, where the coins were found, is situated.

³ Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1895, pp. 61-66.

The find in that case consisted of 548 copper coins, which were found buried in a small earthen pot, two feet below the surface, while excavating earthworks at Gurbai Salt Factory at Manikaratna in the Puri District. They consisted of two distinct varieties. 47 of the coins were die-struck but were so much worn down by usage, that the designs on most of them are barely discernible. "On some of them, however, sufficient remains to identify them with coins of the Indo-Scythian class. The obverse shows the well-known standing figure of king Khanishka pointing with his right hand down to the fire-alter; the reverses show figures of MAO or MIPO, AEPO, and OADO, as seen on Kanerki coins. No trace of the legend remains; and in its absence, of course, it is impossible to be quite certain of the identity; but the resemblance of the figures on both the obverses and reverses to those on the corresponding Kanerki coins is very striking.....The whole of the remainder of the coins are cast coins, and very crude imitations of those of Kanerki. They all show two standing figures, one on each face of the coin, with their arms in varying positions. There is no legend but most of them are marked with a crescent placed in varying parts of the field. Accordingly they may be distributed into the following classes and varieties."¹

These latter "Puri Kushan" coins were of different varieties and were classified by Dr. Hoernle as follows:—

Class I.—No crescent on either side,—84 coins.

The coins of this class were of five varieties according to the position of the figures.

Class II.—With crescent on the reverse in the left top of the field,—42 coins.

The coins of this class were of seven varieties according to the position of the figures.

Class III.—With crescent on reverse in right top of field,—309 coins.

The coins of this class were of three varieties according to the position of the figures.

¹ Proc. A. S. B., 1895, p. 63.

Class IV.—With crescent on both obverse and reverse,—19 coins.

The coins of this class were of seven varieties according to the position of the figures.

Class V.—With crescent on head of reverse figure,—1 coin.

There had, however, been a previous find of coins of this type in the Ganjam district in 1858 which are described by Mr. Walter Elliot in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1858.¹

The coins in that case were found about 4 miles to the west of Purushottampur in the district of Ganjam where “close to the modern village of Pandya are the remains of an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the debris of a lofty wall.”

The coins are described as follows:—

“In the neighbourhood of this place numbers of copper coins are found, of a type different from any other hitherto met with in Southern India, but presenting a striking resemblance to those of the Indo-Scythian group, more especially to the coins of Kanerki. All are much worn, but the following wood-cut represents one of the most perfect.

“The figure on the obverse and reverse is the same, but in the cut, the position of the arms has been reversed, the right hand being represented down, and the left up, whereas it is the right which should be raised, and the left down.

“No traces of Scythian domination have hitherto been met with so far to the south, but it is hardly possible to look at the design in the above figure and not to identify it with those impressed on the money of that race.”

Nine of the Puri coins in the India Museum are described in Vincent Smith's Catalogue of Coins in the India Museum² and an illustration of one is given in Plate XIV. *fig.* 14. Mr. Vincent Smith notes “it is impossible to fix the date of the excessively rude coins: from Puri and Ganjam, of which

¹ The Madras Journal of Literature and Science edited by the Committee of the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary Asiatic Society. Pages 75-77 and 78. (No. 7, New Series, April to September, 1858),

² I. M. C., Vol. I, pp. 92-93.

an example is shown in Plate XIV, 14. They may have been issued by rulers of Kalinga in the fourth or fifth century, and it is possible that they may have been struck only for use as temple offerings. All numismatists acknowledge that they exhibit a reminiscence of the characteristic Kushan type."¹

Dr. Hoernle noted that Kushan coins were not Dr. Hoernle noted that as that was the first decision on which Kushan coins had been found in the extreme East of India, the fact of their being found near Puri, the site of an ancient shrine and place of pilgrimage might account for it, and that as regards the present type of cost coins, "whether they were intended to pass as current coins in the ordinary sense may not be quite certain. They may have been meant to be used as temple-offerings by pilgrims, similar to certain imitations of yaudeya coins found in the Punjab. Possibly they may have been only intended as ornaments."

Professor Rapson also refers to the above coins.²

With regard to the above remark of Dr. Hoernle, I would note that Kushan coins have been recently found at different places in the Ranchi district, where there is no reason to suppose that they might have been brought by pilgrims.

It is also improbable that they were cast for the purpose of ornaments; as they would probably, in that case, have been cast with some attachment, by which they could be worn.

Following the lines of classification adopted by Dr. Hoernle, all the coins of the present find, with the exception of the unique coin shown in fig. 2 of the Plate, come under class III "with crescent on reverse in right top of field" which class also comprised the greater number of the coins found in the Puri district.

With the exception of the two coins shown in figs. 1 and 2, the edges of all the coins are rough and, in many cases, frills of metal from the edges of the mould remain attached, as will be seen from the plate, and they do not, therefore, appear to have been in circulation. It will, therefore, appear that the site of the find was a Mint, where these coins were cast.

¹ I. M. C., Vol. I, pp. 64-65.

² Indian Coins p. 13.

As in the case of the coins previously described, the present coins are, clearly, very rude imitation of the coinage of Kanishka with the well known figure of the king with his right hand extended over a fire-altar, and holding a staff or spear in his left hand, on the obverse ; and the figure of the male moon-god, as indicated by the crescent, on the reverse.

There are roughly two varieties of the coins, *first*, as in fig. 3, where the clothing of the figure of the god on the reverse bears some resemblance to that of the Kushan coins, and, *secondly*, as in the other coins, now illustrated, in which the figure on the reverse is wearing a coat similar to that of the king on the obverse. In regard to the boots, also, there are two varieties, viz., with the boots shorter and turned up as in figs 3 and 4 and with the boots shown at much greater length horizontally as in figs. 5-12.

The coins may also be roughly arranged on the lines of classification adopted by Dr. Hoernle, according to the position of the arms of the figure on the obverse, by which classification 213 of the coins have the figure of the king on the obverse with the left arm of extended horizontally, as in figs. 3 to 6, and 33 of the coins have the arms curved more downwards, as in figs. 7-12. Any such classification, however, appears to be of no value in the case of such rude imitations, in which the variations noted would rather appear to be accidental variations in the mould.

The weights of the coins, excluding the two coins shown in fig. 1 (132.70 grs.) and fig. 2 (78.16 grs.), vary from 87.10 grs. (Fig. 6) to 39.33 grs. They are, therefore, a smaller type of coin than those found in the Puri district, the weights of which vary from 211 to 106 grs.¹

The interest of the present find, apart from the single coin (fig. 2), which is of a new type, lies in the fact that it extends the area over which this class of coins has been found,

¹ I.M.C., Vol. I, pp 64-65.

Proc. A.S.B., 1905, p. 65.

and the inscription on coin 2 furnishes material for fixing the date of the present find, and to which the coins of these type extended.

As noted by Dr. Hoernle, it may be assumed that these rude imitations would not have been made unless the Indo-Scythian coins had still been current in Northern India. There would have been no object in copying an obsolete coinage.¹ Kushan coins have been found at different parts of the Ranchi district of Chota Nagpur.² Although, therefore, the coins of the present find are later than the date hitherto assumed, it would seem probable, as noted by Dr. Hoernle, that this type of coin existed from the time of the currency of Kushan coins, although the present coin shown in *fig. 2* shows that it continued until considerably later.

The coin shown in *fig. 2* is particularly interesting, as being of a new type not hitherto found. On the reverse there is the figure of the moon-god with crescent and wearing turned up boots, as in *fig. 1*, but on the obverse, in place of the figure of the Kushan king, are three cones, which may possibly represent hills, and below them the word *tanka*.

The *akshara nika* is similar to that in the Allahabad Prashashti Inscription, *cir.* 375 A.D., figured in table IV, column I, line 11 of Bühler's Tables. The letter *t*, however, appears to be of a later period, the earliest example of this form given by Bühler being that in the Amsuvarman Inscription, 635 A.D. (*ibid*, Table IV, column XVII, line 17). This would appear to show that the present find of coins of the "Puri Kushan" type is not earlier than the seventh century.

The symbol of three cones side by side, to represent hills, is very interesting, as it would appear to be a survival of the

¹ Proc. A. S. B., 1895, p. 54.

² A gold coin of the Huvishka type, at Belvadag is described in J.B.O.R.S., Vol. I, pp. 281-2, and a copper coin of Kanishka similar to that illustrated in I.M.C., Vol. I, Plate XI, fig. 11, has been recently found in the Karra thana of the same district.

symbol of one arch superimposed on two others hitherto considered to be a *chaitya* or *stupa*, found on punch-marked coins and early cast coins, and which also occurs in the form of three arches placed side by side, as in the case of the cones on the present coin ; which symbol, as I have noted with regard to those coins, would appear to have been intended to represent a hill.¹

Since this paper was written, this coin has also been described by Mr. R. D. Banerji in a paper which appears in the present number of this Journal.

The crescent on the reverse of the remaining coins shows that they were copied from those Kushan coins which bore the figure of the Moon-god MAO on the reverse, in which the crescent rose from his shoulders. A coin with this figure is given for the purpose of comparison at *fig.* 13 on the Plate. It is a gold coin of kanishka as I have not been able to obtain a cart of a copper coin of this type. In these imitations the crescent is shown detached from the figure, the left arm of the figure, and, to make room for it on the coin, has been entirely omitted. In the coins formed in Puri, there was one coin in which the crescent rose, as in the Kushan coins from the shoulders.

¹ "An Examination of a Find of Punch Marked Coins in Patna City." By E. H. C. Walsh J.B.O.R.S., Volume V, p. 31.

Particulars of the coins shown on the Plate.

Figure.	Weight (grains.)	Size (inches.)	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	132.70	.90	Figure with right arm downwards, left arm raised, boots curved upwards.	Figure with right arm curved upwards; no left arm crescent to left of left shoulder.
2	73.16	.85	Three acute pyramids in a horizontal row; below:— “ <i>tanka</i> ”.	Similar to <i>fig. 1</i> .
3	73.28	.75	Similar to <i>fig. 1</i>	Similar to <i>fig. 1</i> .
4	56.53	.72	Figure with right arm curved upwards; left arm extended, boots extended horizontally.	Figure in position similar to <i>fig. 1</i> but wearing cost similar to figure of Kushan type on the obverse.
5	60.12	.72	Similar to <i>fig. 4</i>	Similar to <i>fig. 4</i> .
6	87.10	.76	Similar to <i>fig. 4</i> ; boots longer horizontally.	Ditto.
7	53.46	.72	Figure similar to <i>fig. 4</i> but with arm downwards; boots still longer horizontally.	Similar to <i>fig. 4</i> boots still longer horizontally.
8	64.34	.76	Ditto	Ditto.
9	58.59	.70	Ditto	Ditto.
10	61.10	.75	Figure similar to <i>fig. 4</i> but with arm downwards; boots still further exaggerated.	Ditto.
11	43.62	.75	Ditto	Ditto.
12	68.28	.72	Ditto	Ditto.



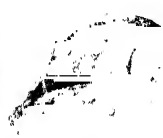
5



8



10



11

12



13

Particulars of the coins shown on the Plute—contd.

Figure	Weight (grains.)	Size (inches.)	Obverse.	Reverse.
13	120·2	·8	<p>Gold coin of Kaniska. Catalogue of Coins in the India Museum, Calcutta, Volume I, Coin No. 3, page 70. Given for comparison of the figures.</p> <p>King Standing l. bearded, wearing peaked cap or helmet, coat, trousers and cloak, grasping a rein l. hand and holding elephant goad in r. hand over altar. sword at waist.</p>	<p>Male moon-god standing l. dead; clad in tunic and robe; with right hand extended holding (?) callipers and left hand resting on hip; a crescent moon spring from his shoulders and he wear a sword at his side.</p>

III.—Notes on Indian Numismatics.

By R. D. Banerji, M.A.

I.—SAMUDRAGUPTA—SPEARMAN TYPE.

Coins of this type of the gold coinage of Samudragupta [Plate 1, No. 1] have been found in large numbers all over Northern India, but so far very few coins have been found in Bengal proper. The recorded finds of Imperial Gupta coins in Bengal do not include a specimen of this type. A coin of this type I found in the possession of Lord Carmichael, late Governor of Bengal. It was found some years ago while a tank was being excavated at Chakdighi in the Burdwan District. The land in which the coin was found belongs to Raja Mani Lal Singh Roy of Chakdighi who presented it to Lord Carmichael. I am indebted to Lord Carmichael for permission to publish this coin. The specimen is remarkable for the exceptional purity of its metal. It weighs 117 grs. and is a very well preserved specimen of the type of B. M. C. Allan, page 1, No. 1 (standard type).

II.—YASAS.

Rai Radhakrishna Jalan Bahadur, Banker and Reis of Patna, possesses a coin cabinet which is exceptionally rich in Gupta coins. He possesses a specimen of that king of doubtful identity the only known specimen of whose coinage is in the cabinet of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.¹ The Patna coin is a duplicate of the specimen described by Mr. V. A. Smith, but on the other hand it is a much better specimen, the legends on which are clearly legible. The name under the right armpit is clearly

¹ V. A. Smith : Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 120, No. 1, Pl. XVI, No. 11.

PLATE I



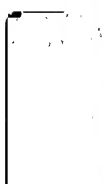
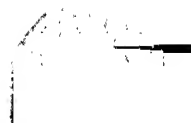
1



2



3



4



Yasā or *Yaso*. Possibly the full name was *Yasogupta*.¹ The legend on the reverse is "Naren-Ira Vinata" as I have stated in my previous note on the subject.² The metal is very impure gold.

III.—AN INSCRIBED PURI-KUSHAN COIN.

Large numbers of copper coins struck in imitation of the copper coins of the Great Kushans have been discovered in Orissa and Ganjam. They are known as Puri-kushāns. Professor Rapson in his "Indian Coins" states "they bear no inscriptions; but their types are evidently borrowed from those of the bronze Kuṣāna Coins of the time of Kaniṣka".³ The same authority informs us that "in the case of the chief recorded discovery of these coins in the Puri District, they were found in company with bronze Kuṣāna coins struck in the ordinary manner".⁴ It has been suggested by the same authority that they were in circulation along with the original Kuṣāna bronze coinage from which they have been copied. Professor Rapson concludes his short description of this class of coinage by stating that "in either case they probably belong to that part of the Kuṣāna period which lies between the reign of Kaniṣka and the end".⁵ Professor Rapson allots these coins to the first three centuries of the Christian era but Mr. V. A. Smith in his Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, states that these coins were issued by the (?) kings of Kalinga (Puri and Ganjam) (?) of fourth and fifth century A.D.⁶ So far as I know, no other Numismatist has expressed his opinion about the probable date of this class of coinage.⁷ In 1917 His Honour Sir Edward Gait sent seven of these coins to me for examination. One of these coins though belonging to this

¹ [Probably *Yas'odharman*.—K. P. J.]

² Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1913-14, 260, pl. LXIX.

³ Indian Coins, page 13.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid, p. 14.

⁶ Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, pages 64-65 and 92-93.

⁷ [See note in this Journal by the Hon'ble Mr. Walsh.—K. P. J.]

particular class of coinage differed considerably in one respect. On this coin we have a human figure and a crescent on one side only. The reverse has three cones ranged in a line in the upper half of the circle and an inscription consisting of two syllables in the lower. This inscription is the most important part of this find which ought to be put on record. The inscription is "*Taṅka*". It provides us with a datum which was wanting so long from which the correct date of this class of coins can be deduced. In this inscription the lower limb of *ka* is still without the acute angle which is the characteristic of this letter in the seventh century. This later form of *ka* appears for the first time in North-Eastern India in the Bodh Gaya inscription of Mahānāman (G.E. 269, 588 A.D.)¹ and the Apsand inscription of Ādityasena (H.E. 63, 672 A.D.)² The alphabet of the Bodh. Gaya inscription appears to be rather too late for the sixth century and therefore that of the Apsand inscription may be taken to be a fixed point. It may safely be asserted now that the Puri-Kushan coins were issued some time before the middle of the seventh century A.D.; possibly in the sixth century. A detailed palaeographical examination would be out of place here but I am sure that the last-named date will not be found very wide of the mark. The word *Taṅka* means "a stamped coin" or a weight of four mashas.

IV.—A MUHAR OF ALAUDDIN MUHAMMAD SHAH RESTRUCK IN ASSAM.

The collection in the possession of Rui Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan of Patna contains some unique coins. One of these is a muhar of Alauddin Muhammad Shah of the Khilji dynasty of Delhi (H. N. Wright, I.M.C., II, page 38, No. 191). The legend on the obverse is complete and quite clear. But instead of being round in shape, the coin is octagonal. So far as our knowledge goes octagonal coins were issued only by the

¹ Fleet: Gupta Inscriptions, p. 274.

² Ibid., p. 200.



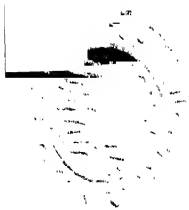
1



3



2



4



5



Ahom kings of Assam who minted both gold and silver in this particular shape. The older Ahom coins bore Ahom legends (both script and language). But later on, Sanskrit language and Bengali script took the place of Ahom with the Indianization of these Shan princes. Ahom legends were probably used for the last time on the coins of Sunenphā or Promatha Simha (V. A. Smith, I.M.C., Vol. I, page 298). But the octagonal shape was retained till the annexation of the kingdom by the British. The gold coin of Alauddin Muhammad Shah probably changed its shape when it came to Assam and was restruck by the Ahom kings. The restriking was done on the reverse only where we have the name Ragh(u)nārāyaṇa (?) below some illegible Perso-Arabic words. No prince of the Ahom dynasty bore this name. The only prince who reigned in Assam and who bore the name Raghū was Raghudevanārāyaṇa of the Koch dynasty of Hajo. He was the son of Sukladhvāja, surnamed Silarai "the Kite king", who was the younger brother of Naranārāyaṇa. Raghudeva was given a portion of the kingdom of Kuch Bihar as it stood in the days of Naranārāyaṇa in order to appease him when a son was born to the latter. Only one coin¹ of this prince is known which has been described by me (Journal and Proceedings of the A.S.B., Vol. VII, page 45). This coin was issued in Saka 1510-1508 A.D. and like all coins of Koch kings is round in shape. The name too is Raghudevanārāyaṇa and not Raghunārāyaṇa. It is quite probable, however, that for a time Raghudeva imitated the Ahom form of coinage. The name may have been shortened on account of the small size of the coin. So far as is known no other Muhammadan coin has been restruck by Koch or Ahom kings.

V.—GOLD COIN OF GHIYASUDDIN MAHMUD SHAH OF BENGAL.

Like No. IV this coin also belongs to Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan of Patna. Gold coins of the independent Sultans of Bengal are extremely rare. This coin is an exact replica of the

¹ [This is not correct. Sir Edward Gait gave one coin of this King to the A. S. B. in 1895 and described it in *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1895, p. 86.—K. P. J.]

silver coins of Ghiyāsuddīn Maḥmūd Shāh, the younger son of Alāuddīn Husain Shāh who was the last independent Sultan of Bengal. He was defeated and besieged by Sher Khān (afterwards Sher Shāh) in the fort of Gaur. Humayun came into conflict with Sher Shāh by marching to Bengal to relieve Maḥmūd Shāh. Maḥmūd Shāh died at Kahalgaon near Bhagalpur (*Riyaz-us-salatin*, English Trans, pages 141-142). There is no date on this coin but it resembles I.M.C., Vol. I, page 179, No. 222.

VI.—NEW MINTS AND TYPES OF SHER SHAH'S COINAGE.

(PLATE II.)

In July 1917, 448 silver coins of Sher Shāh were received for examination from the Collector of Shahabad, Bihar and Orissa. The find contained some unique coins of the following mints:—

- (1) Paṇḍuah;
- (2) Chanārḥ or Chunārḥ;
- (3) Kālpī.

(1) Sher Shāh's coins were minted mostly at Fathābād Sharifābād and Sātgaon in Bengal. But no coins minted from the capital of Bengal or its immediate neighbourhood appear to be known. The Shāhābad find contains no less than three coins from the mint of Paṇḍuah, a town to the north of Gaur which appears as a mint on the coins of Danuja-marddanadeva who ruled over Bengal in Saka 1339—1417 A.D and was thus a contemporary of Jalāluddīn Muhammad Shāh son of Rājā Kans of Bengal. Firozābād, a mint very well known from the coins of the Independent Sultans of Bengal, from the time of Sultan Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shāh, has been generally taken to be Pandua, but no definite proof has ever been adduced in favour of this identification. It has succeeded very well as a working hypothesis.

Coins of the Pandua mint, belong to two different types:—

- (a) I.M.C., Vol. II, 655, no mint var. A. But in the Shāhābad find the name of the mint is to be found on the obverse, just below the Kalima but inside the square. 948 A. H.

- (b) I. M. C., Vol. II., 653. No mint, var. B. Here also the mint name has been added in the same place. 947 A.H.
- (2) Only one silver coin of Sher Shāh issued from the mint of Chunar was described by E. Thomas in his *Chronicles of Pathan Kings of Delhi* where the name of the mint is spelt Chunar.¹ The coin was not illustrated at that time so it is difficult to determine how the name was spelt. The Shāhābad find contains three coins issued in 949 A.H. from the mint of Chanār. This form is a contraction of Charaṇagaḍh, the Hindi equivalent of the ancient Charaṇ-ādri-durgga.
- (3) The coin of the Kālpī mint is notable for its circle of intertwined double-lines. The coins of Sher Shāh issued from the Kālpī mint generally have square areas. This is the first known coin with circular areas from that mint.²

¹ *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 399, No. 359.

² *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 402, No. 354; I.M.C., II, p. 87, Nos. 635-636.

IV.—Statues of Two Śāisūnaka Emperors (483-409 B. C.)

By K. P. Jayaswal.

Since the foundation of this Journal many unsolved problems of the pre-Mauryan period have been partially or wholly solved in its pages, and I am glad to get a fresh opportunity to attempt once again to add to the known history of that period. Over a century back, citizens of Patna found two or three statues, according to Buchanan, in a field to the south of Patna City. One of them, which was still imbedded in the original site, Buchanan had taken out and removed, about 1812. The other he rescued from the bed of the Ganges to which it had been dedicated by the citizens.¹ He did not see the third figure. Subsequently the two figures recovered by Buchanan seem to have come in the possession of one Dr. Tytler, whose brother, in 1820, presented them to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. There they lay neglected for forty years hidden amongst the foliage until J. D. M. Beglar brought them to the notice of the late Sir Alexander Cunningham, the then Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. About the year 1879 they were removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where they are at present installed on raised pedestals in the Bharhut gallery. The third statue was found by Cunningham near the old well called the "Agama Kuan" to the south of Patna City. There, mounted with a new head it was being worshipped in his day as *Māṭū-Māī* by the villagers. It is possible that the statue is still somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Agama Kuan.

¹ Mr. V. H. Jackson, Principal of Patna College, who is editing Buchanan's Journal, kindly drew my attention to this source. The whole extract from his journal given to me by Mr. Jackson is printed further on.

General Cunningham was primarily attracted to the statues owing to their highly glossy polish (called up to this time "Mauryan"). He, however, realized their artistic significance to a great extent, for in describing them in Vol. XV. of his *Archæological Survey Reports* (pp. 2-3) he summed up with this remark :

"the easy attitude and the calm and dignified repose of the figures are still conspicuous, and claim for them a high place amongst the best specimens of early Indian art."

Though discovered in 1812 or 1819, the statues have been really discovered now, in 1919. It was in the month of January last that accidentally I examined the inscriptions on the statues and found them to establish the identity of the statues. They represent two emperors of the Saisunāka dynasty, one of whom, Udayin (483-467 B.C.), was the founder of Pāṭaliputra, and the other, the great conqueror Nandi-Vardhana (449-409 B.C.¹)

Since the time of Cunningham no one re-examined the inscriptions on the statues. And probably they would not have been examined by me but for the following incident. In January last a label prepared for the newly-discovered female ("Mauryan") statue, now at the Patna

The Inscriptions and their Palæography.

Museum, attracted my notice : it bore the title *Yakshinī* (i.e. the female of Yaksha, a demi-god). Now the conventional representation of Yaksha and Yakshinī in Indian art is marked with snub nose and raised cheek bones. The new Patna-Didārganj statue, on the other hand, is the figure of a handsome Indo-Aryan woman, distinguished from the classical (European) by rounded chin and heavy bosom.² I objected to the nomenclature intended

¹ J.B.O.R.S., I, 67, 115.

² See the plates to Dr. Spooner's article published in this issue of the Journal. The photographs do not bring out the easy pose of the right leg; the figure stands on the left. Hindu royal courts were decorated with life like female statues (*Jātaka*, VI, 432). These females are called *mātrikās* (*Ibid.*), a term denoting, according to the *Artha-Sāstra* (p. 123), a class of court artistes. Court artistes attended upon the king with emblems of royalty on certain ceremonial occasions (*Ibid.*). They were richly be-jewelled. These *Jātaka* and *Artha-Sāstra* data suggest the identification of the Didārganj statue as a decorative figure representing a *ganikā*, originally placed in a royal court.

for that elegant figure, whereupon the precedent of the two Patna statues in the Indian Museum was cited in that they were described by Cunningham as Yakshas on the authority of the inscriptions on them. This made me desirous of examining those inscriptions. Copies of those inscriptions prepared for the Patna Museum chanced to have arrived at the time. These impressions were practically worthless, being badly taken on single sheets, yet they sufficiently showed that the alleged "Yaksha" was in neither inscription, a view in which the Hon'ble Mr. Walsh, Vice-President of the Society, agreed with me the moment I showed the impressions to him. The letters, however, which Cunningham had declared to be later than Aśoka, presented to me a wonderful problem. They did not fully tally with characters of any period yet known to Indian Epigraphy. While one letter, *n*, at first sight appeared to belong to a later age, all others disclosed forms more archaic than the oldest known Brāhmī characters. The archaism was so marked that four letters, afterwards identified as *bh*, *dh*, *s* and *ṣ*, appeared to me to be new forms. To them value could be assigned only on presuming them to be ancestors of such Aśokan letters to which the latter can be carried back on principles of epigraphic evolution. I arrived at a tentative reading and deferred final judgment for a few days until I went to Calcutta, which I had to visit on business, towards the end of the same month. I utilized that opportunity and examined the inscriptions on the statues during my spare time in Calcutta on six different days.

The inscriptions are on the folds of the scarf just below the shoulders on the back of each statue (see photograph D). It seems that the artist thought it profanity in art to cut the letters into the body. After a long scrutiny I came to the conclusion that the letters had been carved before the parallel lines to denote folds on the scarf were chiselled. I consulted Mr. Arun Sen, Lecturer in Indian Art to the University of Calcutta, on the point, and he confirmed my view. The fold-lines have continued in spite of the letters. Over the letters they have been

very delicately handled : while the symmetry of the lines is kept on, the forms of the letters have not been interfered with, the original strokes of the letters being scrupulously avoided and kept separate.

I had six impressions of each inscription taken, thanks to the courtesy of Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the officer in charge of the archæological section of the Museum. My reading is based on those impressions and verified from the actual letters inscribed on the statues.

The inscription on the statue with the head on (figure A) is as follows :—

Bhage ACHO c̣ḥhonī'dhīse.

The aksharas *ACHO* are larger than others, as if they are put in capitals. The first title *bhage* is grouped separately to make one word. *ACHO* again is grouped separately. The first letter is taken to be *bḥ*. The upward projection of the top line as it appears in Aśokan *bḥ* is not present here. That is a later evolution. The letter in our inscription is written in three strokes, the pen being set and taken off three times, the left-hand and the right-hand strokes having been drawn independently of the top line, while the Aśokan *bḥ* tends to be done in two strokes (cf. Bühler's Table II, line 31, column VI ; and the Bhaṭṭiprolu letter). The Aśokan *bḥ*'s have been written in the following way which led to the introduction of the upper projection : the right-hand vertical line was drawn first and then in one flourish commencing over the top of the right-hand line the rest of the letter was completed. The point can be clearly followed by a reference to the *bḥ* in the Sohgaura plate (J.R.A.S., 1907) where the two divisions are separate. In the attempt to draw the top line and the left-hand line together, the initial end became pointed upwards. One can verify this by attempting to produce the letter with ease on the principle of the Sohgaura *bḥ*. Our three-stroke letter on the statue is thus older in evolution. It is indeed not possible to take it as any other letter than *bḥ*.

The peculiarity of the second letter, *g*, consists in that it is composed of two lines, a left-hand line projecting into a hook, and then a right-hand, slightly curved line drawn from top to bottom. The Aśokan letter on the other hand is made up of two equal and convenient parts or it begins to be written in one stroke, e. g. at Jaugada, Delhi and Siddapur. The uneven strokes still linger at Bhaṭṭiprolu.

The third letter, *a*, would be recognized at once by epigraphists to be an old form. I may only point out that the two ears which are so widely apart in our letter, tend to coalesce and to lose their curve and become a two-stroke letter in Aśoka's time, e. g. at Kalsi, Jaugada and Siddapur.

The fourth letter, *ch*, has a special feature in its perpendicular line being produced independently of the lower body. The latter is composed of three strokes. As against this the Aśokan *ch* is made up of only two strokes, the straight line and the base diagram, done without lifting off the pen. The only exception to this in Aśoka *ch*'s is the third specimen at Girnar which is the nearest approach to our *ch* in the whole range of Indian epigraphy. The next letter, *chī*, in our record consists of three strokes, while the Aśokan tends to a two-stroke composition. The sixth character, *n*, is again composed of three strokes as against two of the Aśokan. Its similarity with later *n* is more apparent than real; for later *n*'s are really two-stroke letters.

The penultimate letter is done in three strokes, two lines drawn down from one point and a base-line joining the two. It is a new form, and assuming a previous history to the Aśokan *dḥ* our letter can only be ancestor to the latter, the other two possible cases of *g* and *t* being excluded by their actual occurrence in the inscription.¹ Here again the Aśokan letter (*dḥ*) is much easier—decayed in form—than this *dḥ*, the former being written in only two strokes—a curve and a straight line. The Bhaṭṭiprolu *dḥ* (Bühler 26, xiv, drawn upside down) is a compromise between our *dḥ* and the Aśokan. There the strokes

¹It cannot be an *e* on account of the vowel-mark attached to it.

are still three but the right-hand line begins to curve. The original form still survives in the Andhra group though with a distinct tendency to a two-stroke form.

The last letter is still more original and its identification was a matter of some time. A long perpendicular line is drawn first and then by its sides, about the middle, two hooks are added in two separate strokes. At first sight one would be inclined to take it as a fourth century (A.C.) two-stroke *k* but the absence of seraph and the lower flourish together with the number of strokes would dislodge that proposal. It is radically different from *k*. If we follow the method of presuming an earlier form, we can on palæographic considerations trace the ancestry of the Aśokan (Bühler, 37, II) and Bhaṭṭiprolu *ś* (Bühler, 37, XIV) to this letter. The pivotal line has been contracted in the latter, its upper portion totally disappearing and the lower still remaining longer than the sidal legs. The legs, again, tend to hang down, while they hang on in the Saisunāka letter.

In all these cases we find the Aśokan figures having reached a stage which costs much less exertion than the Saisunāka ones. They are much easier, or to adopt an art expression, they are decadent as compared with our letters. The degree of evolutionary decay between our letters and the Aśokan is nearly the same as between the Aśokan and Rudradāman's.

Coming to the palæography of the second inscription, the first letter is a new form. I was first inclined to take it as an older form of *śh*. Dr. Mazumdar, whom I consulted about the letter, discovered on the rock a fine chiselled ¹ line from the elbow joint upwards to the fold-line above. This line is so thin that the impressions do not reproduce it sufficiently. It is equally, or more, probable that the letter is a dental *ś*. The lower flourish ends on the level of the base of the letters and does not turn upwards. The right-hand line is separated by a small ridge on the rock; it is therefore part of the next letter. The corresponding upper flourish is a fork. The whole letter is composed

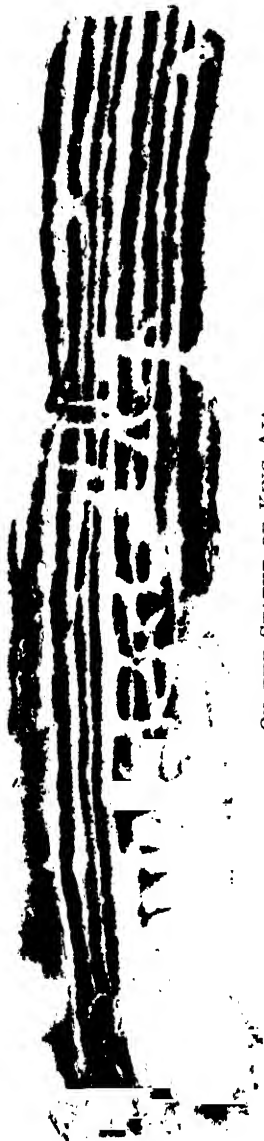
¹ The continuation of the mark beyond the line is produced by a crack in the rocks; it is not chiselled.

of three sections, first the fork commencing with the inner line, then the crescent commencing at the elbow joint and ending by the bottom of the horizontal line of the next letter, and, finally, the upper stroke above the elbow. In Aśokan alphabet both dental and cerebral S's are produced in two strokes, and the middle stroke ceases to be straight.

The second letter is made up of three distinct strokes : the right-hand, the base, and the left-hand lines. The right-hand one is drawn from top to bottom and the left-hand one from bottom to top, i.e., it has the composition of *p* as against *l*. The left-hand line is a shade shorter than the right-hand one. P's in Aśokan groups, except the Delhi letter, are produced in one stroke, the left-hand end becoming short. The older form persists at Delhi and later at Pabhosa, Mathura and Hathigumpha. The left-hand line becomes shorter still as time proceeds. The third letter, *kh*, again, has an older feature. The body is formed of four lines, which becomes round or tends to disappear in Aśoka's time. The hook in our letter almost touches the quadrilateral and has a nose to the right. In the Aśokan the latter detail is already lost and the letter becomes much easier in shape, lessening the curve.

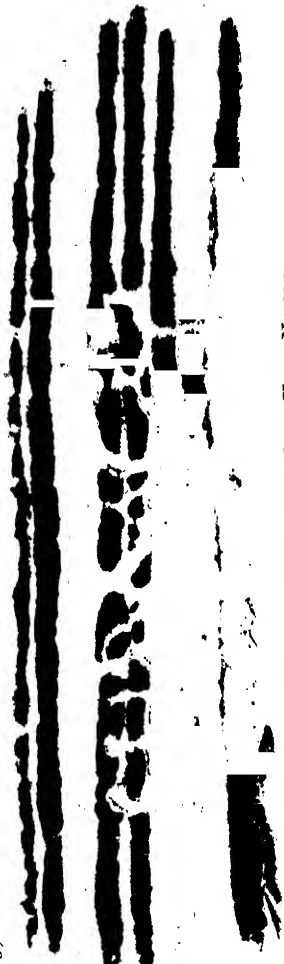
The fourth letter (*t*) consists of three parts, two making up the legs and one, the top vertical line, put on separately. All Aśokan and later *t*'s, on the other hand, are only two-stroke forms. Our letter has a faithful descendent in the Kalsi letter (Bühler, 23, III), but that also bears the mark of time in being a two-stroke diagram. The next one, *v*, is a combination of two side strokes, curvish in form, a straight base, and finally a vertical line above the body. The Aśokan *v* becomes completely round and with the vertical line a two-stroke character. The form nearest to our letter is preserved in a Bhaṭṭiprolu variety (Bühler, 36, XIV). The older form lingers at Mathura, Bharhut and Hathigumpha, but there the curve in each case has long disappeared and a straight line taken its place. The sixth character, *ṭ*, is like the Aśokan letter. The next one, *n*, is, as in the first inscription, drawn in three strokes. The last letter, *d*, is

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE PATNA STATUES OF SAISUNAKA EMPERORS.



ON THE STATUE OF KING AJA.

(b)



ON THE STATUE OF KING VATA-NANDI.

SCALE AT $\frac{1}{2}$ OF THE ORIGINAL.

J. B. O. R. S., 1918.

Re-litographed at the Survey of India Office, Calcutta.

again oldest in form, done in three strokes. In the Aśokan letters once more the Delhi letter is nearer our present form, all the other and later ones generally tend to be one-stroke characters.

The complete inscription I read :

Sapa¹-khate² Vata³ Namdi

I may here note a view which occurs to me after the above analysis. It is probable, I should say, very probable, that in pre-Mauryan times there had been two collateral branches of writing descended from an earlier common ancestor, one of which became the imperial script under the Mauryas, while the other represented by our present letters in the fifth century B.C. gave rise to the Southern, Mathura, Pabhosa and Hathigumpha variations. The variations in contemporary writings of post-Mauryan period are really variations in basic principles, and it is difficult to derive them all from a common Brāhmī of the third century B.C.⁴

It is certain that the inscriptions are contemporary with the statues ; in fact, the names had been inscribed before the statues were given the finishing touches. Again, the polish shows that the statues cannot be post-Mauryan. The polish never appears on post-Mauryan monuments while it is invariably found on Mauryan works. Mr. Arun Sen, Lecturer in Hindu Art to the University of Calcutta, to whom I showed the statues without disclosing to him the data of the inscriptions, declared them on art considerations to be pre-Mauryan. The opinion of Mr. Sen, who has received his training at Cambridge and has made a special study of Mauryan art, carries weight. But in any case on the evidence of the

¹ Or, Shapa.

² Or, *kḥ(e?) te*, the stroke over *kḥ* is not connected and does not seem to be part of the letter.

³ Or, *Vefa*.

⁴ Both in Buddhist and Jaina books we hear of a writing called *Paṇḍharāṣḍi* side by side with Brāhmī. It may be that the two varieties bore the two names.

polish, the statues and the inscriptions cannot be later than the Mauryan times. We know, however, the script of the Mauryan times. And the script on the statues is not that. It is earlier in almost each detail. The statues therefore must be earlier in age than Asoka's period.

Now, we shall know their age definitely by establishing the historical identity of the statues and by recalling to our mind the Hindu custom recorded by Bhāsa¹ of giving statues to departed sovereigns soon after the demise of the last king.

The translation of the inscription on statue A (*Bhage* ACHO Identity of the Statues. *chhonī'dhīse*) will be "*His Gracious Majesty AJA, king* [lit. *Over-Ruler of the LAND (or, Earth)*]." *Bhage* as an adjective comes only in Vedic literature, meaning "Gracious lord" (noun, "majesty").

The translation of the second inscription (*Sapa-khate Vata Nandi*) will be "*Of complete empire (dominion), VARTA NANDI.*" Whether the first letter is dental or cerebral, the meaning would not change. Nor would the Sanskrit restoration "*Varta*" be altered whether we read the word *Veta* or *Vata*. As to *khate*, if we take the doubtful form *khete* the meaning would verbally, though not materially, change: *Sapa-Khete* (Skt. *Sarva-Kshetraḥ*), "of complete region," i. e., "Possessor of the whole region" (cf. *Aṛṭha-Śāstra*, page 338, for *Kshetra* in the sense of empire or region to be governed).

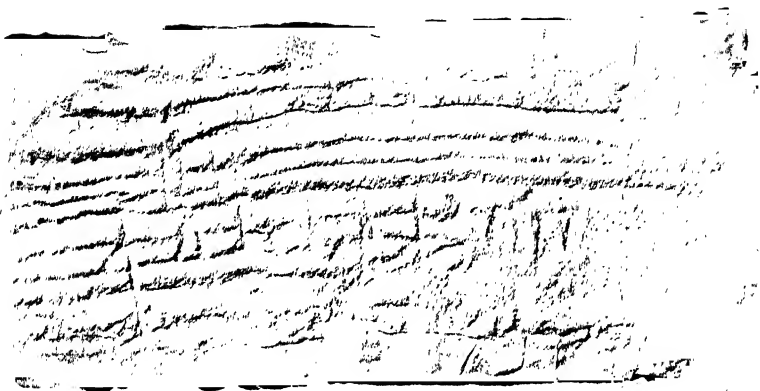
In the Purāṇas amongst the Śāisunāka kings of Patna² we have *Nandi-Vardhana*. As I have already pointed out, *Vardhana* is an imperial title³ and not part of the name. Nandi (*Vardhana*) according to the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Matsya was the son of Udayin (*Udayāśva* in the Vishṇu). The Bhāgavata (12. 1. 7) calls Nandi-Vardhana "son of Aja"

¹ See infra.

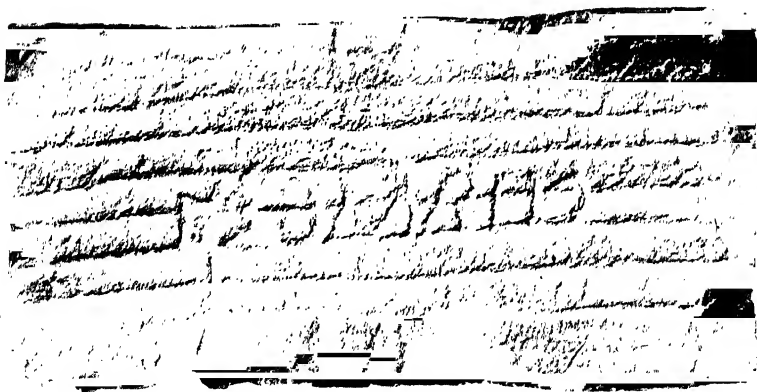
² The Hindus never forgot that Pāṭaliputra was identical with Patna. Brahmans of Patna gave this identification to Buchanan in 1812. The Jains have likewise in that century given the name (Pāṭalipura) on their memorial to Śthūlabhadra at Gulzarbagh, Patna.

³ J.B.O.R. S., I, 78.

SAISUNAKA INSCRIPTIONS (RELIEF SIDE).



(a) ON THE STATUE OF AJA-UDAYIN.



J. B. O. R. S., 1919

(b) ON THE STATUE OF VARTA-NANDI.

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ of original.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919

(*Ājeya*)¹, and in the preceding line in place of *Udayin* it gives *Aja*.² Nandi-Vardhana occurs also in the Pradyota list of the Avanti kings, which means, as already pointed out in an earlier paper,³ that Nandi-Vardhana succeeded to the throne of Avanti (capital Ujjain) as well. There his father again is called *Ajak* and *Aja* by the Vāyu, Brahmanda and Vishnu (see Text by Pargiter, 19) and the latter is explicitly stated in an old reading (dated 1729, Bodleian; Wilson No. 21; Pargiter, 19, n. 35) of the Matsya to have been a Saisunaka. Hence there is no doubt that Nandi's father is called both *Aja* and *Udayin* by the Purāṇas. Both these names mean "the Sun".⁴

The Vāyu gives a variant of Nandi's name in its Avanti list. It calls him *Varti-Vardhana* instead of *Nandi-Vardhana*. Now the Prakrit form of *Varti* would be *Vatti* and *Vati*. That it ought to be *Varta* and not *Varti* is now proved by our inscription. Difference of a vowel-mark produced in 2,300 years of manuscript writing is excusable. In fact our inscriptions enhance the value of the Puranic record, as historical materials, to a very great degree by confirmation of their variant details. The forms of names which I had regarded as corrupt (e.g. *Varti*) turn out to be based on real history. The variant details also show that different Purāṇas drew upon independent data.

Nandi in later times was called *Nanda*. Northern Buddhists have him as *Nanda* and his son (Puranic Mahā-Nandi or Mahā-Nanda), as *Mahā-Nanda*.⁵ The Jains count him, his son, and his father in "the Nandas".⁶ Khāravela's inscription has the form

¹ Cf. Pāṇini, IV. I, 123. The 'Subhra' group contains many proper names out of which *Aja* seems to be one. In any case the rule is not limited to the enumeration which is not exhaustive, being an *Ākṛiti-Gaṇa*.

² Corruptly *Aja yaḥ* (*Śarītaḥ*) "he who is reputed as *Aja*". Cf. other Purāṇas in Pargiter's *Text*, p. 22.

³ J.B.O.R.S., I, 79, p. 106-8.

⁴ Hence, probably, the Matsya calls him *Sāryaka* in the Pradyota list.

⁵ J.B.O.R.S., I, 82-83.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 102.

Nanda. The Purāṇas also, indirectly, call him a "Nanda" when they give 100 years as the aggregate of the reign-periods of the Nandas, meaning thereby the early Nandas as opposed to the Neo-Nandas. The hundred years' aggregate is made up of the 8 years of the sons of Mahā-Nanda, 35 of Mahā-Nanda, 40 of Nandi, the Vardhana, 8 years of Muṇḍa and 9 years of Anuruddha.¹ The later two were evidently elder brothers of Varta Nandi. The Śaisunaka Nandas were distinguished from the later, illegitimate Nandas by adding the word *Nava* (=New). This is borne out by a Jaina text which designates the last Nanda, defeated by Chandragupta, as "Nava-Nanda".²

Bhāsa whose date I have suggested as the end of the first century B.C.³ has a fascinating drama entitled "The Statues" (*Pratimā*) on the Rāmāyaṇa story. On the death of Daśaratha, Bharata is called by the ministers from Kekaya, his maternal home.⁴ Having been brought up by his maternal relatives he is a stranger to the kingdom of his father. He has not been told that his father was dead. To break the news the dramatist introduces him, on his way home, outside the capital, to a temporal temple, a temple in all appearance but not a place of worship; it bore no flag, no bells and other outward signs of a temple. It was open to the public, and there was no gate-keeper. Bharata enters the temple and sees a number of images. He admires "the stones" for the "exquisiteness of execution", for "expression and its movements in the portrait forms,"⁵ and wonders whether

¹ J.B.O.R.S., I, 75, 110, 115-6.

² दिङ्गो वरहचिह्नासीन् नवनन्दं च शंसति ।

अष्टोत्तरशतश्लोकैर्नन्दो मन्त्रिणमीक्षते ॥

Kalpa-subodhikā, VIII, 58, cited in Jaina Prakṛita Encyclopedia (Ritika "Abhidhāna-Rājendra", Vol. IV, sub "Thūla-bhadra."

³ J.A.S.B., 1913, p. 289.

⁴ *Pratimā*, Act III. (Travancore Government edition.)

⁵ अहो क्रियामाधुर्यं पाषाणानाम् ।

अहो भावगतिराकृतिनाम् ।



(a). STATUE OF AJA-UDAYIN.



(b). STATUE OF VARTA-NANDI (VARDHANA).

they were gods. The moment he is going to bow down to them, the Curator, called the "Deva-Kulika", ("the Keeper of their Majestys' Court") enters and stops his doing so, as the figures were not of gods but of sovereigns, the sovereigns of Ayodhyā. It was customary to respect them but not to bow to them (III. 13). Statues of four generations are placed there in order of succession and the Curator introduces each of them in order. This makes Bharata suspect that the last statue was of his own father and he puts the question: "Do people give statues to living kings?" The reply was "No, only to the departed ones". Bharata knows the truth and is struck with grief. At that moment the royal ladies appear on the scene with the Prime Minister who all come there to see how the new statue has been executed. The statues contemplated here are portrait statues, realistic, for similarity between them and Bharata is noticed by the Curator, and Bharata is compared by the Prime Minister to the statue of the late king endowed with speech.

"The Statues" by Bhāsa thus gives information regarding a custom of maintaining a royal gallery of portrait statues. The portraits of several generations of the early Śātavāhana kings at Nanaghat are now explained in the light of Bhāsa. The Patna statues are likewise also explained. Three of these, discovered together, indicate the existence of a temporal temple as described by Bhāsa. Since the foundation of this capital and before the Nava-Nandas there had been five kings of the Śāisunāka dynasty who ruled.¹ Probably the last one did not get a statue from the Nava-Nanda usurper (Mahā-Padma). Four statues at least, therefore, must have formed the group. It is possible to find one day the fourth one near Agama Kuan.

King Udayin, the founder of this capital, had, according to the sculpture, a double chin. He wore hair done and decorated according to some definite style, but was clean shaven. He was, on the evidence of the statue, 6 feet in height.

¹ J.B.O.R.S., I., 100, 115-6.

His son, the imperial Nandi, was broader and thicker and evidently taller by a few inches than his father. *Varta* means steel and bronze; the name was given by parents probably owing to the great physical strength of the prince; his powerful, iron physique is evident from the statue.

The initial date of Udayin-Aja is 483 B.C. and the initial date of Nandi, 449 B.C.¹ The final date of Udayin Aja, in view of the Buddhist data,¹ is 467 B.C. and according to the Purāṇas, 449 B.C., and that of Nandi, 409 B.C. according to the Purāṇas. The dates of the statues may, therefore, be fixed *circa* 467-449 B.C. in the case of statue A and *circa* 409 B.C. in the case of B.

A little digression may be permitted here to sum up the new historical data furnished by the Statues Udayin and Avanti and otherwise. In writing my paper on the History. Śaīsunāka chronology I had to record that the Jaina chronology, which is the chronology of Avanti, places Udayin's reign after the house of Palaka in its Nanda chapter (J.B.O.R.S., I, 102). I could not understand then why it did so and thought that here was a case of difference between the Puranic and Jaina data, for I had taken Nandi (Nanda) Vardhana to have been the conqueror of the ancient kingdom of Avanti according to the Purāṇas. I would have seen the agreement between the Puranic and Jaina data, if I at that time recognized the identity of Aja with Udayin, for the Purāṇas, as is now clear, place Aja the Śaīsunāka in the end of the Avanti list. We must now take it as a fact that Udayin was the king who conquered Avanti and extended the empire of Magadha from Bengal to the Arabian Sea. Magadha became without a rival by breaking Avanti which had been overshadowing Magadha for nearly a century.²

The line of Pradyota ended with Viśakhayūpa who should be regarded as identical with Āryaka-Gopalaka. The latter,

¹ J.B.O.R.S., I, 75, 115.

² J.B.O.R.S., I, 79.



(c). AJA-UDAYIN.

Front view: Tassel ends and legs
are restored in plaster.]



(d). VARTA-NANDI.

[Back view showing details of the gown,
and position of inscription.]

according to Bhāṣa and the Kathāsaritsāgara, was the second son of Pradyota and according to the Mṛichchhakatika, succeeded Pālaka (J.B.O.R.S., I, 106-107).

The close of the Avanti line seems to have happened about the twelfth year of Udayin (*circa* 471 B. C.), for the Purāṇas give 21 years to Aja in Avanti and 33 years to Udayin in Magadha. This, if correct, ought to give 74 years to Pālaka and his brother, Viśakhayūpa, for Pālaka according to the Jaina chronology came to the throne in the sixth year of Ajāta-śatru (J.B.O.R.S., I, 102) and the interval between the sixth year of Ajāta-śatru and the twelfth of Udayin is of 74 years (J.B.O.R.S., I, 115). Now the reign-periods attributed to Pālaka and Viśakhayūpa in the Purāṇas make up exactly (21 + 50) 74 years. (Text at Pargiter, page 19.) Against this the Jaina chronology, however, gives only 60 or 64 years,¹ which either denotes a ten years' subordination of Viśakhayūpa before his death to Udayin of Magadha, or a mistake made by counting the post-Pālaka years from the year of accession of Udayin in Magadha instead of in Avanti.

It seems that by the continuation of the Avanti list after the fall of her dynasty the Purāṇas imply that the separate entity of the Avanti kingdom was maintained by Aja-Udayin for the rest of his life and up to the 30th year by his son Nandi. Otherwise there would be no sense in the scheme of the Puranic record.²

Under Nandi a second capital seems to have been established across the Ganges at Vaiśālī, the old republican city of the Licchavis. He is described by Tāranātha as ruling at Vaiśālī and as the king of Vaiśālī. The Sutta-Nipāta of the Pali canon

¹ J.B.O.R.S., I, 102.

² The Matsya seems to give a separate aggregate to Aja and Nandi by its "52 years", while its individual periods for the two kings are 21 and 30 (see Pargiter, p. 19). Some copies of the Matsya (Pargiter, n. 44) seem to say that after the 52 years, five Prā-Nāndyas succeeded. After Nandi there were five "Nandas" including the later Nandas (J.P.O.R.S., I, 118).

also mentions Vaiśālī as the capital of Magadha about the period of Nandi. It was during his reign that the Second Congress of Buddhism was held at Vaiśālī.¹ Nandi after his father greatly consolidated the empire and the second seat of the empire at Vaiśālī seems to have been a step in the direction of that policy. He added Orissa to Magadha and history rightly called him "Vardhana", 'the Increaser'. Nandi seems to have patronized learning as according to Buddhist tradition Pāṇini came to his court.²

The language of the inscription is the vernacular which we find in canonical Pali. That, not Sanskrit, seems to have been the official language under the Śaiśunākas. The change of *j* into *ch* (*Acho* = *Ajo*) which later Prakṛita grammarians regard as characteristic of the North-Western dialect, is known to the official Pali (cf. *pāchana* = *prājana*) and to Aśoka's inscription (*Trachanti* = *vrajanṭi*). Similarly the change of *v* into *p* (*sapa* = *sarva*) is found in Pali (*p japāti* = *projā-rati*.) The softening of *ksh* into *chh* is occasional in Pali as in our inscriptions (*chhonī*; cf. *chhudāho* = *kshudrah*). The *Sandhi* in *chhonī-achhīsa* (*ch'oni'dhīse*) is in perfect accord with Pali grammar. The use of Vedic term *bhaga* and the archaic use of *kshatra* speak in favour of the ancient age of the inscriptions. These words were still current in their old sense when the inscriptions were carved.

The place where the statues were found bore traces of a brick-built house, very probably their original Deva-kula. It would be interesting to read here what Buchanan says about their recovery. I quote below the whole extract kindly given me by Mr. Jackson, as it carries the history of the statues further back than that known to Cunningham:—

The traces that can be considered as belonging to the Hindu city are exceedingly trifling. Everywhere in digging broken pots, but very little else, are to be found: and where the river washes away the bank,

¹ J.B.O.R.S., I. 83.

² Ibid. I, 82.

many old wells are laid open ; but nothing has been discovered to indicate large or magnificent buildings . In the Ganges, opposite to the suburbs above the town I found a stone image lying by the water's edge, when the river was at the lowest. It has represented a male standing with two arms and one head, but the arms and feet have been broken. The face also is much mutilated. It is nearly of a natural size, and very clumsy, and differs from most Hindu images that I have seen in being completely formed, and not carved in relief with its hinder parts adhering to the block, from whence it has been cut. On the back part of the scarf, which passes round the shoulders, are some letters which I have not been able to have explained, and too much defaced to admit of being copied with absolute precision. Some labourers employed to bring this image to my house informed me that it had been some years ago taken from a field on the south side of the suburbs, and had been intended for an object of worship : but that a great fire having happened on the day when it was removed, the people were afraid and threw it into the sacred river. They also informed me that in the same field the feet of another image projected from the ground, and that many years ago a Mr. Hawkins has removed a third. On going to the place I could plainly discover that there had been a small building of brick, perhaps 50 or 60 feet in length ; but most of the materials have been removed. On digging I found the image to be exactly similar to that which I found on the river, but somewhat larger. The feet are entire, and some part of the arms remain, but the head has been removed. On its right shoulder is placed something which seems intended to represent a Tibet bull's tail. This is an insignia of the Yatis or priests of Jain, but in other respects the images have little resemblance to such persons one of whom is represented in the Drawing No. 132—I rather suppose that these images have been intended as an ornament to the temple, and to represent the attendants on some God, whose image has been destroyed. In the drawing No. 2 the images have been represented with the inscription on the smaller, that on the larger is totally illegible.

There is no doubt that the statues described as above by Buchanan are the same which are before us
"Chowri." to-day. The device on the right shoulder of the statue of Nandi which Buchanan and Cunningham took to be a representation of "a Tibetan bull's tail" or "*chowri*" is by no means clear owing to mutilation. I could not come to a decision as to what it was. Mr. Bhandarkar considered it very doubtful to have been a *chowri*. If it was a *chowri* our idea that *chowri*-bearing denotes necessarily an attendant

must now change. Curiously enough I found simultaneously in a painting copied from Ajanta in the house of Sir John Woodroffe a prince holding a *chowri* on his shoulder, to whom a lady, probably his queen, is presenting lotuses on a tray. It is evidently the king in the *Hamsa-Jataka*, for two swans are seated on thrones.¹ Then we must also take into consideration the Jain practice of carrying *chowri* or flywhisk referred to by Dr. Buchanan, and Nandi was a Jain as evidenced by Klāṇḍavela's inscription and also according to some other evidence which Mr. V. Smith has not yet published (J.R.A.S., 1918, p. 516).

The statues are made of Mirzapur sandstone which was utilized also by Aśoka in cutting his columns. The statues are monoliths, cut in the round. Aja's legs have been restored in the usual ugly style of restorations.

They, as already stated, bear a high and shining polish.

Polish and its Origin. Now the force of the evidence of these statues must change our view on the origin of this so-called "Mauryan" polish. Before the discovery of these statues I had already come across a piece of evidence which had greatly shaken my belief in the current archæological theory which ascribed the art (undoubtedly in the absence of pre-Mauryan monuments) to Persia. My friend Babu (now Rai Bahadur) Sarat Chandra Roy some time back showed me in his private collection a neo'ithic piece which is generally known as 'Vajra' (thunderbolt) with the polish ! That unmistakably pointed to an Indian origin of the polish coming down and developed from the art of pre-historic times when primitive man devoted much attention to his stones. That *vajra* destroyed the theory in my mind. Then I recalled the slight polish on the soap-stone vases of the Śākya tope, now at the Indian Museum. The last evidence now comes in the shape of these statues which

¹ Some other Ajanta paintings as well throw very great doubt on the theory that a flywhisk must necessarily indicate a dependent position of the holder. In a painting of Muhammadan times a flywhisk is held as a fashionable decoration (see Plate LVI. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar, 1917*)

carry the art two centuries back from the date alleged for its import from Persia. The origin of the art, in my opinion, is to be sought in the art of Dravidian India which shaped the polished *vajra* and not in Persia.

The general vigour and realism of the statues makes one assign a pre-Mauryan period to the monuments. The decadence which marks the imperial art of Asoka does not even begin in the statues. Mr. Sen had not to think long in declaring them emphatically "Pre-Mauryan ! Without doubt". Yet the statues prove a previous history of the art of the Indian sculptor.

A point of importance is the attempt of the artist to **Statues** as show the waves in the royal gowns or mantles, **Evidence** of hanging on the back, down to the heels. It **Earlier Art.** is done, it seems to me, on the principle of illusionism. This fact and the perfect familiarity of the sculptor with a conventional representation of hair which is found on the head of Aja, prove a previous history of his art extending back to some centuries. Mr. Arun Sen who drew my attention to the conventional hair laid great stress on its significance as telling a previous history of the sculptor's art in the country.

Details in the two statues show two different hands, though of the same school. On the arm of the father there is an armlet which is to be seen on sculptures of kings on Bharhut railings. On the arm of the son there is an ornament with mouths of alligators and with goldsmith's designs all over. The ears of Aja have earrings. On the figure there is an upper garment, mantle-like, and beneath it there is a vest (intended to be of diaphanous texture, as is evident by the line at the waist and the treatment of the navel. These two garments are mentioned in Vedic literature, e. g. in Coronation ceremony. The over-garment is fastened at the waist by a girdle tied in a bow, hanging down in front in an elaborate loop and tassel ends. The over-garment has got an embroidered neck beneath which passes a cord which is tied behind. The embroidered neck has two different designs on the two statues. There is a studied

attempt to show the feet and make it bare by making the gown shorter at the front than at the back. The convention of artist and poets in describing bare feet side by side with earliest and continued references to the use of shoes, is probably explainable in view of the fact that while in court Hindu kings took off their shoes and that feet were objects of reverence by convention. The execution of the feet (they are intact only in one statue) is the most unsuccessful from the modeller's point of view. It is not in conformity with the rest of the work, falling far too inferior. Does the execution of the feet indicate an earlier cycle of convention and decay in art? The artists have succeeded on the whole in producing the effect of majesty with masterly chisel.

As historic monuments they are not only the most important remains in India but have to be classed amongst the important pieces of the world.

V.—The Didarganj Image now in Patna Museum.

By D. B. Spooner, Ph.D.

What has come to be known as the "Didarganj" image was discovered by accident on the bank of the Ganges near Patna on the 18th October, 1917. The exact situation is described as Nasirpur Tajpur Hissa Khurd, known as Didarganj Kadam Basul, which falls in the Malsalami Thana in the east of Patna City. It appears that owing to erosion of the river bank at this place a small portion of a square block of stone had been disclosed at a point fairly high up the face of the slope, which attracted the attention of Maulavi Qazi Saiyid Muhammad Azimul *alias* Ghulam Rasul, son of Maulavi Qazi Saiyid Muhammad Afzal *alias* Ghulam Mohi-ud-din. Fortunately for all concerned, the young man proceeded to scrape away the earth from this projecting bit, anticipating that the stone might prove to be one suitable for domestic purposes. Instead of this it soon became apparent that the portion first uncovered was merely part of a pedestal, which, being followed up, led to the disclosing of a complete and fairly large-sized statue, which was at first raised and set up erect near the spot where it had lain. Thence it is alleged to have been removed by unauthorized persons to a spot some few hundred yards further up the river. Here it was again set up, this time under a canopy improvised on four bamboos, which was so speedily invested with the character of an incipient shrine, that tentative worship had been instituted (under the mistaken notion that the figure was a Hindu deity) before the fact of the discovery was brought to the notice of any but the Police, who, however, reported it in due course in the proper quarter. It is to Professor Samaddar of Patna College that the general public are indebted for bringing the find

to notice. Hearing of the matter from a student in the College, this enthusiastic antiquarian reported it to the Honourable Mr. Walsh, Member of the Board of Revenue and President of the Patna Museum Committee. Mr. Walsh proceeded without delay to inspect the find-spot and the statue itself, permitting the writer to accompany him, when the importance of the treasure was at once disclosed. By good fortune it was easy to show that the figure was merely an attendant, bearing a chowry, and thus clearly no member of the Hindu pantheon, nor entitled to worship of any kind by any community; and the characteristically energetic steps which Mr. Walsh proceeded to take towards the recovery or rescue of the image, brought it in safety and triumph within the walls of the Patna Museum before the close of the year. There let us hope that it may long remain to add lustre to an institution whose chiefest treasure it is likely to constitute for years to come.

As has already been mentioned, the image is that of a female chowri-bearer or attendant on some divine or royal figure, upon whose proper right the present statue must have stood. It is life-size, measuring 5 ft. 2½ ins. from the highest point of the head to the top of the pedestal, which itself has a height of 1 ft. 6½ ins. and is as near as may be square in plan, with a measurement of 1 ft. 8 ins. a side. The pedestal is a roughly dressed and unpolished block, which presumably fitted into a socket in some huge altar or other solid basement, where it would not have met the eye in the normal course; and the angles are now slightly damaged, except the left side, back. Both it and the statue it supports are cut out of a single piece of speckled Chunar sandstone, bearing the high polish assigned, in the present state of our knowledge, exclusively to the Mauryan Period of Indian History. This mirror-like polish extended originally over the entire surface of the statue, but portions are now sadly encrusted with a rough deposit of darkish hue which obscures the fact to a considerable extent. The portions showing most sheen at present are the right side of the face, the left shoulder, the right arm and thigh, and portions of



the back where the latter is not draped ; in all of which positions we find that peculiar highly, nay brilliantly, burnished surface which, so far as is now known, none but the Mauryan sculptors have ever contrived to produce on this Chunar material.

Students of Indian Art are aware of the fact that, with very few exceptions indeed, sculptural representations in this country take the form of reliefs. Sometimes we find low reliefs, more commonly high ; but almost always the back of the figure is engaged in some kind of background, which, in the case of sacred images, is frequently the aureole itself. It thus becomes a matter of special interest to note that, in the case of the Didarganj image, the figure is sculptured entirely in the round, a circumstance which associates it at once with that small but important group represented by the two standing figures from Patna and the huge female figure from Besnagar, now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and the disfigured Parkham image at Muttra ; all of which are assignable only to the earliest period. The same detail enables us to study the drapery and the coiffure, and to gauge the sculptor's power as a modeller, to better advantage than could have been done in the case of an engaged figure in relief.

The drapery is interesting and reminiscent of the drapery on other very early statues and on early terracotta figurines. The garment, which is apparently in one piece, is thin and clinging, though these qualities are better remembered by the artist in fashioning the front of the image than in his treatment of the sides and back. It is worn wrapped round the hips dhoti-fashion, being gathered into elaborate folds in front which, caught in one long loop, fall gracefully to the feet. The left hip shows some kind of knot from which one end of the costume is then drawn up obliquely across the back to be caught in the fold of the right elbow, whence it falls, at first with twisting folds, to the ground, leaving the upper portion of the body quite uncovered.

As jewellery the figure wears an elaborate and highly decorative girdle of five strands, opening naturally and gracefully over

the hips, but gathered to a single rope in front, which passes through two opposed and flaring bell-shaped fasteners disposed at either side of the central pendent folds described above. These fasteners we may presume were made of gold, but the several strands of the girdle are composed of flat lozenges, doubtless of semi-precious stones, like agate or cornelian, separated each from each by two round beads ; both these constituent features being commonly met with in our excavations in early sites in India. Besides this beautiful and effective ornament the statue shows a necklace of three strands of pearl-like beads, two of which strands are of substantial length and fall pendulously between the breasts, while the third is disposed in a shorter loop around the neck. The earrings, which are shaped something like an hour-glass, or double drum, with the lower member ending in an inverted cone, are extraordinarily massive and distend the lobe enormously, though not perhaps to quite Peruvian dimensions. The right forearm shows thirteen (or is it fourteen ?) bangles, with a prominent armlet near the elbow, while even the head itself is wreathed with ropes of beads or pearls caught up to a point in front, above a large and prominent oval disk of some kind placed centrally over the forehead ; they are thence led backwards in a double line along the parting to find fastening beneath the luxuriant tresses of the coiffure behind. Large and ruff-like anklets made up of what may or may not be little bells or other jingling objects, complete the adornment of a figure, which, all in all, and in view of its humble character as a chowri-bearer, is elaborated with surprising sumptuousness.

In point of modelling, the statue is in some ways fairly paradoxical and partakes of the characteristics of both classes of early work in India, the definitely indigenous and the supposedly exotic. The pose is easy, natural, and lifelike to an unusual degree. The head is certainly good, and represents an art far beyond the incipient or experimental stage, being conceived as a unit, and really in the round, so that it appears equally convincing from all sides and angles. The face is distinctly feminine



and pleasing, though a fracture to the nose has sadly disfigured it ; and it is noticeable that the line of the eyes (although the two are not exactly even) is hardly if at all above the diameter of the facial ovoid. The chin and the neck are good, the latter showing naturalistic folds or creases, but the most interesting feature of all is the eye. The way in which this is represented is curious ; but I am not sure that it would be fair to call it altogether unsuccessful, since somehow it seems to give the face an upward glance, which may be in some way contributory to the general look of animation which is one of the charms of the statue. What is more remarkable still is the, to me, definite slant the eyes disclose, which reminds one of the slanting eyes noticed by the sculptor Mr. Hampton in the case of the Mauryan head unearthed by me at Site No. I, Kumrahar. What significance may or may not attach to this detail (which has been recently verified for me by the Honourable Mr. Walsh), I am not prepared to say.

The undraped portions of the figure are well modelled, with proportions conforming in general to even the most modern canons for the female form. Some attempt even has been made at softened muscular delineation in the umbilical region, and even of the fleshy folds at the waist ; but the attempt is restrained, and the figure as a whole preserves that softness of contour and rotundity without muscular prominences which are appropriate to the subject.

In other respects, however, the work is less successful. There is none of that " knock-knee " which is supposedly characteristic of the female figure, i.e. there is perhaps less narrowness across the knees than could be desired, less difference in girth between the knees and the hips than the normal female figure ought, theoretically, to show ; but this may be partly due to the highly unsuccessful treatment of the lower drapery, which exaggerates the apparent defect, particularly in the back, where the form as a whole is heavy and almost wooden. This portion of the figure shows the square angles and the preternaturally shallow depth characteristic of primitive art in all countries, and the back a

flatness which betrays the early stage at which the artist stood. This is of course in line with what has been said above about the diaphanous quality of the drapery being better remembered by the sculptor in dealing with the front of the statue than with the other sides—a fact illustrated by the way in which the patella shows through the front drapery whereas in the back we find a mere shapeless and impervious mass, lightened only by schematic folds of wholly artificial character. Seen from the rear, or either of the back angles, the statue might as well be a flattened tree-trunk, or a post, as a living human form; and this quality is an accepted criterion for early and primitive, or should I say formative, art. It is this fact which makes the statue as a whole so paradoxical. The upper portions of it, especially the undraped parts, as well as the facial modelling, betray nothing of this clumsiness and lack of skill. Here the artist is away beyond the "memory picture" stage and, granting him the usual Indian predilection for firmness and rotundity in the breasts, is not untrue to nature. Is the disparity due merely to his having paid more attention to these parts? It may be so; and yet even that explanation will not suffice, because failure of this kind to realize the importance of correct and convincing modelling throughout, means failure to grasp his subject as a whole; and it is this very failure which brands the modelling as primitive. A possible explanation of the paradox is that we are dealing with the work of an artist of the primitive school represented by the Parkham image, working under the tutelage of a Mauryan master, who added certain touches in the finishing or even modelled certain parts (e.g. the head) himself. The curious distortion of the right hand and the extraordinary clumsiness of the feet, which are treated formally or schematically throughout, and, of nearly uniform width from front to back, show no attempt whatever at articulation, would bear out an idea of this kind. But I cannot pretend to solve the problem. It is a fact for any observer to perceive that the various portions of the whole

represent very varying and disparate stages of artistic power, but the final explanation of this fact I cannot as yet essay to give.

For purposes of comparison, the colossal female figure from Besnagar presented by His Highness the Maharaja Scindia to the Indian Museum, may be cited. Here we are dealing with what is generally accepted as a product of the early indigenous school, where several of the characteristics of primitive art appear. In the matter of costume, however, the figure from Besnagar is not unlike our Dedarganj image, so far as the mutilated condition of the former permits of judgment. Here again we find a many-stranded girdle worn in similar way. But the head-dress is markedly divergent, as the Besnagar statue wears what is either a wig or a knitted scarf and the hair is shown plaited in two braids which fall to meet the top of the girdle in the back. The relief is lower in the case of Besnagar, and the edges of the component beads, etc., in the make-up of the girdle are less sharp. But this may be merely due to the image being more worn than our recent find. The face in particular is far too obliterated for any comparison to be drawn; but nowhere is there any trace of polish on the stone, and all in all, the Besnagar figure is far more clumsy than the one from Dedarganj. The lower portions of the latter, however, bear definite affinities with the same portions of the statue from Besnagar, while for the remaining portions the comparison is rather with the two colossi from Patna also in the Bharhut Gallery in Calcutta. They themselves, however, are least successful and convincing in their limbs and lower portions, and in this are closely allied to the chowri-bearer of our theme. That all three are of the same general school and period is hardly to be doubted, but I am not yet satisfied myself that the inconsistencies of all three have been finally explained as yet. To me they seem most probably transitional.

VI.—Shivaji in South Konkan and Kanara.

By Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A.

Shivaji's dealings with the English merchants of Rajapur have been described in our December 1918 number. Here we shall narrate his doings in Kanara.

In the seventeenth century, Kanara, the extensive country along our west coast, was held by various Hindu chieftains. North Kanara (now included in the Bombay Presidency) owned the overlordship of Bijapur, which ruled directly over the coast-strip from Karwar (south of Goa) to Mirjan (14°30 N. Lat.), leaving the inland districts in the hands of feudatory chiefs, among whom the Nayaks of Sunda were the most important. The portion of Kanara that lay south of Mirjan formed a large and independent principality under the Keladi dynasty, whose capital was then at Bednur.

A Muslim officer with the hereditary title of Rustam-i-Zaman was the viceroy of the south-west corner of the Bijapur kingdom. His charge extended on the west coast from the Ratnagiri town, going round the Portuguese territory of Goa, to Karwar and Mirjan, while landwards it included the southern part of the Ratnagiri district, Kolhapur, Belgaum, a bit of Dharwar and the western corner of the North Kanara district. His seat was at Miraj. The fort of Panhala lay within his province but it was governed by a commandant directly under the orders of the Sultan. He administered by means of his agents the flourishing ports of Rajapur in the north and Karwar in the south, through which the trade of the rich inland places flowed to Europe. In both towns the English had factories.

“The best pepper in the world is of the growth of Sunda known in England by [the name of] Karwar pepper, though

five days' journey distant from thence." (Fryer, II. 42.) Indeed, after the loss of Chaul, Karwar became the greatest port of Bijapur on the west coast. "The finest muslins of western India were exported from here. The weaving country was inland, to the east of the Sahyadris, at Hubli (in the Dharwar district), and at other centres, where the English East India Company had agents and employed as many as 50,000 weavers." (*Bombay Gazetteer*, X.V., Pt. 2, pp. 123-125.)

At Mirjan, a port twenty miles south-east of Karwar, pepper, saltpetre and betelnut were shipped for Surat. (*Ibid*, 333.) Gersappa, a district annexed by Bednur, was so famous for its pepper that the Portuguese used to call its Rani "the pepper Queen". (*Ibid*, 124.)

In 1649 the pepper and cardamom trade of Rajapur was the chief attraction that induced the English Company to open a factory there. Vingurla was spoken of in 1660 as a great place of call for ships from Batavia, Japan and Ceylon on the one side and the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea on the other. All the ports of the Ratnagiri district did much trade also in calicoes, silks, grain and coarse lac, though pepper was their chief export, "which coming out of Kanara is sent by sea to Persia, Surat and Europe. This country is the storehouse for all its neighbours." (*Bombay Gazetteer*, X, 175.)

II.

After the disastrous failure of Afzal Khan, Rustam-i-Zaman had marched against Shivaji (October, 1659) with 3,000 horse, but this show of hostility was made simply to save his credit with his King. The queen-regent, Bari Sahiba, being his enemy, he had made a secret alliance with Shivaji for self-protection. This fact was well known to the country around and even the English factors had heard of it. But even if Rustam had been in earnest, he could have done little with his small army.

Shivaji had followed up his victory over Afzal's army by pushing on to Panhala and capturing that fort. Then he entered the Ratnagiri district and began to "take possession of all the

port and inland towns". The Bijapuri governors of these places fled to Rajapur, which was at first spared, "because it belonged to Rustam-i-Zaman, who is a friend of Shivaji". (Rajapur to Surat, 10th October 1659, *F. R. Rajapur*.)

In March 1663, Rustam-i-Zaman did another friendly turn to Shivaji. Netaji Palkar, Shiva's "lieutenant-general", had raided the imperial territory, but a large Mughal division of 7,000 cavalry pursued him so close as to force him to march 45 or 50 miles a day. Rustam met this army near Bijapur and persuaded the Mughal commander to give up the chase as "that country was dangerous for any strange army to march in, likewise promising them to go himself and follow him, by which deceit Netaji got escaped, though not without the loss of 300 horse and himself wounded". (Gyfford to Surat, 30th March and 8th April 1663, *F.R. Surat* 103.) This reverse defeated Shivaji's plan of raiding North Kanara and penetrating to the rich port of Karwar. (*F. R. Surat*, Vol. 2, 9th October.)

On 1st March 1663, Ali Adil Shah II., with all his court, left his capital for Bankapur.¹ There they were at first denied entrance by the mother of Abdur Rahim Bahlol Khan, in whose hief it lay. But the gates were soon opened to the King. Adil Shah summoned Bahlol Khan, Shahji and other officers from the Karnatak, who came by forced marches and waited on the King on the bank of the Warda (an affluent of the Tungabhadra). Bahlol and Shahji were at once arrested and placed in chains (end of June 1663), but Shahji was released in two days, though he continued to be deprived of his command for some time. The Bijapuri invasion of Kanara had already begun. (*F. R. Surat* 103, Gyfford to Surat, 8th April, 20th July 1663)

¹ *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 103, Gyfford to Surat, 20th July 1663. A letter from him to Surat, 30th March, says that the Adil Shahi court went there in fear of the Mughals who had come within five leagues of Bijapur in pursuit of Netaji. But *Tarikh-i-Ali II.*, 160-164 (also *B.S.* 366) says that Ali went to Bankapur to direct the operations against the Rajah of Bednur in person.

III.

Shivappa Nayak,¹ who governed Bednur for forty-five years (1618-1663), first as regent and then as king, had extended his kingdom on all sides by his conquests and stretched his sway over the whole of South Kanara, the north-west corner of Mysore, and North Kanara up to the Gangavati river, including the fort of Mirjan. At the close of his life his ambition brought him into collision with Bijapur. He had conquered Sunda and some other forts belonging to vassals of Adil Shah and had thus come dangerously close to Bankapur, the fortress of asylum of the Bijapuri sultans in the south-western corner of their kingdom. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, XV, Pt. 2, pp. 122-123.)

Ali Adil Shah's campaign against the Bednur Rajah was short but vigorous and an unbroken success. Shivappa Nayak could make no stand against the combined resources of the entire Bijapur kingdom; he lost Sunda, Bednur and many other forts, and was forced to make peace by restoring Sunda to its former chief and promising an indemnity of 7 lakhs of *hun* to Adil Shah. On 21st November the victorious Ali II. returned to his capital. (*B.S.* 368-370; *F.R.*, Surat 103, Karwar to Surat, 28th January and 27th February, also Gyfford to Surat, 20th July 1663.)

IV.

We now turn to the activities of Shivaji in this region. While Ali was engaged in the struggle with Bednur, Shivaji had been active in South Konkan and in the north-western part of the Kanara district. By way of Kolhapur and Kudli, he marched to Vingurla (May 1663); "all the way, as he goes along, he gives his *gaul* (assurance), promising them that neither he nor his soldiers shall in the least do any wrong to any body that takes his *gaul*, which promise he hitherto hath kept". (*F. R.* Surat, Vol. 103, Gyfford to Surat, 24th May, 1663.)

¹ In the Persian histories of Bijapur he is called *Bhadrappa*, from *Bhadrāya*, the original name of the founder of the dynasty. He is there styled the Rajah of Malnad, which is a Kanarese word meaning "hill country". (*Mysore Gazetteer*, II, 286.) The *Bombay Gazetteer*, XV, part 2, p. 122, places his death in 1670. But the English factory records prove that he died at the close of 1665. (Surat, Vol. 104, Karwar to Surat, 18th April 1664.)

His going down the coast caused such alarm that "all the Muhammadan governors as far as Simgclay [?Chaukuli in Savant-vadi] and Dutchole [=Dicholi in Goa] were fled", and in consequence the petty robbers on the route became more active than usual. In June Shivaji returned from Vingurla after leaving a garrison of 2,000 soldiers there. Shortly before this Shaista Khan had defeated a Maratha army, killing more than 200 men. (*Ibid*, Gyfford to Surat, 24th May, 22nd June 1663.)

In July the Bijapur Government ordered the Governor of Phonda to join forces with the Savant of Vadi and other petty Rajahs and try to drive Shivaji's men out of Rajapur and Kharepatan. But nothing was done, as "there was juggling between them, and he remained possessed of all". (*Ibid*, 20th July 1663, Vol. 86, Surat to Co. 20th November 1664.)

In punishment of Rustam-i-Zaman's secret friendship with Shiva, the Sultan dismissed him from his viceroyalty and gave the Province to Muhammad Ikhlas Khan, the eldest son of the late Khan-i-Khanan Ikhlas Khan and a brother of Khawas Khan, while Dabhul and Chiplun were given to Fazl Khan. Shivaji got possession of Rajapur at this time and kept it permanently in his own hands. (*Ibid*)

Rustam's agent at Karwar fleeced the English factors there so severely that in July 1663 they were ordered by the Council at Surat to remove themselves and the Company's goods quietly to Hubli. Adil Shah and Rustam-i-Zaman alike were sensible of the loss of revenue caused by such molestation of traders, and therefore the King sent them a *farman* promising that they would be left in peace at Karwar and would have to pay no other duties than they had formerly done. Then the factory was re-established at Karwar. (*F. R. Surat*, Vol. 2, Consult., 14th August 1663.)

V.

In 1664 the war with Bednur was renewed. Shivappa Nayak, evidently an old man, died soon after his defeat by the Bijapuris in 1663. His son and successor, Soma Shékhar, was murdered by his Brahmans, and an infant grandson named Basava was set up on the throne under the regency of his mother Chennammaji

and her favourite Timmaya Nayak, a toddy-seller, who "by his cunning policy raised himself to be general and protector" of the realm. At this revolution Ali Adil Shah II. was so incensed that he sent his generals, Bahlol Khan and Syed Iliyas Sharza Khan, to invade Bednur from two sides. (April 1664.) [F. R. Surat 104, Karwar to Surat, 18th April 1664; Fryer, II. 41-42.]

By this time Rustam-i-Zaman seems to have returned to favour at Court. Muhammad Ikhlas Khan was transferred from the government of Karwar and his friends from that of Ankola, Shiveshwar (or Halekot), Kadra and other places in North Kanara and these tracts were given to three of Rustam's sons. In August Rustam himself was ordered to go to that region with two other Bijapuri generals and try to expel Shivaji. He reached Kudal at the end of August but did nothing. (F. R. Surat, 104, Karwar 23rd July and Hubli 28th August 1664.)

Any serious attack by Adil Shah on Shivaji was now rendered impossible as the Sultan's attention was diverted to Bednur, whither he wanted to march in person with 12,000 horse after the *Dewali* festival (October) and co-operate with Sharza Khan in crushing the Kanara Rajah. Throughout the second half of 1664 the coast region was in an unhappy condition. As the English merchants write, "Deccan and all the south coasts are all embroiled in civil wars, king against king and country against country, and Shivaji reigns victoriously and uncontrolled, that he is a terror to all the kings and princes round about, daily increasing in strength. He hath now fitted up four more vessels and sent them down to Bhatkal and thereabouts, whilst he intends to meet them overland with a flying army of horse.....The news of him at present are that he is intercepted in his journey down to his fleet by a party of this king's army and fought, where between them six thousand men were slain, himself worsted¹ and forced to fly to a castle [not named]

¹ It is evidently this battle that is referred to in the *Baratin-i-Salatin*, 273-275 : "Aurangzib sent an envoy to Adil Shah to beg his co-operation with Jai Singh in the war with Shiva. Before Jai Singh arrived, Adil Shah sent an army under Khawas Khan. Shiva hearing of it began to close the mountain passes (*ghats*), but Khawas, by making rapid marches, crossed the *ghat* in safety and

where this army following in pursuit hath very strictly girt him in that he cannot stir." (*F. R. Surat*, Vol. 86, Surat to Co., 26th November 1664.) And again (on 12th March 1665), "The subjects [of Adil Shah] unanimously cry out against him for suffering Shivaji to forage to and fro, burning and robbing his country without any opposition, wherefore it is certainly concluded by all that he shares with the said rebel in all his rapines, so that the whole country is in a confused condition, merchants flying from one place to another to preserve themselves, so that all trade is lost....The rebel Shivaji hath committed many notorious and great robberies since that of Surat, and hath possessed himself of the most considerable ports belonging to Deccan [i.e., Bijapur] to the number of eight or nine, from whence he sets out two or three or more trading vessels yearly from every port to Persia, Basra, Mocha, etc."

VI.

Early in December 1664 Shivaji looted Hubli and many other rich towns of that region, holding several eminent merchants prisoners for ransom. He had sent only three hundred horsemen to Hubli, but these did their work so thoroughly that the town "was little better than spoiled". The merchants who had fled at the attack were too frightened to return there soon, even after the departure of the Marathas. The raiders were said to have been assisted by some of Rustam's soldiers; that noble, as the English remarked, had "begun to taste the sweetness of plunder [so] that in a short time he would get a habit of it". Soon afterwards, Shivaji plundered Vingurla, an important sea-

descended [into Konkan?] While the negligent Khawas Khan did not even know of Shiva's position, the latter with his full force surprised him and completely hemmed him round in an intricate hilly place, where the Bijapuri army had not space enough to move about or even to marshal the ranks. Khawas called his officers together and heartened them in the midst of their despair. The Marathas opened fire; the Bijapuris advanced to close quarters and fought a severe battle, losing S.adi Sarwar (the Abyssinian general), Shah Hazrat, Shaikh Miran and some other officers. The defeat of the Muslims seemed imminent, when Khawas Khan charged sword in hand; his troops followed him fearlessly in one body, and Shivaji was defeated and put to flight."

port and trade centre, from which he carried away vast riches. "Shiva and his scouts range all over the country, making havoc wherever he comes, with fire and sword." (*F. R. Surat* 104, Karwar to Surat, 6th January 1665, Taylor to Surat, 14th December 1664; Vol. 86, Surat to Karwar, 23rd March, Surat to Co. 2nd January 1665).

At the beginning of February 1665 Shivaji left Malwan with a fleet of 85 frigates and three large ships, sailed past Goa to Basrur, which he plundered, and landed at the holy city of Gokarna, on the coast, 22 miles south of Karwar, to take part in the holy bath festival before the great temple of Mahableshwar on Shivaratri day (5th February). He next marched to Ankola (nine miles northwards) with 4,000 infantry, sending all his fleet back, with the exception of twelve frigates, which he detained for transporting his army over the rivers on his way back to North Konkan. On the 22nd he came to Karwar. The English factors, having got early news of his coming from the spies they had sent out, put all the Company's ready money and portable goods on board a small hundred-ton ship belonging to the Imam of Maskat, then lying in the river, its captain Emanuel Donnavado promising to defend it as long as he lived or his vessel kept floating. The factors themselves took refuge in the ship. Sher Khan,¹ a son of the late Khan-i-Khanan Ikhlas Khan and a subordinate of Bahlol Khan, arrived in the town that very night without knowing anything of Shivaji's approach. With the help of his escort of 500 men he quickly fortified himself as well as he could to protect the goods he had brought down, and sent a messenger to Shiva in the night warning him not to enter the town as he would resist him to the utmost. Sher Khan was famous throughout the country for his valour and ruling capacity, and his chief, Bahlol Khan, was "one of the potentest men in the Kingdom of Bijapur". Shivaji, therefore, shrank from provoking him, and after much discussion "condescended to go a little out of the way, and so

¹ The cause of his coming to Karwar was to charter a ship of Rustam-i-Zaman to convey Bahlol Khan's mother to Mecca.

came and encamped with his army at the mouth at the river "Kalanadi, sparing the town.

From this place he sent an envoy to Sher Khan, asking him either to deliver the English merchants up to him or, retiring himself, permit him to revenge himself on them, "whom he styled his inveterate enemies". Sher Khan sent this news to the English and desired to know their final answer, which was that they had nothing on board except powder and bullets which Shivaji might come and fetch if he thought they would serve him instead of gold. "This our answer being sent to Shivaji did so exasperate him that he said he would have us before he departed, which the governor of the town hearing, they persuaded all the merchants to agree to send him [Shivaji] a present lest he should recall his fleet, which lay on this side of Salsette." (*F. R. Surat*, Vol. 104, Karwar to Surat, 14th March 1665.) To this blackmail the English contributed £112, so as not to endanger the Company's property in Karwar, worth 8,000 *hun*. "With this Shivaji departed on 23rd February, very unwillingly, saying that Sher Khan had spoiled his hunting at the *Holi*, which is a time he generally attempts some such design." ¹

Thence the disappointed Maratha chief returned to Vingurla (early in March). But soon afterwards Jai Singh's siege of Purandar and vigorous invasion of the neighbouring country called away Shivaji to the defence of his home, and Kanara enjoyed peace for some time.

VII.

By the treaty of Purandar (13th June 1665) the Mughuls left Shivaji free to annex Adil Shahi Tal Konkan. The affairs of Bijapur also fell into confusion at this time.

¹ Shivaji's loot of Basrur and visit to Karwar: *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 104, Karwar to Surat, 26th January and 14th March 1665. Sabh. 70-71; Chit. 69-70. Basrur is four miles east of Coondapur in the South Canara District, also known as *Bascelere*. "The principal port of the Bednore-Rajahs," *S. Canara Gazetteer*, II, 242. The Marathi *tekhars* spell the name as *Basnur* or *Hasnur*.

Bahlol Khan died June or July. He had come to Bijapur from the Karnatak war at the king's call, but died of illness only eight days after his arrival. The Sultan being jealous of his large force, 10,000 brave Afghans, tried to sow dissension between his two sons and nephew. Sher Khan, a brave, able and upright man, kept them at peace. But he was soon afterwards poisoned, it was suspected, by Adil Shah, and immediately bitter quarrels broke out between the two sons of Bahlol Khan, which the Sultan fanned and utilized to seize some of their *jagirs*. The affairs of the royal drunkard at Bijapur passed from bad to worse. [*F. R.* same, Karwar to Surat, 29th August 1665.)

The Bijapuri Governor of Hubli fell into disfavour at Court and the Governor of Mirjan rebelled. Muhammad Khan attacked that fort (August 1665). He had recovered Dabhol and many other places in South Konkan from the Marathas, while the latter were busy fighting Jai Singh. But by November next Shivaji, now an ally of the Mughals, had reconquered all that country after slaying 2,000 soldiers of Muhammad Ikhlas, including several men of note. The Khan fell back on Kudal and waited for Sharza Khan to reinforce him. But no such aid came, as Jai Singh began his invasion of Bijapur that very month and Ikhlas Khan had to hasten from Kudal to the defence of the capital. But Vingurla and Kudal continued in Bijapuri hands, while Shivaji held Rajapur and Kharepatan (or Gharepur ?) The country about Karwar was at this time subjected to constant pillage by the soldiers of Shivaji's garrison there, who used to leave their forts and roam about in a band of 200 men up and down the country, plundering the small towns. Murtaza Bag, who had lost his fort, also took to plunder with his retainers. (*Ibid*, 29th August, 21st September and 29th November 1665 and 15th January 1666.)

VIII.

In the course of Jai Singh's war with Bijapur, Shivaji had been detached against Panhala. His assault on that fort (16th January 1666) failed and then he went off to Khelna. From

this place he sent 2,000 men under a Muhammadan officer to besiege Phonda.¹ The garrison resisted for two months (February and March), killing 500 Marathas, and finally agreed to surrender in six hours. In the meantime the Bijapuri Government had sent 5,000 horse and 1,000 foot under Siddi Masaud, Abdul Aziz (the son of Siddi Jauhar) and Rustam-i-Zaman to the Panhala region. They formed a plan for surprising Shivaji, who lay on the top of the hill overlooking Konkan. When their van, under Rustam, approached he beat his drums and sounded his trumpets and thus gave his friend Shivaji timely warning to escape. But Masaud chased the Marathas with 600 chosen cavalry and cut off 200 of the enemy. On the way back he intercepted Shivaji's friendly letters to Rustam, which he immediately sent to Bijapur. At this Adil Shah wrote to Rustam that though he reluctantly pardoned this act of disloyalty, he would dismiss him unless he raised the siege of Phonda. Rustam then wrote to his agent Muhammad Khan to save Phonda by all means. This was effected by a stratagem. Muhammad Khan could get together only a small force, with which he went and sat down in a town of his master's about three miles from Phonda, and sent word to the general of Shivaji that he had only come to look after his own country. The general suspected no stratagem, as his master and Rustam were friends. He went with his Muslim soldiery to a hill a mile off in order to say his prayers in public. Muhammad Khan seized this opportunity, he surprised and routed the soldiers left in the siege camp, and after a long and well contested fight defeated the rest of the Maratha army who had hurried back from the hill. Thus the siege of Phonda was raised after the poor men in it had been driven to eat leaves for the last three days. "This business, it is generally thought, hath quite broken the long continued friendship between Rustam-i-Zaman and Shivaji. Rustam hath taken now Phonda, Kudal, Banda, Suncle [= Chaukuli] and Duchehe [= Dicholi in Goa territory],

¹ First siege of Phonda: *F.E. Surat* 104, "Deccan News", following a letter from Karwar, dated 24th April 1666.

five towns of note, from Shivaji." All these places except Phonda and Dicholi are in Savant-vadi.

IX.

Soon afterwards, at the end of March 1666, Shivaji went to the Mughal court. For the next four years he gave no trouble to Bijapuri Konkan or Kanara; his opponents during this interval being the Portuguese and the Siddis. The English merchants of Karwar repeatedly speak of Shiva in 1668 and 1669 as being "very quiet" and "keeping still at Rajgarh", and of his credit as decreasing during these years of inactivity while the "country all about was in great tranquillity". (*F.R. Surat*, 105.) Late in October 1668 Shivaji made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer the territory of Goa by stratagem. He smuggled into the towns of this State 400 to 500 of his soldiers in small parties at different times and under various disguises, hoping that when their number was doubled they would suddenly rise one night, seize one of the passes, and admit him before the Portuguese could raise a sufficiently large army for defence. But either the plot leaked out or the Portuguese Viceroy's suspicion was roused. He made a narrow search in all his towns, arrested the 400 or 500 men of Shivaji at various places, and evidently extorted the truth from them. Then he sent for Shivaji's ambassador, with his own hand gave him two or three cuffs in the ear, and turned him and the Maratha prisoners out of his territory. On hearing of it Shivaji assembled an army of 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse, threatening to lead them against Goa in person. From the north of Rajapur he marched to Vingurla, inspected all his forts in that quarter, "changing their men and putting in [fresh] provisions and ammunition", and then in December returned to Rajgarh as he found "the Portuguese well prepared to give him a hot reception". (*Gyfford to Surat*, 12th November and 16th December 1668. *F.R. Surat* 105.)

At the beginning of 1670 came his rupture with the Mughals, which kept him busy in other quarters and prolonged the peace in Kanara till the close of 1672, when, taking advantage of the

death of Ali II., he renewed his depredations in Bijapur territory.

Meantime, in September 1671, Rustam-i-Zaman had broken out in rebellion against his master. He had at last been deprived of his viceroyalty and *jagir* for his treacherous intimacy with Shiva, the crowning act of which was the surrender of one of the king's forts to the Marathas. And now he took up arms in the hope of intimidating the Government to reinstate him. With the underhand help of Shivaji, he occupied Bijapuri territory, yielding three lakhs of *lun* a year, and plundered and burnt Raibagh, completing the ruin of that port, previously sacked by the Marathas. But within a month the royal troops crushed the rebellion,—the forts of Mirjan and Ankola alone holding out for several months more. By the middle of 1672 Muzaffar Khan, the new Adil Shahi Viceroy of the Kanara coast, had made peace with the rebel chiefs (Nayakwaris) of Shiveshwar and Kadra.¹

X.

The death of Ali Adil Shah II (on 24th November 1672) was followed by the rebellion of the Rajahs of Sunda and Bednur, who invaded the Bijapur territory across their frontiers. An army under Muzaffar Khan chastised them (February, 1673) and wrested Sunda from its Rajah. (*F.R.* Surat, 106, Karwar to Co., 17th February 1673.)

This rebellion had been hardly suppressed when the Marathas made their first incursion into Bijapuri Kanara, sacking many forts and rich cities in that region. Their general Pratap Rao raided Hubli,² the most important inland mart of the province,

¹ *F. R.* Surat 106, Karwar to Surat, 20th September, 31st October 671, 26th June 1672.

² The commercial importance of Hubli can be judged from the following remarks of the English merchants :—"Hubli, the mart of our Karwar factory, where we sell and buy most of the goods that port affords us." (*F. R.* Surat 67, 1st November 1672.) "Hubli a great inroad [= inland] town and a mart of very considerable trade" (*O. C.* 3779.) Maratha invasion of Kanara in 1678: *F. R.* Surat 2, Consult. 24th May, 10th and 19th July, Vol. 67, Surat to Persia, 1st November. *O. C.* 3779 and 3800. *Sabhasad* 70 has only eight lines for the events of 1673-75; *shit* 70 (nine lines only; vague, may refer to 1673 or 1675).

causing a loss of 7,894 *Ann* to the English Company alone, besides the private property of the factors (May 1673.) The Company's house was the first they entered and dug up, carrying away all the broadcloth in it to their general who sat in the bazar. Muzaffar Khan, however, promptly came to the scene with 5,000 cavalry and saved the town from total destruction. The Marathas fled precipitately with what booty they had already packed up, "leaving several goods out in the streets which they had not time to carry away." When the English at Surat complained to Shiva about the outrage, he denied that it was done by his soldiers.

At Hubli, Muzaffar missed the Maratha raiders by just one day. He was probably suspected of having entered into a secret understanding with them, like Rustam-i-Zaman, for immediately afterwards all the nobles under his command and most of his own soldiers, forsook him and the Bijapur Government removed him from his viceroyalty. This drove him into rebellion and he tried force to retain possession of his fiefs. The great fort of Belgaum remained in his hands and also many strong places between Goa and Kanara (June 1673). Adil Shah sent a large army to reduce Belgaum in case Muzaffar declined the compromise offered to him.

. In June Bahlol Khan with a large Bijapuri army held Kolhapur and defeated the Marathas in several encounters, forcing all their roving bands to leave the Karwar country. He also talked of invading South Konkan and recovering Rajapur and other towns next autumn. In August he is still spoken of as "pressing hard upon Shivaji, who supplicates for peace, being fearful of his own condition." But soon afterwards Bahlol Khan, his irreconcilable enemy, fell ill at Miraj and Shivaji's help was solicited by the Bijapur and Golkanda Governments to defend them from a threatened Mughal invasion under Bahadur Khan (September). Shivaji's gains during this year included the strong forts of Pambala (5th March) and Satara (early September).¹

¹ O.C. 3800 and 8832, F.E. Surat 106, Bombay to Surat, 16th and 29th September 1673, B.S. 399.

At the end of September we find Shivaji at the head of a great army raised for "some notable attempt against the Mughal." He also sewed 20,000 sacks of cotton for conveying the plunder he expected to seize! But on the *dasahara* day (early October), an auspicious time with the Hindus for setting out on campaigns, he sallied forth on a long expedition into Bijapuri territory, with 25,000 men, robbed many rich towns and then penetrated into Kanara, "to get more plunder in those rich towns to bear the expenses of his army". Early in December he reached Kadra (20 miles north-east of Karwar) with a division of 4,000 foot and 2,000 horse and stayed there for four days. The bulk of his forces occupied a hill near Hubli. But two severe defeats at the hands of Bahlol and Sharza Khan at Bankapur and Chandaguri (? Chandraguti) respectively forced him to evacuate Kanara quickly.¹ (*F.R.* Surat 106, Bombay to Surat, 23th September and 10th October, Vol. 88, Karwar to Surat, 17th December, *O.C.* 3910, Fryer, II. *Dutch Rec.* 31, No. 805)

XI.

Though Kanara had been freed from the Marathas, that province enjoyed no peace. Mian Sahib, the faujdar of Karwar (instigated it is said by Shiva), rebelled and Adil Shah had to conduct a long war before he could be suppressed. The two sides continued to have skirmishes with varying success. In February 1674 the royal troops captured Sunda, with the rebel's wife in it, but he held out obstinately in his other forts. By 22nd April this "long and tedious rebellion" was at last ended by the arrival of Abu Khan, Rustam-i-Zaman II., as the new viceroy. Mian Sahib's followers deserted him for lack of pay; his forts (Kadra, Karwar, Ankola and Shiveshwar) all surrendered without a blow, and he himself made peace on

¹ The Portuguese *Vida do...Sevagy* (Lisbon, 1730), p. I, speaks of "grande lugar chamado Chandagara, do qual-tirou muita riqueza por assistirem &c." There is a *Chandra-guti*, 36 miles south-west of Bankapur. (Shimoga district, *Mysore Gazetteer* ii. 369.) *Chandan-garh*, 35 miles north-east of Satara, cannot be the place meant.

condition of his wife being released. Shivaji was then only a day's march from Karwar "going to build a castle upon a very high hill, from which he may very much annoy these parts." (*F.R. Surat* 88, Karwar to Surat, 14th February and 22nd April 1674. Orme, 35.)

Unlike his father, the new Rustam-i-Zaman did not cultivate friendship with the Marathas. In August 1674 he seized a rich merchant, subject of Shiva, living at Narsa (16 miles from Phonda), and the Maratha King prepared for retaliation. In October Rustam was summoned by Khawas Khan, the new *wazir*, to Bijapur; and, as he feared that his post would be given to another, he extorted forced loans from all the rich men of Karwar and its neighbourhood that he could lay hands on, before he went away. (*F.R. Surat* 88, Karwar to Surat, 2nd September and 27th October 1674.) In the beginning of September, "in Kudal about four hours [journey] from here [Vingurla], one of Shivaji's generals called Annaji came with 3,000 soldiers to surprise the fortress Phonda, but Mamet Khan who was there armed himself, so that the aforesaid pandit accomplished nothing." (*Dutch Rec.*, Vol. 34, No. 841.)

At Bijapur everything was in confusion; "the great Khans were at difference." The worthless *wazir* Khawas Khan was driven to hard straits by the Afghan faction in the State. Rustam-i-Zaman II. after his visit to the capital evidently lost his viceroyalty. This was Shivaji's opportunity and he conquered Kanara for good. First, he befooled the Mughal viceroy Bahadur Khan by sending him a pretended offer of peace, asking for the pardon of the Mughal Government through the Khan's mediation and promising to cede the imperial forts he had recently conquered as well as the twenty-three forts of his own that he had once before yielded in Jai Singh's time. By these insincere negotiations Shivaji for the time being averted the risk of a Mughal attack on his territory and began his invasion of Bijapuri Kanara¹ with composure of mind.

¹ Invasion of Kanara and capture of Phonda (1675), *F.R. Surat* 88, Karwar to Surat, 14th and 22nd April. 8th and 27th 1674.

XII.

In March 1675 he got together an army of 15,000 cavalry, 14,000 infantry and 10,000 pioneers with pickaxes, crow-bars and hatchets, etc. Arriving at Rajapur (22nd March), he spent three days there, ordering forty small ships to go to Vingurla with all speed and there wait for fresh commands. Next he marched to his town of Kudal, within a day's journey of Phonda, and early in April laid siege to the lastnamed place.

The hill fort of Phonda commands one of the easiest passes leading from South Konkan into the Deccan plateau beyond the Western Ghats and establishing direct communication between Rajapur and Kolhapur. So convenient is its situation and so gentle its gradient, that it has now been made practicable for artillery, and in one year (1877) nearly fifty thousand carts from Rajapur crossed it on the way to the Deccan. Both Rajapur and the Kolhapur district being in his hands, it was necessary for Shivaji to secure direct connection between them by taking Phonda. While he was prosecuting the siege, another division of his army plundered Atgiri in Adil Shahi territory and two other large cities near Haidarabad, carrying away "a great deal of riches, besides many rich persons held to ransom".

He began the siege of Phonda on 9th April 1675 with 2,000 horse and 7,000 foot, and made arrangements for sitting down before the fort even during the coming rainy season in order to starve the garrison into surrender. Muhammad Khan had only four months' provisions within the walls; there was no hope of relief from Bijapur or even from the Portuguese who now trembled for the safety of Goa and appeased Shivaji by promising neutrality. Rustam-i-Zaman II. had too little money or men to attempt the raising of the siege. But Muhammad Khan made a heroic defence, unaided and against overwhelming odds.

1st and 20th April; 3rd, 21st and 31st May; 3rd and 14th June, *B.S.* 401, Orme, 38, 40. Maratha accounts in Sabhasad, 70 (scanty). Phonda described, *Bombay Gazetteer*, X, 167 n., 332, 343 and 358.

Delusive peace offer to Mughals. *B.S.* 401, *O.C.* 4077.

Shivaji ran four mines under the walls, but they were all counter-mined, with a heavy loss of men to him. He then threw up an earthen wall only 12 feet from the fort and his soldiers lay sheltered behind it. The Portuguese, fearing that if Shiva took Phonda their own Goa would be as good as lost, secretly sent ten boatloads of provisions and some men in aid of the besieged (middle of April) but they were intercepted by Shivaji and the Viceroy of Goa disavowed the act.

The siege was pressed with vigour. By the beginning of May Shivaji had taken possession of two outworks, filled the ditch, and made 500 ladders and 500 gold bracelets, each bracelet weighing half a seer, for presentation to the forlorn hope who would attempt the escalade.

Bahlol Khan, who was at Miraj with 15,000 troops, wanted to come down and relieve Phonda, but Shiva had filled up the passages with trees cut down and lined the stockades with his men, and Bhalol, being certain of heavy loss and even an utter repulse if he tried to force them, returned to his base. His inactivity during the siege was imputed to bribery by Shiva. At length the fort fell about the 6th of May. All who were found in it were put to the sword, with the exception of Muhammad Khan, who saved his own life and those of four or five others by promising to put into Shiva's hands all the adjoining parts belonging to Bijapur. In fear of death the Khan wrote to the *qiladars* of these forts to yield them to the Marathas, but they at first declined. So the Khan was kept in chains. Inayat Khan, the *faujdar* of Ankola, seized the country and forts lately held by Muhammad Khan and placed his own men in them, but he could make no stand against Shivaji whose forces were now set free by the fall of Phonda. He therefore compounded and gave up the forts for money. In a few days Ankola, Shiveshwar (which had been besieged by 3,000 Maratha horse and some foot soldiers since 24th April), Karwar, Kadra (which alone had made a short stand), all capitulated to Shivaji, and by the 25th of May the country as far south as the Ganga-vati river had passed out of Bijapuri possession into his hands.

XIII.

On 26th April one of Shiva's generals had visited Karwar and "burnt the town effectually, leaving not a house standing" in punishment of the fort of Karwar still holding out. The English factory was not molested. This general, however, went back in a few days. But next month, after the fall of Phonda, the fort of Karwar surrendered to the Marathas.

The rainy season now put an end to the campaign. Bahlol Khan went back to Bijapur, leaving his army at Miraj. Shiva at first thought of cantoning for the rains in a fort on the frontier of Sunda, but soon changed his mind and returned to Raigarh, passing Rajapur on 11th June.

A Maratha force was detached into the Sunda Rajah's country at the end of May. "They finding no great opposition seized upon Supa and Whurwa (? Ulvi) belonging to the Rajah." But Khizr Khan Pani and the *desais* in concert attacked the Maratha garrisons there, killed 300 of the men and recovered both the places. A party of Marathas that was posted at Burbulle [Varhulli, seven miles south of Ankola] to take custom duty on all goods passing that way, was now forced to withdraw. (August 1675.) (*Ibid*, Rajapur to Surat, 27th August 1675.)

The dowager Rani of Bednur had quarrelled with her colleague Timmaya, but had been compelled to make peace with him (August), she being a mere cypher, while he held the real power of the State. The Rani then appealed to Shivaji for protection, agreed to pay him an annual tribute, and admitted a Maratha resident at her Court. (*Ibid* and Chit. 70.)

The *dalvi*, or lieutenant of the *desai* who had been the local Bijapuri Governor of North Kanara, had aided Shivaji in the conquest of that district. But now (1675), disgusted with him, the *dalvi* was moving about the country with a force, saying that he would restore his former master. He attacked Shivaji's guards in Karwar town and forced them to retire to the castle. The people were in extreme misery in Shivaji's new conquests: he squeezed the *desais*, who in their turn squeezed

the ryots. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, XV. pt. 1, 128). But Bijapur was now in the grip of a civil war, the Adil Shahi State was hastening to a dissolution, and Shivaji's possession of South Konkan and North Kanara remained unchallenged till after his death.

VII.—Birth and Funeral Ceremonies among the Hos.

By Girindra Nath Sarkar, B.A.

(I)—BIRTH CUSTOMS.

LIKE all other people a Ho has a great desire for a child specially a male one to keep his memory alive after his death and to give him food, drink, and comfort in his old age.

Barren women are despised and supposed to be cursed by *Sing-bongā* (the Sun-god). Barrenness is generally attributed to bad morals or some sin committed by the woman in her previous life. But measures are taken to make a barren woman fruitful. The woman is made to drink a decoction of the root of the *kāed* creeper and if she conceives she ties the root round her waist as a charm against all evils that might befall the child in the womb.

The Hos believe that children are born by the will of *Sing-bongā* (The Sun-god). They say *Sing bongā emetānā* (God gives it), but they are all aware of the fact that a woman cannot conceive without intercourse with a man. The Hos also believe that the souls of the dead never die, but are reborn in infants. The dead are recognized in the new-born children by the semblance which they bear to the former. Thus when a child resembles his grandfather the father says that his father is born again to grace his family.

A Ho woman takes pregnancy as a matter of course and does not take any particular care as to her diet or behaviour during the first few months. Unlike the Hindus no ceremonies are observed among the Hos, at the seventh or other month of pregnancy. But when the time for delivery draws near she is strictly forbidden to frequent the places supposed to be presided over by the *bongās* (spirits), holds herself aloof from women who are suspected of sorcery and witchcraft and avoids coming out after dark.

Each family generally has one hut with a single room where **The lying-in-room.** it keeps everything that is necessary for daily life. This is the bed-room as well as the store-room. They cook their meals and sit ordinarily on the verandah which is a raised floor about three feet wide. The master and the mistress of the house sleep in the hut with all their children. When the time for delivery arrives the room is reserved for the expectant mother and her husband. The huts of the Hos are windowless and therefore entirely safe from any cold blast. The would-be mother and the father enter the lying-in-room and its door is shut against all other persons. Delay in delivery is believed to be caused by the eye of some evil spirit or the fact that before marriage the mother had intercourse with some young man other than her lawfully married husband who cursed her for having been taken away from him and united with another man. In the latter case she confesses her misconduct and gives out the name of the lover who is asked to reveal the truth and he does so at once. Now a propitiatory sacrifice, generally a fowl, is offered to *Sing-bongā*. Thus the labour pains are lessened and the delivery becomes easy. Sometimes it is also believed that midwives through their magic power protract the delivery so that they may be called to facilitate it.

When the would-be mother is conscious that baby is about to be born she sits down in a kneeling down posture **The Birth.** stretching her thighs wide. Her husband supports her from behind leaning against the wall. As soon as the child comes down on the floor the mother picks it up in her hands. The father cuts the umbilical cord with the skin of the maize plant (*gāngāi singi*) which has a sharp edge. Hos do not use a knife for this purpose lest the navel-string might take septic poison. The cutting of the umbilical cord over the mother wipes the babe's body if found covered with membranes with a piece of rag and after handing over the child to her husband proceeds to remove the after-birth and to clean the floor. The father now gives the child back to its mother and prepares hot water with which the mother bathes herself and her child. The mother

now spreads a palm-leaf mat and lies down on it suckling the child. The father then bathes and cooks rice for himself and his wife. Nobody is allowed to remain in the confinement room except the husband, the wife and the child who are, so to speak, secluded for a month and are regarded as ceremonially unclean. Nobody would touch either their bed or clothes. The mother and her husband bathe every day with tepid water throughout the month of their confinement. She takes hot rice instead of stale rice. She is strictly forbidden to take pot-herb, fish and meat, but is allowed to drink mild rice-beer as a stimulant. The after-birth is buried under ground somewhere outside the confinement room and is carefully covered with earth so that no evil eye may fall on it to do harm to the child.

Just a month after delivery comes the time for Endā-chatu

The Enda- (throwing away of the earthen vessels). The
chatu Cere- earthen pitchers and vessels that were used in
mony. the confinement room for cooking rice, boiling water and keeping drink are thrown away. The walls and the floor of the hut are daubed with cowdung and the parents with the child are re-admitted into society and feast is given to all the relatives.

Even after being released from confinement the mother as well as the father has to take certain precautions. They have to be careful when they go to bathe in tanks lest the Nage-Bongā (water-deity) might do some harm to the child. They should not ease themselves in places where Bongās are supposed to live, nor should they bathe in tanks lest the Nage-Bongā (water-deity) might do some harm to the child.

The naming of a Ho child takes place in some cases on the

The Name- tenth day and in other cases on the twentieth
giving Cere- day from the date of birth. Being firm belie-
mony. vers in the principle of re-birth, the Hos invariably name their children after their deceased grandfathers or grandmothers and great-grandfathers or great-grandmothers. In choosing a name for the new-born child the Hos, like the Orāons, perform a sort of lottery by dropping grains of rice

into water. A grain of husked rice is dropped into a pot filled with water and simultaneously a name is suggested. A second grain of rice is dropped into the same pot. If the second grain touches the first one and lie closely parallel to it at the bottom of the vessel, then it is mysteriously indicated that the name suggested has been predestined for the child. Sometimes as soon as a name is uttered, a certain number of grains or husked rice are taken on the palm of the hand and then the whole number is determined to be odd or even by putting the grains on the ground two by two. If the number is found odd, the name is rejected, if it is found even the name is given to the child. The process continues until the number is found even, failing which the name of some great and influential man is selected with the unanimous consent of the community. The name-giving is attended by no special ceremony.

(II) DEATH CUSTOMS.

Premature death is generally ascribed to the evil-eye or to the anger of some spirit (bongā). But when an old man dies the Hos say that the man has died of natural decay. When cholera or pox breaks out in a village—but epidemic diseases are very rare in Ho villages—and the number of the dead swells terribly, it is suspected that some evil spirit is at work. In such a case the villagers go in a body with all their used earthen vessels and throw them away beyond the village, where they perform a ceremony to drive the evil spirit away from the village with the help of a man reputed for scaring away spirits.

As soon as a Ho breathes his last, his female relatives rent the air with loud wailings which declare the death. Other fellow-villagers instantly come to the deceased's house and weep for him. For this act of sympathy they get some reward. Those who do not join the mourning party are looked upon as enemies. The widow will put off all her jewellery and abstain from rice—both boiled and fried—until the cremation is over. So also do the agnates of the deceased.

The Hos prepare a coffin for the dead which they call *kāndu-kid*. Sometimes it is prepared after the death has actually occurred, and sometimes before death, at the request of the dying man. Frequently old men have their coffins made, even when there is no sign of any illness. In order to make a coffin, a living tree is cut down, and four planks are sawn out of its trunk. The plank which is fixed at the bottom of the coffin is called *Ginitī*. The plank which is meant for the lid or the cover is called *Hānārup*. The remaining two are fixed lengthwise and are called *jānor*. Then remain to be prepared a horse's head and a horse's tail, which go by the name of *Ardāru*, out of the stump of the tree. These two are fixed at the two ends of the coffin. Perhaps this is the reason why the Hos take the horse to be a beast of ill omen.

The corpse is allowed to remain in the house until the coffin is ready. The face is clean shaven and the forehead is painted with alternate dot marks of vermilion and rice flour diluted in water. It is then placed carefully in the coffin with its head towards the horse's head. All the clothes of the deceased, together with some rice and copper coins, and sometime even silver ones are placed in the coffin which is then closed and carried by the relatives of the deceased to the burning place—generally an open plot of ground within the village boundary. Logs of wood already gathered are heaped to form a low platform on the centre of which is placed the coffin with the head towards the south.

More wood is piled over the coffin, to thoroughly cover it, and fire is then applied by two poor women hired for the purpose. One of them stands to the east of the pile and the other to the west, each with a kindled log of wood in her hand. The woman standing on the east side goes round to the west of the pile and applies her kindled log. The woman standing on the west goes round to the east and does the same. If the pile does not take fire, it is believed that the soul of the deceased is reluctant to have its former body burnt, on account of the affection which it bears to some particular member of the family.

Then all the family members go round the pile weeping. Those to whom the deceased was much attached, wash their faces with water and sprinkle it on the pile, which it is said, then at once takes fire.

The dead are cremated at night and the funeral pile is allowed to burn until next morning, when the fire is extinguished by sprinkling water on it with twigs of a *peepul* tree.

The bones are then picked out from the ashes, and placed on a winnowing fan. After they are dried till noon on a piece of new cloth spread over a string-bedstead, the ashes are buried and the place where the corpse was burnt is cleansed and besmeared with cowdung diluted in water. After the bones are dry, they are kept in a new earthen pitcher and covered with leaves of the *Otroung* plant. Another new and empty earthen vessel is similarly covered and within it the disembodied spirit of the deceased is supposed to reside. This empty vessel is addressed thus :— “ You have been taken away by your God and are isolated from us up till now. We shall take you home on the third day.” After having consoled the departed spirit thus, the funeral party bury this empty vessel under the earth and carry the vessel of bones to the house of the deceased and hang it from the thatch of the hut.

The party now go to a neighbouring stream or pool, anoint their limbs with turmeric and oil, and take a purificatory bath. This bath is called *Bisiākānābu* which literally means, we touched the corpse and therefore we bathe. After the bath, the party take boiled rice and rice-beer at the house of the deceased, sit there for some time, consoling the bereaved family and then return home.

On the third night after the death, a ceremony called *Rā-ā-nadār* takes place in the room where *Rā-ā-Nadār* the family deity of the deceased resides. Ashes are spread on the floor of this room. A male member of the family, either the brother or the father, takes his seat in one corner of the room, and a female member, either the sister or the widow of the deceased, sits in another corner.

The door of the room is carefully shut from within. Now, from the place where the dead body was burnt, two men proceed towards the door of the room. One of them comes sprinkling water and scattering boiled rice and the other follows him striking a spade against a ploughshare and thus producing a tinkling sound. On reaching the door of the room they ask, "Sukuilā ki Dukuilā?" (Entered or not entered). The woman sitting in one corner of the room, at once lights a lamp already kept ready before her and examines the ashes on the floor, in order to discover the footprints of any creature whose entrance into the room has been expected. If she finds the footprints of a bird, it is at once believed that the deceased has been re-born as a bird; if the footprints of a particular animal is found, then it is believed that the deceased in his next birth has become such an animal; and if the footprint of a human being is discovered on the ashes, it is determined that the deceased is re-born as a human being.

If the woman, sitting in the corner, on being asked if the spirit of the deceased has entered or not, replies "Sukuilā" (not entered), then the man, sitting in another corner of the room, would forthwith begin offering a sacrifice to the presiding deity, and the two men outside will again go back to the burning place, and the same process is repeated until some sign signifying the entrance of some creature into the room is traced.

The next day takes place the ceremony called **Huring Sibi**, the relatives of the deceased shave their beards with a razor, have their hair cut and nails pared. It may be noted here that the razors which the Hos use, are generally manufactured by themselves in their own villages. I have examined one such razor, and I may say that it produces a painful sensation during shaving. The Hos never engage barbers or washermen except as a recent innovation near Chaibassa.

The ceremony called **Mārāng Sibi** takes place the day following. The relatives of the deceased wash all their clothes and take a purificatory bath, after which they are readmitted into the society.

Jāṅg-topām, or the burying of bones, takes place either on the fourth day after the Rā-ā-nādār, or a year or two afterwards, as it suits the convenience of the members of the deceased's family.

Another ceremony called Jāṅg-āsān (carrying the bones) just precedes Jāṅg-topām. One of the two women who set fire to the pyre, takes out the bones from the earthen vessel that was kept hanging from the roof, puts them on a bamboo-tray decorated with artificial flowers made of Shola (cork) and carries this tray on her head. The other woman usually carries an empty water pot. A third woman carries on her head a bamboo at the two ends of which are fastened two bells. These three women followed by a number of drummers, and the relatives and the neighbours of the deceased, start from the deceased's house in a long procession. The drums at once begin to sound :—

T'opām, topām, topām, topām, Jāṅg-topām.

which literally means

“ We'll bury, we'll bury, we'll bury, bones we'll bury.”

The three women dance a mourning dance and the men nod their heads to the beating of the drums. In this way the procession solemnly advances through the village and stops at the door of every relative who comes out of his house weeping and offer some quantity of rice to the deceased. If the deceased has relatives living in villages, the procession must visit those villages also. If the number of such villages be large, the party visits as many of them as possible up to the evening, and then stops for the night. The solemn dancing march begins again next day, and it continues until the bones are carried to the doors of the rest of the relatives.

After the *Jāṅg-āsān* is over, the procession returns to the burial-place which is usually fixed within the village, and even within the boundary of homestead lands. The day before the *iāṅg-topān*, a grave has been dug four feet deep, four feet in length, and the same in breadth, so that the bones may rest safely within it. The hollow thus made already in the

The Burial-place.

ground is besmeared with cowdung and sanctified rice, collected during the bone-carrying is first put into it together with any ornaments of the deceased that remained unburnt at the cremation. The bones are next taken out of the bamboo-tray and placed in a new and entirely red earthenware jar. This jar is then painted with a paste of rice flour and covered with a piece of red cloth, after which it is placed in the grave. A quantity of stale rice from which beer is prepared, is put just besides the jar. The grave is then filled in and a big slab of stone is placed over it. Four pieces of small stones also are put under the slab as supports, at the four corners of the grave.

At the time of internment, the Hos fire guns, the reports of which announce to the public the entrance of the relics of the deceased to their last resting place.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I—Inscription of Udayasri (Patna Museum).

By N. G. Majumdar, B.A.

This inscription was discovered by the late Dr. Theodor Bloch on the pedestal of a Buddhist image at Bodh Gayā though he could not trace the image itself. In his paper, entitled *Notes on Bodh Gayā*, published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1908-09, p. 157, will be found a notice of the inscription together with its transcript and translation. It is now in the Patna Museum (No. 146). The reading given by Dr. Bloch needs some correction. It is therefore re-edited here.

It consists of two lines only which make up a single verse. The writing covers a space of $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$. The language is Sanskrit. The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They bear a close affinity with the characters of the Sarnāth inscription of Kumāradevī,¹ a Queen of the Gāhaḍavāla King Govindaachandra for whom we have dates ranging from 1114 to 1168 A.D.

The object of the short epigraph is to record the installation of (an image of) the Blessed One (*Bhagavān*) by a certain individual named Udayasri, a pilgrim from Ceylon.

¹ Epi. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 319 ff.

TEXT.*

1. Kārīto Bhagavān-ēsha Saimhaleṇ-Odayasriyā duḥkh-
ambhonidhi-nirmagna-¹ jagad-uttāra
2. nechchaya ||. ²

TRANSLATION.

"This [image of the] Lord was caused to be made by Udayasri, from Ceylon, with a desire to deliver the world submerged in an ocean of woe."

¹ Bloch read *nirmagna*.

² Bloch read *uddhāru-echchhā*.

* The new reading has been compared by Mr. H. Gauday with the original and found correct. No facsimile is published.—K. P. J.

11.—The Janibigha Inscription and Bisapī Grant.

By H. Panday, B.A.

In the September number of this Journal for 1918 (Vol. IV, page 275), when discussing the date of the Jānibighā inscription I alluded to the evidence of the Bisapī grant of Śiva-Simha which put the commencement of the Lakshmaṇa-Sena Samvat thirteen years earlier than the accepted date for it. Sir George Grierson who first brought the grant to light in 1885¹ has kindly drawn attention to subsequent papers by him in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in which he has shown that the grant is a palpable and clumsy forgery.² The date of the commencement of the Lakshmaṇa-Sena era arrived at by the late Dr. Kielhorn, namely, the 7th October, 1119 A.C., is therefore the only date which rests on good evidence. The date of the Jānibighā inscription is thus, as stated in my first note, November, 1202 A.C.

¹ Ind. Ant., 1885, p. 100.

² J. A. S. B., 1899, p. 96 ; 1905, p. 228 [The "Fasli san" cited in the plate, as Sir George points out, never existed—K. P. J.]

III.—Purushottama Deva, King of Orissa.

By Tarini Charan Rath, B.A.

The past glories of Orissa achieved by her later independent Hindu Kings are still fresh in the memory of our countrymen. Orissa alone asserted boldly her independence for full four centuries long after the most of India succumbed to the feet of the sturdy Muhammadan invaders. The last independent Hindu prince of Bengal is said to have escaped through the back-door of his palace¹ at the approach of the Muhammadan hordes and taken shelter in Orissa till his death. The Telingana King on a similar occasion suppliantly approached the Orissan monarch to lend him a helping hand, and had it. Even the brave general of Emperor Akbar so late as 1580 A.D., repulsed by the Orissan forces, had to turn his back exclaiming at the sight of her network of grand religious edifices, venerable rivers and strong forts, "This is the land of gods and no fit subject for human conquest."

Purushottama Deva Gajapathi, one of the most conspicuous Kings of Orissa, ruled the vast country left to him by his father, Kāpilendra Deva, during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. He was present by the side of his brave father when the latter died at Kondapalli on the banks of the river Krishna, where he was incessantly engaged in several wars and was crowned as the King of Orissa by the Orissa armies at the very place. Among his numerous sons Kapilendra Deva had decided beforehand that his mantle should fall on Purushottama Deva, the youngest, to whom he was very fondly attached, owing to his very superior qualities of head and heart. Purushottama Deva had at the outset to encounter with numberless difficulties from his brothers.

¹ [See *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 266 ff K.—P. J.]

The most remarkable event in the reign of Purushottama Deva Gajapathi is his expedition to the south known in Orissa as the "Kanchi-Kaveri" expedition. The eventual success achieved by the King therein together with his marriage with Padmavathi or Rupambika, the lovely daughter of the King of Karnata, has left a landmark in the history of ancient Orissa. The event is so popular that it is talked of in almost every household with no small pride. It would be highly interesting to give a brief account of the same.

The daughter of the King of Karnata or Vijayanagara named above had been betrothed to King Purushottama Deva Gajapathi. The King of Karnata subsequently learnt that it is customary for the Orissan King to sweep the car of Śrī Jagannātha at Puri during the car festival days, held in the month of Āshāḍha, with a golden broomstick. This the former regarded as an act derogatory to the position of a Kshatriya, and refused to give his daughter in marriage to such a "chāṇḍāla" (sweeper) as characterized by him. At this Purushottama Deva considered himself highly insulted and resolved to punish the King of Karnata by fighting against him, taking his daughter a prisoner and marrying her actually to a real "chāṇḍāla." In the first attempt he failed but the second time he fully succeeded. He then sacked Kanchi, the modern Conjeeveram, laid waste the country as far as the river Kaveri, took Padmavathi a prisoner and returned to his capital victorious. He then entrusted her to his minister for being married to a "chāṇḍāla." This wise minister took pity on the lovely girl of royal birth, and at the next car festival which immediately followed while the King was actually sweeping the car of the famous deity of Śrī Jagannātha, offered him the beautiful daughter of the Karnata King to marry. Purushottama Deva who was by this time already pacified accepted Padmavathi or Rupambika in marriage. ¹

[¹ The same story differing in a few details is given in Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. I, pp 320-22.—K.P.J.]

Evidence in proof of this is obtained from—

- (1) The old book entitled, “Kanchi-Kaveri” written four hundred years back in Orissa graphically describes the event though probably with some exaggeration.
- (2) The temple archives known as “Madala Panji” preserved in the temple of Śrī Jagannātha in palm leaf, make clear mention of these facts.

The South Indian images of Śākhi Gopala and Gaṇeśa brought by the King during the expedition from Kanchi are to be seen to this day consecrated at Satyavādi and Furi respectively.

- (3) The “Sarasvathi-Vilāsa,” the huge legal compilation of the Orissan King Pratāparudra Deva, son of Purushottama Deva and Padmavathi, makes in the introduction in unmistakeable terms mention of the expedition of his father and his marriage.
- (4) In the contemporary Tamil inscriptions of South India this is referred to as the “Oddiyan Kalāpam.”
- (5) The contemporary records of the Muhammadan Kings of Gulbarga also make mention of the expedition.
- (6) Two inscriptions at Udayagiri (Nellore District) in the fort on the hill state that Krishṇa Deva Raya made certain grants after having defeated Pratāparudra Deva Gajapathi of Orissa and taken prisoner the latter’s uncle Tirumalappa Raya in Salivahana Śaka 1436 or 1514 A.D. This Tirumalappa Raya was obviously a maternal uncle of the Orissan King and a descendant of the first ruling dynasty of Vizianagar, left in charge of the fort at Udayagiri.
- (7) King Purushottama Deva during his victorious triumphant return from Kanchi rewarded most of his generals who had helped him in the war by making them petty chiefs with small tracts of land and their descendants are to be found even to this day in the Oriya-speaking tracts of the district of Ganjam.

It is rather difficult at present to fix with precision the date of this Kanchi-Kaveri expedition of King Purushottama Deva and find out the name of his contemporary King of Karnata with whom he waged war and whose daughter Padmavathi he married. Purushottama Deva ruled over Orissa from 1479 A.D. to 1504 A.D., or according to some from 1469 to 1496 A.D. Virūpaksha Deva Raya, the last king of the first ruling dynasty of Vizianagar, is said to have ruled from 1466 A.D. to 1486 A.D. He was weak and licentious. During his time Saluva Narasimharāja, his chief general and minister, was all powerful. This general in fact usurped the throne of Vizianagar for himself and founded a new dynasty. Saluva Narasimha succeeded in repelling the Orissan King from Vizianagar in his first attempt but failed to offer any effective resistance when the latter advanced a second time and met him at Kanchi. Kanchi, or the modern Conjeeveram, was an important stronghold of the Vizianagar Kings in the South. Purushottama Deva during his second campaign against the Karnata kingdom obviously did not meet with any opposition till he advanced as far south as Kanchi, which fell in spite of the brave defence by Saluva Narasimha Raya. Purushottama Deva appears to have extended his conquests this time as far south as the Kaveri river before he returned to his capital. There is reason to believe that he invaded Karnata soon after his accession. So the year of the Kanchi-Kaveri expedition may be fixed as 1470 or 1480 A.D. The King of Karnata with whom he fought would be Virupāksha Deva Raya.

Some people would be inclined to ask as to why the King of Orissa who had extended his conquests so far south failed to leave behind him any inscriptions. In the first place it has to be observed that the Kings of Orissa were not fond of making their names permanent in stone inscriptions like their brothers in the South. Secondly, their conquests beyond the Nellore District were but merely military occupations. Lastly, Oriya inscriptions, if any in the South, I think, have not yet been picked up and deciphered, the language being quite foreign there.

IV.—Note on a Discovery of Ancient Copper Smelting Apparatus at Rakha in the Dalbhum Pargana of Singhbhum.

By C. Olden, Superintendent, Cape Copper Company, Limited.

I have for a long time been searching for evidence of the process by which the ancients smelted their copper, and have been successful so far in discovering segments of a clay circle which I should say belonged to an oven about 2 feet or 2 feet 6 inches in diameter, with which were connected clay blast-pipes, of which also I have found portions. I imagine their method must have been as follows, viz :—

(1) The oxidized ores from the portions of the lode above permanent water level may have been smelted between alternate layers of charcoal and copper ores, the layers being about 6 inches thick, the pile being brought to the shape of a cone, and ignited from the bottom. This would have the effect of causing the carbon in the charcoal to combine with the oxygen in the oxides, giving off CO and CO₂, while liquating or sweating out shots of copper.

(2) When the fire was extinguished, I suggest the copper shots were collected and put into a receptacle, referred to above, and, by means of an air-blast, shot copper with charcoal was melted and poured into shapes or moulds to suit requirements.

This is purely a surmise on my part, but I know this is the process in Central Africa and Central Borneo by natives who have no knowledge of modern practice.

I shall continue to look for other relics of the ancient copper industry of which I will advise you from time to time.

I have found some pieces of native copper, evidently manufactured by the ancients, and from its appearance and general properties, I suggest that they were able to produce a very fine class of metallic copper suitable for beating into various forms.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I.—Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on the 25th January 1919 at 3 p.m. at the Society's Office.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Jennings, C.I.E.

Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A., F.R.E.S., F.R.H.S., Honorary Treasurer.

1. Letter from Mr. Jayaswal, Honorary Secretary, was read, regretting that he is unable to attend the meeting.
2. The proceedings of the last meeting were read and confirmed.
3. The following new members were elected :—
 - (1) Pandit Kashi Nath Das, Professor, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
 - (2) Kumar Hari Krishna Dev, M.A., Sobha Bazar, Calcutta.
 - (3) Professor H. R. Bhateja, M.A., Patna College.
 - (4) Professor Jagannath Prasad Pandey, Patna College.
 - (5) Ray Bahadur Baroda Kant Ganguly, Deputy Magistrate, Patna.
 - (6) Babu Suparva Das Gupta, Central Jain Library, Arrah.
 - (7) N. Chatterji, Esq., 41, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
 - (8) Rai Yatindra Nath Choudhari, M.A., B.L., 1, Kuthighata Road, Baranagore, Calcutta.
 - (9) Babu Ramanugrah Narayan Singh, M.A., B.L., Munsif, Buxar.

- (10) Professor Radhagovinda Basak, M.A., 46-1 Russa Road, North, Bhawanipur, Calcutta.
- (11) Professor A. P. Shastri, M.A., Greer Bhumihar Brahman College, Muzaffarpur.
- (12) Panna Lal, Esq., I.C.S., Dehra Dun.
- (13) Babu Rajendra Prosad, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Patna.
- (14) Pandit Ambika Prosad Upadhyaya, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Patna.

4. The appointment of an additional peon for the office was considered. It was resolved that an additional peon on Rs. 8 a month be appointed. The other peon will then be available for the Honorary Secretary's work.

It was also resolved that the Honorary Secretary be asked to report whether in view of the appointment of the extra peon, it is necessary to retain the post of Duftri, or whether it would be better to get bookbinding done locally and the extra peon would do the Duftri's routine work.

5. The appointment of a peon on Rs. 8 a month for the Honorary Treasurer in place of the present allowance of Rs. 4 granted to him for the purpose was considered. It was resolved that a peon on Rs. 8 a month be appointed.

6. It was resolved that the number of copies of the Journal be reduced from 750 to 550.

7. The following letters were read and recorded :—

- (1) Government letter No. 1877E., dated the 2nd November 1918, making an extra grant of Rs. 400 for cataloguing Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bihar districts;
- (2) Government letter No. $\frac{7785-B}{10-100}$, dated the 17th November 1918, making a grant of Rs. 1,000 for the purchase of books for the Society's Library; and
- (3) Government letter No. 1927E., dated the 7th November 1918, conveying sanction to Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., Anthropological Secretary, to attend the meetings of the Indian Science Congress at Bombay.

II.—Proceedings of Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on the 25th March 1919.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S., President.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., I.C.S.

Professor J. N. Samaddar, Honorary Treasurer.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., Honorary Secretary.

(1) A letter from the Hon'ble Mr. Jennings was read, regretting that he was unable to attend the meeting on account of a meeting of the Syndicate.

Mr. Jackson was also unable to attend.

(2) The proceedings of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

It was resolved that the daftry should be retained, as the present daftry is an expert bookbinder and also cuts the pages of the Library books on receipt and affixes the number-labels to them and does other work which could not be done by a peon in addition to the packing and despatch of the Journals, etc.

Mr. Jayaswal thought that the extra peon will not be required for the next six months. It was resolved that the extra peon should not be retained for the next six months, and that the matter be reconsidered at the end of that period.

(3) The following new members were elected :—

1. Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, Patna.
2. The Hon'ble Sir J. Woodroffe, High Court, Calcutta.
3. The Hon'ble Sir A. Mookerjee, High Court, Calcutta.
4. N. C. Sen, Esq., Barrister-at-law, Judge, Small Cause Court, Calcutta.
5. Arun Sen, Esq., Barrister-at-law, 88, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

6. Dr. R. Majumdar, PH. D., Calcutta.

7. Babu Nirsu Narayan Singh, B.L., High Court, Patna.

8. Babu U. K. Das, Manager, Sree Nath Mill, Calcutta.

9. Babu Ramchandra Prosad Varma, B.A., Translator,
High Court, Patna.

10. Professor Bhate, Cuttack.

(4) The question proposing Honorary Members at the General Meeting was considered. Resolved that the following names be proposed :--

M. Senart.

M. Sylvain Lévi.

M. Foucher.

} Honorary Members.

(5) The draft of the Annual Report was approved.

(6) The question of the investment of the funds of the Society was considered. The balance at the close of last year was Rs. 3,000 in fixed deposit for one year at 4 per cent. from May 1918 and Rs. 2,449-7-8 in current deposit account.

Resolved that on the expiry of the term of deposit of Rs. 3,000 in May next, Rs. 3,500 be invested in the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Co-operative Bank.

(7) The preparation of the Library Catalogue was considered. Resolved that after a final revision by Mr. Jayaswal and Mr. Samaddar the proof of the Catalogue be printed.

(8) The question of the balance due to the Society from Messrs. K. V. Seyne Prothers on account of money advanced to them for the purchase of paper for printing of Plates was considered. It was resolved that the Honorary Treasurer be asked to examine the accounts and correspondence with Messrs. Seyne Brothers and the Honorary Secretary and advise as to what legal action the Council should take in the matter.

(9) It was resolved that the practice of other learned Societies be adopted and that a list of the defaulters whose names have been struck off for nonpayment of subscription be published in the Proceedings, but that notice of this resolution be sent to the defaulters before this is done, to give them the

opportunity of paying up their arrears, so as to prevent the publication of their names as defaulters.

(10) Read a letter dated 17th February 1919 from Mr. M. N. Mukharji addressed to the Honorary Secretary, complaining that he has made five payments of annual subscription but has only received receipts for four payments. The Honorary Treasurer stated that the counterfoil receipts show only four payments as made, for each of which a receipt has been given. Mr. Mukharji states that he paid in advance but he was elected in 1915 and the first payment was made in February 1916 which was, therefore, for the preceding year and was not an advance payment for 1916. The other payments made on 24th December 1916, 26th March 1918 and 5th February 1919 were, therefore, in each case for the previous year. Resolved that the Honorary Secretary should inform Mr. Mukharji accordingly.

(11) Read application from three peons and daftry for grain compensation allowance. Resolved that they be given grain compensation allowance at the Government rate from 1st March and the sweeper who is a half-time servant be given an extra 8 annas a month.

III.—Annual Report of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1918.

The year under review has been one of solid progress for the Society in more than one direction. Although there has been a great decrease in the number of members, from 367 at the end of 1917 to 245 at the end of 1918, it is the result of the healthy process of weeding out. But for three members whom we lost, we regret to say, by death, and 10 who resigned that large number had been composed of persistent defaulters who in spite of repeated reminders failed to clear off their dues. It is all the more regrettable that many of these defaulters are holding responsible positions and had been regularly receiving the Journal, some since the very establishment of the Society. Twenty-eight new members have been elected. There has been a marked increase lately in the number of applications received from other parts of India, and it is hoped that our number will be substantially stronger in the near future. At the end of the year there are eight Honorary Members and nine Life Members, besides the 245 Ordinary Members on the roll.

Four issues of the Journal have been published in the year under review completing Vol. IV of the series. There has been a growing demand for the Journal, as will be seen from the fact that the cash sale of the Journal amounted to Rs. 202-8-3. The Journal, it is gratifying to note, has been well received by some of the learned Societies of other countries. Owing to the winding up of the firm who used to prepare blocks for the Society, the publication of the Journal for December was somewhat delayed. We, however, hope to be more punctual in 1919.

Buchanan's Journals. Principal Jackson is still working at his new edition of Buchanan Hamilton's journals. The value of these journals is once more testified to by the extract from it on the *Saisunāka Statues* which is being published in the March issue of our Journal.

Saisunaka Statues. These statues are of such historical importance that a brief notice of their discovery and identification may be given here. The statues are at present in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The importance with which they are now invested might suggest to the Society some action regarding them. Three life-size statues of male figures were discovered about 1812 outside Patna City, very likely near Agam Kuan. Two of these ultimately found their way to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, which transferred them to the Indian Museum. Although the two statues have thus been known for over a century, their identity was discovered only the other day when Mr. Jayaswal examined the inscriptions on the two statues and found that one of the monuments was a statue given to King Aja-Udayin, the original founder of this capital, and the other represented his son, the great conqueror Nandi. Statues were given to Hindu Kings, according to *Bhāsa* an ancient dramatist, soon after their demise. The statues of the Patna emperors will therefore date back to the fifth century B.C. when the two Emperors flourished. These monuments are now proved to be amongst the oldest royal statues in Asia and Europe and stand amongst the greatest historical treasures of the world. To us at Patna, the original seat of the statues, they have a personal interest. We have the great satisfaction of re-finding them. Might not this Province have also the satisfaction of bringing them back and erecting them once more in their original capital?

Meetings. During the year there were five meetings of the Council. One ordinary meeting was held on the 22nd April at which Mr. Jayaswal read a paper on "Hindu Republics." As the paper forms part of a book by the author which is being printed by the Calcutta University it has not been published in the Journal.

It is a matter of satisfaction to the Council that 'progress
Library. has been made in respect of the Library. Books worth Rs. 1,461-6-9 have been purchased during the year and a catalogue of the Library has been prepared. The total number of books is 1,366. A large number of Sanskrit texts have been ordered and standard works of reference have been sent for from England. It is hoped that by the end of 1919 the Library will be one of the most efficient collections in the Province for the purposes of Indian researches.

Mr. Sachidananda Sinha, in place of the books which he had kindly promised to present from his own library, has placed an order with Messrs. Thacker Spink and Company to supply new copies of 37 books on the subjects in which the Society is interested, ten of which have already been received.

The search for Sanskrit manuscripts has been conducted both in Orissa and Mithila under the direction of the General Secretary. The Orissa Pandit has been given an assistant. His work has been fairly satisfactory. The majority of the unpublished works yet found in Orissa are mediæval, composed under the Gajapati kings and later. The search, however, has brought to light some useful books. Two commentaries on the rhetoric work *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, composed within a short time of the original work, have been found. Dr. Harichand intends editing one of these commentaries. A useful commentary on the mathematical work *Līlāvātī* has come to light. One book on hunting and one on war and the army and a new commentary on the Ramayana are amongst the Orissa finds. More noteworthy works are a book on Vedic grammar by one Jayadasa and a history of the Ganga dynasty (*Gaṅga Vamśānucharita*) of which no written history has hitherto been found.

The search in Mithilā has yielded still better results. An ancient copy of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, several Vedic books, works of interest on Nyāya and Hindu law and a work on Hindu politics, amongst others, reward our

labour. A manuscript in the handwriting of Vidyapati has been traced. The Council is informed that a complete collection of the songs of Vidyapati is recoverable. The manuscripts noticed in Mithilā are of higher antiquity. Several copies which are five hundred years old have been noted. Only one Prakrit work, the *Setubandha* (some five centuries old), has been discovered in Mithilā. Likewise in Orissa the *Prākṛita Sarvasva* is the sole Prakrit work yet on our record. Our attempts to recover the *Bṛīhatkathā* has failed up to this time.

Government have mainly financed the work of search for manuscripts. The salaries of the two Pandits have been paid by Government. Government have been considering the request of the Society to enhance the grant to cover the cost of travelling in the case of the Mithila Pandit.

Arrangements will have to be made for the publication of some of the new texts discovered by our search.

The total number of manuscripts noticed in Orissa (1917—1918) is 5,536, and in Mithilā 1,525. Out of the former some 300 manuscripts are of unpublished works and out of the latter the unpublished works would be about 125. The work in Mithilā has only been taken in hand since April, 1918.

An abstract statement is appended to this report. During the year Rs. 3,000 has been placed in fixed deposit in the Bank of Bengal. The arrears, thanks to the energy of the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Samaddar, have been realized to a great extent, while the names of the permanent defaulters have been struck off. It is also to be noted that the paper in stock, already paid for, will last for almost the whole of 1919.

The Council offer their thanks to Government for the grant of Rs. 1,000 for the Library. Government have also made a further allowance of Rs. 2,500 to cover the travelling expenses of the Anthropological Secretary and Rs. 500 for his office establishment, and Rs. 500 for the excavation of Asur sites.

The Report of the Anthropological Secretary on his work during the year, both with regard to the Excavation of Asur

burial sites and Ethnological enquiries, is annexed as an Appendix.

The Council hope that the work of the Society will be more generally appreciated in the Province, and that others will follow the generous example of Raja Kamaleshwari Prasad Singh of Monghyr.

Abstract of Account from January to December, 1918.

Receipts.				Expenditure.			
	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance at the Bank at the end of 1917.	6,672	8	2	Office expenditure including the price of cycle.	1,594	9	7
Subscription from members.	3,945	7	0	Pay and Travelling Allowance of the Bihar Pandit for search of manuscripts in Bihar.	770	11	9
Government Grant for Library.	1,000	0	0	Pay of the Assistant to the Orissa Pandit.	20	4	0
Government Grant for excavation of Asur Sites.	500	0	0	Postage ...	192	9	0
Government Grant for publication of the Journal.	2,000	0	0	Price of Typewriter for Anthropological Secretary.	150	0	0
Government Grant for Ethnological Research.	3,600	0	0	Ethnological allowance paid to Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy.	3,600	0	0
Government Grant for Ethnological Secretary's Office establishment.	500	0	0	Paid to Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy for excavating Asur Sites.	500	0	0
Government Grant for Ethnological Secretary's Travelling Allowance.	2,500	0	0	Travelling allowance paid to Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy for Ethnological Research	1,412	7	6
Donation from Raja Kamaleshwari Prasad Singh for the Library.	1,000	0	0	Office expenditure of Ethnological Secretary paid to Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy.	500	0	0
Carried over	21,717	15	2	Carried over ...	8,740	9	10

Receipts				Expenditure.			
	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
Brought forward ...	21,717	15	2	Brought forward ...	8,740	9	10
Sale of the Journal ...	202	8	3	Paid to Principal Jackson for Buchanan's journals.	421	10	6
Other Miscellaneous Receipts.	19	4	0	Paper for the Journal...	2,519	13	6
Total ...	21,939	11	5	Paid to Government Press for printing the Journal.	1,165	4	0
				Cost of making blocks and printing plates, and art paper for the same, including advance of Rs. 300 to K. V. Seyne and part payment of Rs. 100 for work done.	1,160	6	6
				Books purchased for the library.	1,461	6	9
				Furniture for the Office and Library.	913	10	8
				Miscellaneous ...	107	6	0
				Fixed Deposit ...	3,000	0	0
				In Bank ...	2,449	7	8
				Total ...	21,939	11	5

Report of the Anthropological Secretary, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, M. A., B. L., on his work during the year.

From May to the middle of September I visited different places in the Ranchi district and one or two in the Singhbhum district where ancient Asur grave yards or building sides were reported to exist, and made some test excavations in a few of

the places and regular excavations at the Asur graveyard at Khuntitoli and some excavations at a supposed Asur building site near Baragain. I also paid a day's visit in May and two days' visit in November to a Birhor settlement called Birhortoli and two days' visit in June to another Birhor settlement at Ladup Sosotoli, both in the Ranchi district, to collect some information about certain religious ceremonies of the Bihors. From 25th September to the 20th October I was out on tour in the Bonai state to study the customs of the Hill Bhuiyas there. After that I suffered for about a month from malaria fever contracted in the jungles of Bonai. From the 2nd to the 10th December I was in Orissa to study the pastoral tribe [of *Gours* who appear to stand in a peculiar relation to the Hill Bhuiyas (who do not intermarry with any other tribe or caste but may take Gour women as wives without fear of excommunication). As I was deputed by Government to attend the Indian Science Congress in January, 1919, and to visit the Madras Museum on the way, I availed myself of the opportunity to see a little of the Todas and other aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiri hills, and to study the matriarchal system of the Nayars of the Malabar coast. In February I visited the ruins of a fort attributed to the ancient Kol Rajas at Sherghatti, to compare them with the ruins attributed to the Asurs.

At the Khuntitoli Asur graveyard I opened 56 graves, each grave containing from two to twelve or thirteen earthenware burial urns. These urns are of two different shapes and contain small pottery, some with spouts. The following metal ornaments and other articles have been found in these graves and deposited in Patna Museum :—

(1) Bronze and copper bracelets	...	...	52
(2) Fragments of bronze and copper bracelets	...	...	32
(3) Bronze anklets	...	...	3
(4) Bronze and copper finger rings	...	...	28
(5) " " toe rings	...	...	8
(6) " " beads	...	...	102

(7)	Bronze ankle bells	...	...	...	3
(8)	Unstamped copper coins	...	...	...	2
(9)	Bronze ear ornaments	...	...	...	4
(10)	Stone beads large (18) small (174)	...	...	...	192
(11)	Bone head	...	...	...	1
(12)	Iron bracelets or armlets	...	...	...	8
(13)	Iron rings	...	...	...	10
(14)	Iron arrow heads	...	...	...	2
(15)	Fragments of three bronze plates	...	...	...
(16)	Cowrie (shells) (broke into powder when handled.)				
(17)	Indistinguishable fragments of bronze or copper.				

From an ancient building site near Baragain in the Ranchi district (popularly attributed to the ancient Asurs) a few old iron implements, a few stone beads, a number of earthenware dishes and cones (resembling Siva lingam) have been collected. Two stone celts have also been found there. (These I have with me still, as I expect to find more objects there and then take the whole collection to the Museum.)

A Kushan copper coin was found in an Asur building site in the Karra thana of the Ranchi district. (This was made over to the Hon'ble Vice-President.)

I also found two copper-plate grants in a temple in the Bonai State, and with the help of the Feudatory Chief of Bonai secured them for the Museum. They are now with Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri to whom His Honour sent them for purposes of decipherment. I have just secured another copper axe-head dug up by a cultivator in the Ranchi district.

IV.—Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, held on the 29th March 1919 at the Council Chamber of Government House, Patna.

His Honour Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., President, in Chair.

1. The Annual Report of the Council, printed copies of which were distributed among members, was taken as read.¹

2. The Vice-President invited special attention to the reference in the Report to the Śaishunāka Statues and to their importance in view of the revised reading of the inscriptions on them by Mr. Jayaswal; and also to the discoveries made by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, Ethnological Secretary in the Asur Burial sites.

3. His Honour the President then delivered his Presidential Address.²

4. The Hon'ble Mr. Walsh, Vice-President, on behalf of the Council proposed the election of office-bearers. He referred to the good work of the Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer. He regretted that the Hon'ble Mr. Oldham and Mr. Jackson were not able to be re-elected for the current year, as they would be absent from India on leave.

He also regretted that he was not able to stand for re-election, as he is leaving India.

The following Officers and Members of the Council were proposed for 1919 and were unanimously elected :—

President.—His Honour Sir E. A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Vice-President.—Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson.

General Secretary.—K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A.

Joint-Secretary.—Dr. Hari Chand Shastri, D.LITT.

Treasurer.—Professor Jogindra Nath Samaddar, B.A.

¹ Printed at p. 157 post.

Printed at p. 1 ante.

Departmental Secretaries.

History Section.—K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A.

Archæology and Numismatics.—K. N. Dikshit, Esq., M.A.

Anthropology and Folk lore.—Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy,
M.A. B.L.

Philology.—Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Har Prasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.

Nawab Shams-ul-ulama Saiyid Imdad Imam.

Members of Section Committees.

History.—Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A.

S. Sinha, Esq.

Archæology.—K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

K. N. Dikshit, Esq., M.A.

Anthropology.—His Honour Sir E. A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad
Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.

Philology.—Mahamahopadhyaya, Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, M.A.,
D. Litt.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri,
M.A., C.I.E.

Members of the Council (other than the President, the General Secretary and the Treasurer.)

1. The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson—Vice-President.
2. Nawab Shams-ul-ulama Saiyid Imdad Imam.
3. Hon'ble Sir Ali Inam, K.C.S.I.
4. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A. C.I.E.
5. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, M.A., D. LITT.
6. The Hon'ble Mr. Jennings, C.I.E.
7. G. Fawcett, Esq.
8. S. Sinha, Esq.
9. P. Kennedy, Esq.
10. Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A.

11. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

12. K. N. Dikshit, Esq., M.A.

13. Dr. Hari Chand Shastri, D. LITT.

14. Babu Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhury.

5. The Vice-President then proposed on behalf of the Council that the following distinguished Orientalists be elected Honorary Members :—

M. Senart

M. Sylvain Lévi

M. Foucher.

The proposal was seconded by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri who spoke in support of the proposal as follows :—

M. Senart made a name by his edition, with critical notes and indices, of Mahāvastu Avadāna which is the only work extant of the once powerful sect of the Mahāsāṅghikas, one of the two sects into which the Buddhist community was split up at the Vaisali Council about one hundred years after Buddha's death. The particular school of the Mahāsāṅghikas which this work represents is the Lokottara Vādins. It gives Buddha a superhuman character. The work is written in a language which is distinct from Pali, Prakrit and Sanskrit. It has been called Gāthā dialect by Raja Rajendra Lal because it was first found in the Gāthās of Lalita Vistara. From M. Senart it has got the name of "mixed Sanskrit," a name which is favoured by old Sanskrit authors. In his now famous work entitled *Inscriptions desle Piyadasi* M. Senart gives a grammar of this language. The inscriptions were deciphered in two volumes with notes and translations in French, much of which has been rendered into English by Sir George Grierson in the *Indian Antiquary*. M. Senart came out to India in 1888 and I saw him at Dr. Hoernle's place. But he had to abandon his projected tour in India owing to the illness of his wife.

Professor Sylvain Lévi is a French gentleman of oriental extraction. He made a name as a teacher of Sanskrit, Pali, and

other Indian subjects, when in 1897 appeared in J.A.S.B. my article entitled "Palm-leaf Manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal," the Professor started at once for India, came to Calcutta, and then went to Nepal. During his short stay there he made himself very popular with the Buddhists and collected together many important and unique manuscripts, many of which he has published with French translations and notes. He was only 34 when he came here, and he is the smartest Orientalist I have seen. Some of his important contributions to our knowledge of ancient India are: his great work on Nepal, his work on the Hindu Theatre, his edition and translation of the Sutrāṅkārā, and his investigations into Chinese and Central Indian literature for facts of Indian history, Indian antiquity, etc.

M. Foucher is a pupil of Professor Sylvain Lévi. He came out to India in 1898 just before the Congress of Orientalists at Paris. The object of his visit was to examine illustrations in old Palm-leaf MSS. of Nepal and specimens of Buddhist ichonography and art. His great work on Buddhist ichonography was the result of his visit. He was the heart and soul of the Paris Congress. While in the Far East he organized the Hanoi Congress to which most of the Savants of Europe were invited. He is an expert on Indian Art. He published a great book two years ago, and is planning others on the same line.

I support the nominations of these great scholars to the Honorary membership, because I know from personal experience how their presence electrified our young men who devoted themselves to follow their example in searching for truths of history.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Professor J. N. Samaddar on behalf of the Council proposed that the Hon'ble Mr. Walsh should also be elected an Honorary Member. In doing so, he observed that after the reference to the work of the Vice-President by His Honour in the Presidential address, it would be superfluous to speak anything on the subject. He would only add that Mr. Walsh always disregarded his personal comforts to serve the Society and its interests.

Professor J. N. Sarkar seconded the proposal which was carried with acclamation.

Mr. Walsh thanked the Society for the unexpected honour which they had conferred on him, and said that his interest in the Society would always continue.

5. The Hon'ble Mr. Walsh then brought to the notice of the meeting the various interesting and valuable exhibits which were on the table in the hall. He referred to the copper axe-head inscribed as a copper-plate grant, presented to His Honour the President, an account of which was given by His Honour in Volume IV, part IV of the Journal; the collection of old manuscripts exhibited by Pandit Balgovind Malaviya amongst which was a manuscript of the Srimadbhagavat, dated corresponding to 1146 A.D.; the Darbhanga copper-plate grant presented to the museum by Mr. J. N. Sikdar; the copper axe-head recently obtained by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy; some copper-plate inscriptions which are being deciphered for the Journal by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit H. P. Shastri; and a selection of the ancient seals discovered by Dr. Spooner at Besari, and described in the Report of the Archaeological Survey, Part II for 1913-14, which are now in the museum.

The exhibits were then inspected by the gentlemen present.

6. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit H. P. Shastri, M.A., C.I.E., then proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the chair. In doing so he spoke as follows :—

It is now my pleasant duty to thank His Honour the President, for the interest he is taking in the welfare of this Society and in the history, antiquity, literature, and anthropology of India in the midst of his multifarious duties as the ruler of a large province in the course of formation. The first four years of the Society coincided with the four years of the devastating War which did not certainly afford much leisure to Sir Edward Gait. But his interest in the Society did not flag. It was steady, continuous, deep, and abiding. The impetus given by His Honour to the study of these fascinating subjects is likely to last much longer than the life of the present generation, and to bear beneficial consequences. It is a fortunate circumstance that the historian of Assam was put at the head of two provinces,

the history of which is most interesting, and the capitals of which may, with a bit of oriental hyperbole, be termed eternal cities. One of these cities is Pataliputra and the other is Tosali. The date of the foundation of Pataliputra is well known. Its position during the Maurya and the Gupta periods is well known. But there are periods in its continuous history which are absolutely blank. Thanks to Sir Edward some of these blanks have been filled up during the first four years of the existence of his Society. But still there are others which require study and investigation. The same is the case with Tosali. It existed before the conquest of Kalinga by the Magadha kings in the early part of the fifth century B.C. It regained independence, and again fell a prey to Magadha ambition, and again secured independence. From the eighth to the eleventh century four dynasties reigned there, namely, the Somavansis, the Kesaris, the Gangas, the Gajapitis. Last came the Telengas from whose feeble hand it was wrested by the Muhammadans. There are, however, gaps in its continuous history, and efforts should be made to fill them up. If His Honour so thinks he may appoint a number of scholars to prepare a note of what is known, so that people may concentrate their attention to what is not yet known. This will give a new impetus and is likely to stimulate patriotic study.

With these words I resume my seat, thanking His Honour for all that he has done and for all that may be expected of him.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY
PATNA

Corrected up to December, 1918.

Honorary Members.

No.	Name of Member.	Year of election.	Address.
	Crooke, William, C.I.E., B.A., I.C.S. (retired).	1916	Langton House, Charlton Kings (England).
	Frazer, Sir James G., D.C.L., D.D., Litt. D.	1916	Professor of Social Anthropology, University of Liverpool, Liverpool.
	Grierson, Sir George, F.C.I.E., Ph.D., D. Litt., I.C.S. (retired).	1916	Rothfildham, Camberley, Surrey, England.
	Huldon, Alfred C., M.A., S.C.D., F.R.S.	1916	3, Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
5	Ridgeway, William, M.A., S.C.D., F.B.A., LL.D., Litt. D.	1916	Professor of Archaeology and Brunetton Reader in Classics, University of Cambridge, Cambridge.
	Rivers, W. H. R., M.D., F.R.S. ...	1916	St. John College, Cambridge.
	Smith, Vincent A., C.I.E., M.A., I.C.S. (retired).	1916	116, Banbury Road, Oxford.
8	Thomas, F. W., M.A., Hon. Ph. D., F.R.S.	1916	India Office Library, London.

Ordinary Members.

No.	Name of Member.	Year of elec- tion.	Address.
A			
	Aas, Syed Abul ...	1916	Zamindar and Hony. Magistrate Moradpur, Patna.
	Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Kazi Far- zand-i.	1916.	Sultan Manzil, Gaya.
	„ Nawab Saiyid Nasiruddin	1915	Bihar (Patna).
	„ Saiyid Zamiruddin ...	1916	Sadr Gali, Patna City.
	Aiyangar, Rao Sahib S. Krish- naswami, M.A.	1916	Naidu St., Mylapore, Madras.
	„ Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami, M.A.	1915	Maharaja's College, Trivan- dram, Travancore.
	Alam, Saiyid Muhammad Mahbub	1913	Panjora, Gaya.
	Alexander, J. G. ...	1917	Assistant Engineer, Patna.
	Anderson, Charles W. ...	1917	Engineer, Chakradharpur (Bengal-Nagpur Railway).
B			
10	Banerji, R. D., M.A. ...	...	Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona.
	Barnicott, A. W., I.C.S. ..	1915	Collector, Muzaffarpur.
	Basu, Debendra Nath ...	1915	Leader, Sasaram.
	„ Sashi Bhushan, M.A. ...	1916	Barganda (Giridih).
	Bhattacharyya, Brindaban Chandra, M.A.	1917	Rangpur College, Rangpur.
	„ Jyotish Chandra, M.A., B.L.	1915	Vakil, Purnea.

Asterisk (*) signifies a Life Member

No.	Name of Member.	Year of election.	Address.
20	Bhide, H. B. ...	1918	Dewanpur Road Bhawanagar
	Biswas, B. K., B.L. ...	1918	Munsif, Purnea.
	Bodding, The Rev. P. O. ...	1918	Santal Mission, Dumka.
	Pose, S. B. ...	1915	Barganda, Giridih.
	Boycott, C. J. B. Wight ...	1918	46, Victoria Road, Jubbalpore.
C			
80	Caldwell, K. S., M.A., PH. D., F.I.C., F.C.S.	1917	Professor, Patna College Bankipore.
	Campbell, The Hon'ble Rev. A., D.D.	1915	Pokhuria (Manbhum).
	Cardon, The Rev. Father L., S.J.	1915	Biru (Ranchi.)
	Chakladar, Haran Chandra, M.A.	1916	7, Gopal Banarjee Lane, Kali-ghat (Cuttack).
	Chakravarti, Arun Nath, M.A. ...	1915	Assistant Settlement Officer Daltonganj.
	Chamier, Sir Edward, Kt. ...	1917	India Office, London.
	Chapman, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, J.P., I.C.S.	1917	High Court, Patna.
	Chatterjee, B. M., Rai Sahib ...	1915	Deputy Collector, Patna.
	Chaudhuri, Gagan Bihari ...	1915	Sub-Judge, Cuttack.
	Chaudhuri, Rai Bahadur Radha Gobinda, M.A., B.L.	1918	Government Pleader, Ranchi.
	Chattarji, Basanta Kumar, B.L. ...	1916	Pleader, Ranchi.
	Clayton, The Hon'ble Mr. F. ...	1916	Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, Patna.
	Cobden-Ramsay, L. E. B., C.I.E., I.C.S.	1913	Political Agent, Sambalpur.
	Coutts, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice W. S., C.I.E., I.C.S.	1917	High Court, Patna.
	Crawford, W. M., B.A., I.C.S. ...	1916	Deputy Commissioner, Purnia.

No.	Name of Member.	Year of elec- tion.	Address.
D			
	Dann, The Rev. G. J.	1917	Bankipore.
	Das, The Hon'ble Mr. Brajasundar	1917	Cuttack.
	„ Madhusudan ...	1917	Translator to Govt., Cuttack.
	Rai Krishna	1918	Hastings' House, Benares Cantonment.
40	„ The Hon'ble Babu Gopabandhu	1918	Satyavadi, Puri.
	„ *The Hon'ble Mr. Justice P. R., Bar.-at-Law.	1918	Patna.
	Das Gupta, Rai Sahib Kedarnath	1916	Purulia.
	Deb, Sri Lakshmi Narayan	1916	Jubraj of Tekkali, Ganjam.
	„ *Raja D. Sudhal	1917	Feudatory Chief, Bamra.
	Deo, Baidya Binode Singh	1916	Zamindar of Icha, Chaibassa.
	„ Maharaja S r Bir Mitradaya Sing, K.O.I.E.	1915	Feudatory Chief of Soncpur State, Orissa.
	„ *Raja Dhananidhar Indra	1917	Bonai State.
	„ The Hon'ble Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja, O.B.E.	1915	Kanika, Orissa.
	Dharmapala, The Anagarika	1916	46, Baniapookur Lane, Cal- cutta.
50	Dixon, F. P., B.A., I.C.S.	1917	Collector, Arrah.
	Drake, J. C. B., O.B.E., B.A., I.C.S.	1915	Magistrate, Ranchi.
	Dundas, The Hon'ble Mr. R. T., C.I.E.	1915	Inspector-General of Police, Patna.
	Dutta, M. N.	1915	Mica Merchant, Giridih.
	Durham-Waite, W. E.	1915	Manager, Encumbered and Wards Estate, Ranchi.
	Dwivedi, Hari Nandan	1915	Mukhtar, Bhabhua.
	Dyal, Akhauri Parmeswar, B.A., LL.B.	1918	Vakil, High Court, Patna.

Asterisk (*) signifies a Life Member.

No.	Name of Member.	Year of election.	Address.
	E		
	Ernes, The Rev. H., S.J. ...	1915	Ruyarite, Simdega (Ranchi).
	F		
	Fakhruddin, Khan Bahadur Saiyid.	1915	Government Pleader, High Court, Patna.
	Fawcus, G. E., M.A., I.E.S. ...	1916	Director of Public Instruction, Bihar and Orissa, Patna.
60	Filgate, T. R., C.I.E. ...	1915	Muzaffarpur.
	Firminger, Venerable Archdeacon Walter K., M.A., B.D., F.R.G.S.	1917	Calcutta.
	Floor, The Rev. H., S. J. ...	1915	Hirn, Ranchi.
	Forrest, The Hon'ble Mr. H. T. S., I.C.S.	1915	Commissioner, Tribut Division, Muzaffarpur.
	Forrester, The Rev. J. C. ...	1915	St. Columba's Mission, Hazaribagh.
	Frost, The Rev. H. J. ...	1915	American Baptist Mission, Balasore.
	G		
	* Gait, His Honour Sir Edward Albert, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.	1915	Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, Ranchi.
	Garr, B. L., B.Sc. ...	1917	Engineer, Ludhiana.
	Garguly, O. C. ...	1918	7, Old Post Office St., Calcutta.
	George, The Rev. Brother ...	1917	Kurji, Patna.
70	Ghose, Paresh Nath, B.A., B.T. ...	1916	Deputy Inspector of Schools, Chaibassa.
	„ Manoranjan, M.A. ...	1918	Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
	„ Rajani Nath, M.A. ...	1915	Assistant Head Master, Patna Collegiate School, Moradpur P. O. (Patna).
	„ Rai Bahadur Ujendra Nath...	1915	Deputy Collector, Hazaribagh.

Asterisk (*) signifies a Life Member.

No.	Name of Member.	Year of election.	Address.
	Ghose, Mahashay Tarak Nath ...	1915	Bhagalpur.
	Girwardhar, B.A., LL.B. ...	1915	Samastipur.
	Graves, H. G. ...	1916	Controller of Patents, 1, Council House Street, Calcutta.
	Gruning, The Hon'ble Mr. J. F., C.I.E., I.C.S. ...	1917	Commissioner, Orissa Division, Cuttack.
	Gupta, Krishna Bihari ...	1917	Tej Narayan Jubilee College, Bhagalpur.
	" Upendra Nath Dutta, B.A., B.T. ...	1915	Headmaster, Balasore.
85	" Shiva Prasad ..	1918	Nandan Sahu's Street, Benares City.
H			
	Haider, Syed Riaz ...	1917	Gaya.
	Haque, The Hon'ble Mr. M., Barrister-at-Law. ...	1917	Patna.
	Haider, Sukumar, B.A. ...	1915	Deputy Magistrate, Ranchi.
	Hallid, M. G., B.A., I.C.S. ...	1915	Deputy Commissioner, Chabassa (Singlibhum).
	Haines, H. H. ...	1915	Doranda, Ranchi.
	Hceck, The Rev. L. Van, S.J. ...	1915	Mauresa House, Ranchi.
	Hollow, F. M. ...	1915	Deputy Collector, Giridih.
	Holmwood, Lady ...	1916	Aldeiburn, Stoke Pogis near Slough, Bucks, England.
	Hassan, A. N. M. Ali, M.A. ...	1916	Lecturer, Patna College, Muradpur, Patna.
86	Horie, E. A., M.A., I.C.S. ...	1916	Professor, Patna College, Ban- kipur.
	Hussain, Maulavi Fyed Ahmad ...	1915	Muzaffarpur.

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No.	Name of Member.	Year of election.	Address.
I			
	Imam, The Hon'ble Sir Ali, K.C.S.I.	1917	Member of Executive Council, Patna.
	Imam, Nawab Shams-ul-ulama Syed Imdad.	1915	Neora, District Patna.
	Inglis, A. L., I.C.S. ...	1916	Collector, Simbalpur.
	Iyer, L. K. Ananta Krishna, B.A., L.T.	1915	Curator, State Museum, Trichur (Cochin).
J			
	Jackson, V. H., M.A., I.C.S. ...	1915	Principal, Patna College, Patna.
	Jain, Kumar Debendra Prasad ...	1918	Arrah.
	Padamraj ...	1918	9, Jugemohan Mullick's Lane, Calcutta.
	Jaynsawal, K. P., M.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law.	1915	Exhibition Road, P. O. Patna.
100	Jennings, The Hon'ble Mr. J. G., M.A., C.I.E., I.E.S.	1915	Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, Patna.
	Jha, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganga Nath, M.A., D. Litt.	1915	Principal, Sanskrit College, Benares.
	„ Radha Krishna, M.A. ...	1915	Patna College, Bankipore.
	Johnston, E. H., B.A., I.C.S. ...	1915	Collector, Monghyr.
K			
	Keane, The Hon'ble Mr. M., I.C.S.	1918	Secretary to the Government of United Provinces, Allahabad.
	Kennedy, The Rev. K., M.B. ...	1915	Govindpur, Jainaguh, Ranchi.
	„ Hon'ble Mr. P., M.A., B.L.	1915	Vakil, Muzaffarpur.
	Khan, Alided, L.T. ...	1916	Jagannathpur M. E. School, Sirghbham.
	„ Khan Bahadur Syed Sarfaraz Hossain	1916	Honorary Magistrate, Patna City.
	Khuda-Bakhsh, S. ...	1918	Deputy Superintendent of Police, Patna.
110	King, F. C., I.C.S. ...	1915	Gumla, Ranchi.

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No.	Name of Member.	Year of election.	Address.
L			
	Lal, Rai Bahadur Hira ...	1918	Extra Assistant Commissioner Jubbulpore.
	LeMesurier, The Hon'ble Mr. H., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.	1915	Member of Executive Council Bihar and Orissa, Patna.
	Leslie, John ...	1916	Doranda, Ranchi.
	Levinge, Sir Edward Vere, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (retired).	1915	Coonor.
	Lister, The Hon'ble Mr. E, C.I.E., B.A., I.C.S. ...	1915	Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Government, Patna.
	Luby, T., M.A., I.C.S. ...	1915	Subdivisional Officer, Dhanbad (Maibhum).
M			
	Mackenzie, W. ...	1915	Gaya.
	Macpherson, The Hon'ble Mr. T.S., M.A., I.C.S.	1916	Patna.
	Mahanti, Narayan Prasad, B.A. ...	1916	Assistant Inspector of Schools, Chota Nagpur Division, Ranchi.
120	Mahapatra, Chaudhuri Narendra Nath Dass.	1915	Allalpur, Jellapore, Balasore.
	Mahasay, Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray.	1915	Zamindar, Lakshunnath, Balasore.
	Majumdar, Bhabatosh ...	1918	Stenographer to Director- General of Archaeology, Benmore, Simla.
	Makins, F. K. ...	1915	Deputy Conservator, Chaibassa (Singhbhum).
	Mansfield, P. T., I.C.S. ...	1916	Subdivisional Officer, Barh.
	Maude, The Hon'ble Mr. W., C.S.I., I.C.S.	1916	Vice-President, Bihar and Orissa Executive Council, Patna.
	Masood, S. Ross, B.A., I.E.S. ...	1915	Director of Public Instruction, Hyderabad, Deccan.
	Mazumdar, Nanda Lal ...	1912	Private Secretary to the Maharaja, Srivilas Palace, Gidhour, Morphyr.

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No.	Name of Member.	Year of election.	Address.
130	McPherson, The Hon'ble Mr. H., C.S.I., I.C.S.	1915	Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, Patna.
	McPherson, J, M.A., Captain ...	1915	46, Middle Road, Barrackpur.
	Milne, G., M.A., I.C.S. ...	1915	Ranchi.
	Mirza, P. ...	1915	Deputy Collector, Monghyr.
	Misra, Baidya Nath, B.A. ...	1917	Deputy Magistrate, Sambalpur.
	„ Kashinath ...	1916	Zaminder, P. O. Hayaghat, Darbhanga.
	„ Kripasindhu ...	1917	Satyavadi, Puri.
	„ Satyabadi ...	1917	Superintendent of the Pallaha Feudatory State, Orissa.
	Mitter, N. C. ...	1915	Pleader, Hazaribagh.
	Mitra, Nabin Krishna, B.L. ...	1918	Pleader, Kendrapara (Orissa.)
140	Mody, Keshab Lal ...	1918	Hayapatel Street, Kharaknole Street, Ahmedabad (Bombay Presidency.)
	Morshead, L. F., I.C.S. ...	1918	Muzaffarpur.
	Mukharji, Bisveswar, M.A., B.L. ...	...	Government Pleader, Hazari- bagh.
	„ Jogendra Chandra, M.A., B.L.	1915	Vakil, Muzaffarpur.
	„ Manmatha Nath, B.A., B.E.	1915	District Engineer, Ranchi.
	„ Radha Kumud, M.A., P.H.D.	1917	The University, Mysore.
	Muktadir, Khan Sahib Abdul, B.A.	1915	Oriental Public Library, Morad- pur P.O., Bankipore.
	Myres, E. ...	1915	Giridih.
	N		
	Nar, Bahidur ...	1918	Deputy Inspector, Kalahandi State.
	Nahar, P. C., M.A., B.L. ...	1917	48. Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.
	Noor, The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Khwaja Muhammad.	1915	Gaya.

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No.	Name of Member.	Year of election.	Address.
O			
	Oldham, The Hon'ble Mr C. E. A W., C.S.I., I.C.S.	1915	Commissioner, Patna.
150	Ollenbach, A. T., B.A. ...	1915	Subdivisional Officer, Phulbani (Orissa).
	O'Malley, The Hon'ble Mr. L.S.S., B.A., I.C.S.	1915	Bengal Secretariat, Calcutta.
	Omar, Abu Nasar, B.A. ...	1916	Deputy Magistrate, Patna.
P			
	Panda, H. H., B.A. ...	1916	Secretary, Orya Samaj, Aska, District Ganjam.
	Panday, Haranandan, B.A. ...	1916	Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, Patna.
	Pande, Kumar Pratapendra Chandra	1915	Zamindar, Pakour, Santal Parganas.
	Pati, Ja'nath ...	1918	Mukhtiar, Nawada (Gaya).
	Patnaik, Lakshmi Narayan, B.L....	1915	Munsif, Daltonganj.
	Pepps, A. T. ...	1915	Manager, Chota Nagpur Raj, Ranchi.
	Perier, The Rev. F. T., S.J. ...	1915	32, Park Street, Calcutta.
160	Petter, A. B. ...	1915	Subdivisional Officer, Buxar.
	Place, G. W., I.C.S. (retired)	1915	9, Ailesbury Road, Dublin.
	Prabal, E. C., B.A. ...	1915	Deputy Collector, Hazaribagh.
	Prasad, The Hon'ble Babu B'shun	1917	Gaya.
	„ Debi ...	1915	Manager, Ganguly's Estate, Colgong, Bhagalpur.
	„ The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Jwala, Rai Bahadur, B.A., LL.B.	1915	High Court, Patna.
	„ Kalika, B.A., B.T. ...	1916	Headmaster, Training School, Muzaffarpur.

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No.	Name of Member.	Year of election.	Address.
170	Prasad, Ramkrishna ...	1918	Deputy Magistrate, Gaya.
	„ Surya ...	1918	Gaya.
	„ Rai Sahib Surya ...	1915	Government Pleader, Bhagalpur.
	Pugh, L. P. E., Bar-at-Law ...	1917	Bar Library, Calcutta.
R			
180	Rao, T. A. Gopinath, M.A. ...	1916	Superintendent of Archaeology Travancore State, Trivandrum
	„ R. Subha, B.A. ...	1916	Temple Street, Cocanada.
	Ray, Rai Sahib Chuni Lal, B.A. ...	1915	Purulia.
	„ Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra M.A. ...	1915	Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
	„ Rai Bahadur M. M. ...	1915	Collector, Puri.
	„ Rai Sahib Sushil Kumar, M.A., B.L. ...	1915	Pleader, Madhubani.
	Raye, N. N., M.A. ...	1915	Principal, T. N. J. College Bhagalpur.
	Path, Maitunjoy ...	1918	Assistant Master, R. C. School Cuttack.
	„ Tarini Charan ...	1918	District Munsif, Angole.
	Reid, J., I.C.S. ...	1915	Collector, Patna.
	Ross, R. L., M.A., I.C.S. ...	1917	District Judge, Patna.
	Roy, Sarat Chandra, Rai Bahadur, M.A., B.L. ...	1915	Vakil, Ranchi.
180	„ Hem Chandra Chaudhuri, M.A. ...	1917	B. N. College, Bankipore.
	„ Surya Kanta Chowdhary, B.A. ...	1915	Zamindar, 299, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
	S		
180	Sahay, Girijapada, M.A. ...	1918	Arrah.
	„ Kailaspaty, B.A. ...	1918	C/o Babu Tilakdhari Lal, L.L.B., Government Pleader, Buxar.

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No.	Name of Member.	Year of election.	Address.
	Sahay, Jagat Pal	1916	Pleader, Ranchi.
	„ The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna.	1915	Vakil, Patna.
	Samaddar, J. N., B.A. ...	1915	Patna College, Patna.
199	Sarkar, Chandra Sekhar, M.A., B.L.	1915	Vakil, Bhagalpur.
	„ Girindia Nath, B.A. ...	1917	Chaibassa.
	„ Jadu Nath, M.A. ...	1915	Hindu University, Benares City
	„ Subimal Ch. ...	1918	Patna College, Patna.
	„ Suresh Chandra, M.A. ...	1915	Sadr Subdivisional Officer, Muzaffarpur.
	Sen, The Hon'ble Mr. B. C., I.C.S.	1915	Commissioner, Bhagalpur.
	„ D. N., M.A. ...	1916	Principal, B. N. College, Bankipore.
	„ Manmatha Nath, B.A. ...	1915	Deputy Magistrate, Dumka.
	„ The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Nisi Kanta, M.A., B.L.	1915	Purnea.
	„ Surendra Nath ...	1915	Pleader, Muzaffarpur.
200	Seppings, E. H. L. ...	1916	P. A. to Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Furruckabad, P. O. Box 51, Raunoon.
	Shah, Hiralal Ambalal ...	1917	Margal Market, Bombay.
	Sharma, Shyamje ...	1917	Patna City School, Patna City.
	Shaw, R., M.A. ...	1918	Registrar, Patna University, Patna.
	Shastri, Mahanubopadhyaya Hara Prasad, M.A., C.I.E.	1915	26, Pataldanga Street, Calcutta.
	Shastri, Hari Chand, D. Litt. ...	1918	Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies, Bihar and Orissa, Muzaffarpur.
	Sicard, G., O. S. ...	1918	St Joseph's College, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly.

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No.	Name of Member.	Year of election.	Address.
210	Siddique, Md. Yusuf ...	1917	C/o Maulavi Muhammad Islam B.A., Daltonganj.
	Singh, Lt.-Col. B. J., I.M.S., C.I.E.	1915	Inspector-General of Prisons, Ranchi.
	„ Harsa Prasad ...	1916	Zamindar and Honorary Magistrate, Arrah.
	„ * Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad.	1916	Dumraon (Shahabad).
	„ The Hon'ble Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan.	1916	Amawan (Monghyr).
	„ The Hon'ble Raja Kirtyanand, B.A.	1915	Champanagar, Bhagalpur.
	„ * Raja Kamleswari Prasad ...	1917	Monghyr.
	„ Kshemdhari ...	1915	Senior Deorhi, Madhubani.
	„ * Maharaja Bahadur Keshav Prasad.	1916	Dumraon (Shahabad).
	„ Rai Bahadur Rajendra Lal	1916	Bariha of Barsanibar, Sambalpur
	„ Mukundhari ...	1916	Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Arrah.
	„ Rai Brij Behari Sharan, M.A., B.L.	1915	Deputy Magistrate, Daltonganj.
220	„ * Raja Radhikaraman Prasad, M.A.	1916	Surajpura (Shahabad).
	„ Maharaja Bahadur Sir Rameshwar Prasad, G.C.I.E.	1915	Rajnagar, Darbhanga.
	„ * The Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur Sir Ravaneshwar Prasad, K.C.I.E.	1918	Gidhour.
	„ Chaudhury, Ram Gopal, B.L.	1915	Chaudhuritola, Mahendru P.O. (Patna).
	Sinha, Dewaki Prasad ...	1918	Golghar P.O. (Patna).
	„ Jageshwar Prasad, B.L. ...	1915	Muzaffarpur.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. V.]

[PART II.

LEADING ARTICLES

I.—Literary History of the Pāla Period.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., C I E.

The Palas became the rulers of Bengal in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. and their rule lasted till the first quarter of the twelfth century. They were Buddhist by religion but their Buddhism sat rather loose on them. They tolerated the professors of other religions, they respected Brāhmanas, often joined in their sacrifices, utilized them in the services of the state and supported them by grants of land. Literary history of this period naturally falls under three heads, viz., Sanskrit Brahmanic Literature, Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, and Vernacular Buddhist Literature; they will be treated in this order. There was a Vernacular Brahmanic Literature also, but no books of that literature have yet been discovered.

Sanskrit Brahmanic Literature.

The majority of the Brāhmanas of Bengal came from the west. It is said that they were invited by a king named Adishura. But history knows nothing about this king. The Kulastatras or heraldry of the Brāhmanas give indeed the names of a number

of kings ending in the word Sūra. They comprehend these kings into a dynasty and regard Ādisūra as their progenitor. Epigraphic records, so far obtained, speak of three kings in Western Bengal with their names ending in Sūra, and, curiously enough, these names are found in the Kulaśāstra lists. The age of the advent of the five Brāhmaṇas is also a matter of controversy. The chronogram has two different readings :—Vedavāṇāga-Sāke and Vedavāṇāka-Sāke, meaning 654 or 954 of the Śaka era, that is, 732 and 1032 of the Christian era. Old manuscripts favour 732 and one of the earliest writers on Brahmanic heraldry distinctly says that the Pālas came to power in Bengal shortly after the advent of these Brāhmaṇas. The number of generations which passed between their first advent in Bengal and the time of Vallāla Sena who granted them certain privileges also favour the same conclusion. Not that there were no Brāhmaṇas when these came, for it is well known that the Gupta Emperors of Magadha and their successors made sporadic attempts to settle Brāhmaṇas in Bengal. The advent of these Brāhmaṇas in Bengal is not an isolated fact. The revival of Vedic learning and Vedic sacrifices under the influence of the Reformer Kumārila and his successors led to the settlement of Brāhmaṇas in various parts of India, and it is believed that the settlement of Brāhmaṇas in Bengal is also due to the impetus given by them.

The Brahmanas came here to perform Vedic sacrifices—so they were men learned in the Vedas. They transmitted their knowledge of the Vedas to their posterity. But their mode of study differed widely from that of other provinces where they memorized the Vedas or at least that Veda which they professed. But they cared very little for the meaning. In Bengal, however, the Brāhmaṇas never memorized even one of the Vedas. They memorized only such of the Mantras as were used in their religious performances, but insisted on knowing their meaning and so they early felt the necessity of a system of interpretation of the Vedas and also of a commentary. They adopted the system of interpretation given not by Kumārila but by his Guru Prabhākara; and it is on

record that they studied Śalika Natha's work belonging to Prabhākara's School. They also made a commentary on the mantras used by them. It is not known when this commentary was written, but the author's name is Nugaḍa. He had a large body of followers and some commentaries written by his followers have come down to the present day. These commentators refer to him as their authority. This is the earliest commentary on the Vedas yet known. Sāyaṇa is at least three hundred years posterior to Nugaḍa. The descendants of the first settlers, who lived in Western Bengal, all professed the Sāmaveda, and performed their religious ceremonies according to the Sūtras of that Veda; and they early felt the necessity of a commentary of that Sūtra. Such a commentary was written by Nārāyaṇa, contemporary of Devapāla. This commentary settled the liturgy of Sāmavedin Brāhmaṇas. Later on, Bhavadeva, a contemporary of Hari Varmā, a king of the coast countries of Bengal and Orissa, wrote a number of works for the same purpose. Halāyudha and Paśupati, contemporaries of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, settled the liturgy of the professors of the White Yajurveda.

As a community, the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal could not subsist with the Vedic schools only. They must make a Smṛti of their own for the regulation of their domestic and social affairs and it is found in many works that there was a Gaudīya School of Smṛti. Diligent search has hitherto been unsuccessful in finding out works of this school, though the names of authors, evidently of that school, are often found in modern works. There was one great writer, however, named Govindarāja, son of Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, who was already known for his commentary on Manusmṛitī. His great work, a comprehensive compilation of domestic and social regulations, presumably for the Bengali Brāhmaṇas, has recently been discovered. The manuscript was copied in A.D. 1145. It is in the form of a commentary on Yājñavalkya's work. Jimūta-vāhana, the author of Dāyabhāga, the standard work of the Bengal School of Hindu Law as administered in the British Courts of Justice, lived in the eleventh century A.D. His idea of inheritance differs *in toto* from that current in other parts of India. He is

strongly opposed to the idea of family property which the owners cannot alienate. He is all for personal property. Inheritance, according to him, does not mean right of property from the very birth, but it depends upon remaining alive at the time of the death of the predecessor in interest. Some scholars think that this preference of Jīmūtavāhana for personal property may be due to the Buddhist influence in the country for which he writes the book. Jīmūtavāhana wrote a work on the determination of Kālā, or the time proper for sacrifices and religious ceremonies. In this book are recorded many astronomical observances by himself and his predecessors. His work on Indian jurisprudence is a very clear and comprehensive work.

The Hindus cultivated poetry during this period with success. But like the poetry in other parts of India, it was mostly one-verse poetry, bundled into Saṅkas, Aṣṭakas, Satakas, etc. There are many anthologies of the period giving the gems of composition by the poets and poetesses of the time. The last of the Bengal anthologies was written in the year 1205. But it would be a libel on Bengal poets to say that they wrote nothing but one-verse poetry. They wrote beautiful dramas, excellent lyrics and some of the finest short pieces. They tried their hand in history and panegyric also. Of dramas it is doubtful whether the author of the *Veṇīsaṃhāra* was really a Bengali. The word *Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka* in the *Khalimpur grant* does not refer to any human being, but to the great god *Nārāyaṇa*. But the *Caṇḍakaśika* was written undoubtedly by a Bengali poet, Ārya Kṣemiśvara, the word Ārya there meaning a married Buddhist priest. The character of Viśvāmitra is drawn there with a consistency and thoroughness which would do honour to the greatest poets of the world. He is relentless in realizing his dues from Rājā Harīśchandra in order that the Rājā's character for unselfish devotion to duty might be shown to the best. The poem *Pavanadūta*, though an imitation of Kālidāsa's exquisite work the *Meghadūta*, is written with great power. It describes Bengal as the garden of India and as a great rival of the celestial garden *Nandana*:

But the most exquisite work of this period is the immortal *Gītagovinda*. Later on, the vernacular lyrics would be treated of, showing how enthusiastically the ancient Bengalis cultivated music and song. And *Gītagovinda* is only one sublime manifestation of that enthusiasm. It describes the sports of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā at Vṛndāvana and the charming full-moon night of the beautiful Indian autumn with all that is delightful to the senses and fascinating to the imagination. The work is still sung in the temple of Jagannātha at Puri and sends the audience into raptures.

During the ascendancy of the Pālas, the Brāhmaṇa settlers of Bengal had to fight hard with the Philosophy of Buddhism. That philosophy had already made marvellous progress in metaphysical speculations resulting in an absolute monism, which for want of a better word was termed *Śūnyavāda*. But that *Śūnyavāda* again developed into *Advayavāda* or Non-dual system. It was not only highly intellectual but exceedingly popular, for the Buddhists managed to give it a very attractive sensuous form. In order to demolish such a strong system, the Brāhmaṇas had recourse to realism, that is, to *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika*, viz., Logic and Physical Science. The earliest work written by a Bengali pandit of this period on philosophy was a commentary on the *Vaiśeṣika* system. It was written in Śaka 913 or A.D. 991 at Bhursut in the district of Howrah, at that time a famous seat of Sanskrit learning. The works of Vācaspati Miśra and Udayana also belong to the same period. Both the authors had intimate knowledge of Buddhist Philosophy and made themselves thoroughly acquainted with the weak points of the rival system, and these they assailed with the weapons of logic and facts and with persistency and power. The consequence was that gradually the Buddhist monism went to the wall and *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* remained master of the field. The coping-stone of the arch of Brahmanic Philosophy was placed about the end of this period by Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya's admirable work, *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, divided into four chapters according to the four evidences

of the Nyāya School and embodying all that was best in Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika system. The author in the preamble gives the object of his work to be the refutation of the Buddhist system. These four centuries were therefore a continuous struggle between the Buddhist and the Brahmanist for ascendancy in philosophy in Bengal.

The panegyric embodied in the stone tablet at the Ananta Vāsudeva temple at Bhuvaneśvara throws a good deal of light on the state of learning and state of society in Bengal at the end of the tenth century A.D. The panegyric was written by a young scholar named Vāchaspati Miśra, who is supposed to have bloomed in later life as the commentator of all the six systems of Hindu Philosophy. The Rāmacarita by Sandhyākara Nandī, a son of the minister of peace and war of Rāma Pāla, King of Gaṇḍa, gives a history of the struggle between the Pālas and Kai-vartas in Northern Bengal for about two generations during the middle of the eleventh century.

Sanskrit Buddhist Literature.

The Sanskrit literature of the Buddhists of this period deserves deep study, as that literature profoundly influenced the neighbouring countries of Tibet, Mongolia and Eastern Peninsula. Dharma Pāla, the second King of the Pāla Dynasty, who established his ascendancy over the greater part of India, patronized a learned Bhikṣu named Haribhadra and encouraged him to write a commentary on the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, entitled Abhisamayālaṅkā rāvaloka. To understand the importance of this commentary it would be necessary to recapitulate the history of the Mahāyāna systems of philosophy from the beginning. About the end of the second century A.D. Nāgārjuna wrote the well-known work Madhyamakakārikās leading to Śūnyavāda which may be translated as Nihilism. But it is not really Nihilism, it really meant the absorption of the human soul into the essence of Buddha. But it did not define what that essence was and so Nāgārjuna was accused of preaching Nihilism. In order to popularize his system, he is said to have recovered from the nether regions a

work in which Buddha preaches *Śūnyavāda* to his disciples in Sanskrit. This work is called *Prajñāpāramitā*, the supreme wisdom, and its extent is eight thousand ślokas of thirty-two syllables each.

A century later, Maitreya-nātha wrote the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra Kārikās* which defined the essence of Buddha as intelligence (*viññāna*) and he, in order to popularize his system, transformed the Supreme Wisdom in eight thousand ślokas into one of twenty-five thousand. So two schools were formed, the *Mādhyamaka* and the *Yogācāra*, with numerous adherents of great intellectual powers who fought with each other with great acrimony. The struggle lasted for centuries and polemical works were written on both sides in large numbers. In order to put a stop to this struggle Dharma Pāla encouraged Haribhadra to write a commentary on the Supreme Wisdom of eight thousand ślokas, according to the principles laid down in Maitreya-nātha's *Kārikās*. The words *Śūnyavāda* and *Viññāna-vāda*—the war cry of the sects—seem to have died out from this time and another word came into currency without the sectarian sting. This is *Advayavāda*, or monism. It is a curious fact however that when Haribhadra was writing this commentary, Śaṅkara wrote the *Śārirakabhāṣya* on the Vedānta aphorisms which is known as *Advaitavāda* or monism.

The absorption of the enlightened human soul into the essence of Buddha was later on symbolized as the jumping of the human soul into the embrace of *Nārātāmā Devī*, the Goddess Soulless. This symbolism later on was transformed into various sensuous forms and made the *Advayavāda* of the Buddhists infinitely more attractive than the philosophic *Advaitavāda* of Śaṅkara. This is one of the reasons why Śaṅkara's theories failed to take root in Bengal.

When the weapon used against the Buddhists by the *Brāhmaṇas*, their opponents, was logic, it is not probable that the Buddhists in their turn would not understand the importance of it in controversy. They, too, cultivated logic with enthusiasm and

wrote some of the finest works during this period: Ratnākaraśānti's work on transcendental logic, in which no *udāharaṇa* can be had, may be instanced as a specimen of Buddhist logic of this period. The Buddhists seem to have taken up the original works on Nyāya of the Brāhmaṇas. But they soon discarded the evidence of analogy and authority as useless in higher spheres of metaphysics and even in life. Brāhmaṇas had great difficulty in maintaining these two sources of knowledge. At one time they even agreed to discard analogy as useless.

True to the instinct of monism, the Buddhists refused to believe that the parts and the whole are different. In this they were virulently opposed by the realists—the Brāhmaṇas, and the controversy that ensued is not only an intellectual treat but also an amusing reading as it is full of raileries and innuendoes! The Brāhmaṇas believed in genus and species and in individuals, but the Buddhists would never do it, and the controversy that grew up produced numbers of manuals or treatises on both sides. It would have been very fortunate and very interesting, too, if the whole literature on this subject were preserved; we have but mere fragments. Of other important philosophical works, the only work of considerable size that is known is a commentary on the Bodhicaryāvatāra. The text gives a lucid summary of the religion and philosophy of the Mahāyāna School and the commentary in elucidating the doctrines preached in the text shows an amount of scholarship, breadth of view, knowledge of the world and extent of information which is really wonderful. These Buddhists based their idea of monism on the symbolical representation of the human mind, bent upon supreme knowledge, as a male deity and the essence of Buddha, as a female deity. The later Buddhists developed several yānas, or schools, which are more or less mystic. They wrote their books also in a mystic language, which they called Sandhyā bhāṣa or twilight language. An explanation of these mystic-doctrines would neither be edifying nor interesting to the general public, but it may be boldly asserted that these schools made the dry philosophy of Mahāyāna attractive and kept up the interest of the people in Buddhism. It can also be boldly asserted that in

propounding the mystic doctrines, learned men amongst the Buddhists have shown not only learning and scholarship, but also a profound knowledge of human nature in the different strata of human society.

Of the priestly writers, who made Buddhism popular in the eleventh century, one name is too prominent to omit. He is Abhayākara Gupta, who hailed from Magadha and had great influence not only in the court of Rāma Pāla Deva but amongst his subjects too. The chief thing preached by these priestly writers is Dāna or gifts of monasteries, gardens, stūpas, manuscripts, etc., to the Buddhist Church. They also preached *karma*, benevolence not only to men and beasts but also to all sentient beings. One of them concludes his long treatise by saying that religion consists of only one word and that is Para-uāra that is Para-upakara, that is "Serve others". The Buddhists were always very anxious that people should join their monasteries and renounce the world. But in these later days they were exceedingly anxious for rich people joining them. For when a man renounces the world, in Hindu law he is regarded as civilly dead and his heirs take his property, but, according to Buddhists, a man who renounces the world to serve all sentient beings should also bring the whole of his property and inheritance to the monastery for the same purpose.

When symbolism takes root in a community and develops one is not sure where it will end. Once admitting the symbolical union of the human mind bent on Bodhi and the essence of Buddha, the Buddhist priests developed the same idea in a variety of spheres of life in a variety of ways and with a variety of methods. Thus they developed the ideas of Vajrasattva, Ādi Buddha and Vajravārāha, and in fact numerous deities united with their śaktis. Gradually with the development of symbolism, the Buddhists became thoroughgoing worshippers of images, and these images not of always a very decent kind. The deities of later Mahāyāna, Avalokiteśvara, the personification of Karma, and Mañjusri, the personification of Prajñā, now go to the wall and the united deities of strange and wild

shapes become more and more popular in the temples and holy places. It goes without saying that the priest had more influence with the ordinary people than with the cultured, and the ordinary people cared more for their welfare in this world than in the next. They wanted charms, incantations, amulets, worship of benevolent influences, propitiation of malignant deities or warding-off of the consequences of their ire. The priests acquired their influence on the people and strengthened that influence by the practice of magicians and by writing numerous treatises on such topics. One would be struck at the volume of this magician literature and our wonder goes deeper when we think that the original preacher of this religion denounced even the astrologers as unworthy of entering the brotherhood of monks.

Vernacular Buddhist Literature.

The vernacular literature of the Buddhists mainly treat of the symbolical union spoken of before. They consist chiefly of songs, short pieces and couplets, written in a mystic language. The Siddhācāryas or wizards who composed these songs were men of some ability and learning. They wrote in a style exceedingly musical and in a language as homely as possible. They addressed the masses, they sung them to lyre and other instruments of music. They preached the evanescent character of the world. They preached the futility of a strict and abstemious life. They praised the enjoyments of the sweets of the world. They enjoined absolute reliance on the Supreme Wisdom of the Guru. They believed in the doctrine of Mahāsukha or Supreme Delight of the Union. They ridiculed the priests of other religions and poohpoohed the doctrines of their opponents. They ridiculed even the Hīnayānists and Mahāyānists.

To them the only way to supreme bliss is to enjoy the world after receiving an initiation from the Guru. The initiated is not affected by sin as the uninitiated. The initiated is a privileged being and his best privilege is to attain supreme bliss.

As I have said before, there was a Brahmanical Vernacular Literature previous to vernacular literature of the Buddhists. This

was the literature of Nāthism, preached about the end of the eighth century by Minanātha, his chief disciple Matsyendra and Matsyendra's chief disciple Gorakṣa. These do not seem to have been men highly educated, and they seemed to have been drawn from amongst fishermen and others. Their chief practice was Haṭhayoga or to fix the mind on one thing while the body lies in various gymnastic postures. They worshipped Śiva and Śakti in union. They thought that the nine organs of senses, present at the time of union of the God and the Goddess, when He revealed the doctrine to His consort are symbolized by the nine Nāthas who brought down the doctrine on earth. It has been said before that no work of the original Nāthas have yet been discovered, the existence of this vernacular literature is known only by a few quotations in the commentaries on Buddhist vernacular works. There is a large body of Sanskrit literature of the Nāthas dealing mainly with Haṭha-yoga written during the ascendancy of the Pālas. The works of this sect as well as of the Siddhācāryas are written in a sort of Sanskrit, which might be termed pidgin Sanskrit in the same way as the coast people in China speak pidgin English. Far from being ashamed of their bad Sanskrit, Buddhist writers ridicule the Brahmanas for their punctillious care for grammatical accuracy. They say if something good is to be said, tell it in a language that will be understood by all,—Care for the sense and not for the language.

There was a big monastery in Bengal, Jagaddala, as famous in Buddhist literature as the celebrated monasteries of Nālanda and Vikramśīla. Its position has not yet been identified but it was close to the capital founded by Rama Pāla; and the Gaṅgā and Karatoyā flowed past it. In one sense it was much more important than the well-known Vihāras of Magadha. It was the chief resort of Tibetan monks coming to learn Sanskrit in India. The Bengali monks of this place knew to read and write Tibetan and this was the place where hundreds of Sanskrit books were translated into the Tibetan language, some by Bengalis,

some by Tibetans and some by collaboration. Two names stand prominent in the matter of translation, one Vibhūti Candra and the other Dānaśīla—both of them collaborated with the Tibetans in translating Sanskrit works. Vibhūti Candra was a Sanskrit writer too. His knowledge of the later-day Buddhist literature was extensive and he had treatises on all subjects in which these Buddhists took interest. He had a good library of manuscripts. A manuscript, copied for him and belonging to his library, in Bengali character and on paper, is deposited in the Cambridge University Library. The Tibetans used to send well-read scholars to Bengal for the purpose of collecting manuscripts. Sthiramati Pandit is one of those scholars who came to Bengal and collected a good library. One of his manuscripts has recently come to Calcutta. Scholars, possessed of large number of manuscripts, had another important function to perform. They were asked to correct the translations made by others.

Preachers.

Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, or as the Tibetans called him Atisa, was the son of the Rājā of Vikramanipura, east of Magadha. He received his education in his native city from Nāḍa Paṇḍit, and early in life he wrote a work entitled Abhisamaya-vibhaṅga in collaboration with Lui, the founder of the Siddhacārya sect. He went to the Eastern Peninsula to study Mahāyāna doctrines. Coming back to India, he became the chief priest of the Vikramasīla Vihāra. In the year A.D. 1038, when he was 58 years of age, he was invited to Tibet to reform the existing Buddhism there. He went to western Tibet and laboured there unremittingly for fourteen years. He is regarded in Tibet as the great reformer of religion in that country. The villages hallowed by the dust of his feet are, even up to this day, regarded as places of pilgrimage.

Sākyaśrī Bhikṣu was one of the few Bhikṣus who escaped the massacre of Buddhists by the early Muhammadan invasion of Bengal. He went to Tibet and from thence to Mongolia, where he converted Kublai Khan, the son of Changiz Khan, t

his own doctrine, and so became the chief priest of Mongolia and the founder of Buddhism there.

About the beginning of the twelfth century, another Buddhist priest from Tāmralipti went to Pegu and in collaboration with four others reformed the Buddhist faith there. He went first to Ceylon and to the Mahāvihāra there and introduced in Pagan the doctrines and practices of the Mahāvihāra.

II.—Studies in the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana.

By H. C. Chakladar, M.A.

Date and Place of Origin.

Introductory.

The great value of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra for studying the social condition of the Indian people in ancient times is gradually coming to be realized, but the abundant wealth of its contents has not yet been fully explored. It furnishes a beautiful picture of the Indian home, its interior and surroundings. It delineates the life and conduct of a devoted Indian wife, the mistress of the household and the controller of her husband's purse. It describes the daily life of a young man of fashion, his many-sided culture and refinement, his courtships and peccadillos, the sports and pastimes he revelled in, the parties and clubs he associated with. The wanton wiles of gay Lotharios and merry maidens, the abuses and intrigues prevailing among high officials and princes and the evils practised in their crowded harems, are described at great length and often with local details for the various provinces of India. The Kāmasūtra shows, moreover, that, as in the Athens of Pericles, the hetærae skilled in the arts, the artiste, the actress and the danceuse, occupied a no very mean or insignificant position in society. The book thus throws light on Indian life from various sides and an analysis of this important work will, it may be hoped, be of immense value to students of Indian sociology. But first of all it is necessary to determine, as closely as may be, what particular period in the long history of the Indian people it depicts and represents, and for this investigation it will

be useful to ascertain Vātsyāyana's place in Indian literature and to examine the few historical facts that may be gleaned from his sūtras.

Vātsyāyana's Indebtedness to Earlier Sanskrit Literature.

Vātsyāyana has quoted freely from the works of previous authors not only in his own subject but also in other co-ordinate subjects bearing on the social life of the people. When referring to his predecessors in the science of erotics, he has taken care to mention the authorities whom he cites and discusses, but in the other cases he has not cared to acknowledge his debt by mentioning the source. Some of them may however be indicated.

In his chapter ¹ on the selection of a bride (वरविविधानप्रकरणम्) the Kāmasūtra has सुभ्रां रुदतीं निष्क्रान्तां वरये परिवर्जयेत् ² ॥ ११ ॥ This is exactly the same as that given by Āpastamba in his Grihyasūtra I. 3. 10.³ The next two sūtras show only slight modifications, but making allowance for differences in reading they are exactly identical. Vātsyāyana has :—

गुभ्रां दत्तां घोनां पृथग्व्यभिर्भानां विभ्रतां विभ्रतां शुचिदूषितां
सांकारिकीं राकां फलिनीं मित्रां स्वनुजां वर्षकरीं च वर्षयेत् ॥ १२ ॥

नक्षत्राण्यां नदीनाम्नीं वृक्षान्त्रीं च गर्हिताम् ।

खकाररेफोपान्तां च वरये परिवर्जयेत् ॥ १३ ॥⁴

¹ The quotations from the Kāmasūtra have been made throughout from the Benares edition, edited by Pandit Śrī Dāmodarlāl Gosvāmi and published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. Another edition of the Sanskrit text had been published by Pandit Durgaprasad of Jaipur but as it is not available in the market I have made use of the former. There is also a Bengali edition of the text and the commentary with an elaborate Bengali translation published by Babu Mahes Chandra Pal. The arrangement of the chapters and the numbering of the sūtras is not quite the same in the three editions and the readings vary occasionally. The references are to the pages of the Benares edition.

² Benares edition, p. 187.

³ *The Āpastambīya Grihyasūtra* edited by Dr. M. Winternitz, p. 4.

⁴ Benares edition, pp. 187, 188.

Āpastamba reads—

इतीं शुभां क्षीतान्धर्मां विनतां विकटां मुखां मङ्गुलिकां चाङ्गारिकां
रातीं पाणीं मितां खनुजां वर्षकारिं च वर्जयेत् ॥ ११ ॥

नक्षत्रनामा नदीनामा दृष्टनामाश्च गहिताः ॥ १२ ॥

सर्वाश्च रेफलकारोपान्ता वरणे परिवर्जयेत् ॥ १३ ॥⁵

The next sūtra of Vātsyāyana again reads exactly the same as Āpastamba's Gṛīhyasūtra, I. 3. 20. यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोर्निबन्धस्तस्या-
नृद्धिर्नेतरामाप्तिर्येतत्वे कः ।⁶

The first sūtra of the next chapter of the Kāmasūtra is again the same as in Āpastamba's Gṛīhyasūtra, III. 8. 8. The Kāma-sūtra has—खंगतयोस्त्रिरातमधःश्रय्या ब्रह्मचर्यं चारलवणवर्जमाहारः ;

Āpastamba reads :—त्रिरातमभयोरधः श्रय्याब्रह्मचर्यं चारलवणवर्जनं च ।⁷

About the sources of the *Dharma* also, Vātsyāyana shows a wonderful agreement with Āpastamba, but this time with his *Dharmasūtra*. Vātsyāyana after giving a definition of *Dharma* says that it should be learnt from the Vedas and from the assembly of those who know the *Dharma*,⁸ just as he says that the *Kāmasāstra* should be learnt from the books on the subject and the assembly of the citizens.⁹ Āpastamba says much the same thing in his *Dharmasūtra*.¹⁰

In another chapter Vātsyāyana quotes a verse referring it simply to the *Smṛti* (स्मृतितः) —

वत्सः प्रसूतने मेध्यः पृथा नृगयहणे शुचिः ।

शकुनिः फलपति तु स्त्रीमुखं रतिसंगमे ॥¹¹

⁵ Winternitz, *Āp. Gr. Sū.*, p. 4.

⁶ Benares edition, p. 188, and Winternitz, *Āp. Gr.*, p. 5.

⁷ Benares edition, p. 191, and Winternitz, *Āp. Gr.*, p. 11.

⁸ तं श्रुतेर्धर्मज्ञसमवायाच्च प्रतिपद्येत । Benares edition, p. 13.

⁹ तं कामसूत्रात्तन्मार्गिकजनसमवायाच्च प्रतिपद्येत । Benares ed., p. 15.

¹⁰ *Āpastambīya Dharmasūtram* edited by Dr. G. Bühler, C.I.E., p. 1.

अथातः कामसाचारिकान्धर्मान् याख्यास्यामः ॥ धर्मज्ञसमयः

पुमाख्यम् ॥ वेदाच्च ॥

¹¹ Benares edition, p. 167.

This verse is found in the Dharmasūtras of Vasishṭha¹² and Baudhāyana¹³ with very slight and immaterial variations. With some further modifications it is found in the Saṃhitās of Manu¹⁴ and Viṣṇu¹⁵ also. Its occurrence in almost identical forms in so many works shows that it must have been borrowed from some common and ancient authority on Dharma. Again, in a verse in his chapter on marriage, Vātsyāyana shows an agreement in idea with Baudhāyana. Vātsyāyana says that as mutual affection between a couple is the object of all forms of marriage, therefore the Gāndharva form which has its basis in love, is easier to celebrate, and is free from the technicalities of a long wooing, is the best of all,¹⁶ and Baudhāyana refers to it as the opinion of some authorities.¹⁷ This idea we also find in the Mahābhārata.¹⁸ From the above it is clear that Vātsyāyana has embodied in his work at least five sūtras from the Gṛihyasūtra of Āpastamba though we cannot feel

¹² *The Vāsisṭhika Dharmasūtram*, edited by Dr. A. A. Führer, ch. 28, 8, p. 77.

¹³ *The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtram*, edited by L. Śrinivāsachārya, Mysore, 1, 5, 49, p. 57. Baudhāyana reads:

वत्सः प्रसूतवने मेध्यः शुक्रनिः फलशतने ।

स्त्रियश्च रतिसंसर्गे या नृगग्रहणे शुचिः ॥

¹⁴ *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, edited by Dr. J. Jolly, V. 130.

नित्यमाम्भ्यं शुचि स्त्रीणां शुक्रनिः फलपातने ।

प्रसवे च शुचिर्वत्सः या नृगग्रहणे शुचिः ॥

¹⁵ *Viṣṇusmṛiti*, edited by Dr. J. Jolly, XXIII, 49.

¹⁶ Benares edition, p. 223.

य्छानां हि विवाहानामनुरागः फलं यतः ।

मध्यमोऽपि हि रुदोगो गान्धर्वस्तेन पूजितः ॥

सुखत्वादवहुक्ते शादपि चावरणदिह ।

अनुरागात्मकत्वाच्च गान्धर्वः प्रवरो मतः ॥

¹⁷ Baudhāyana, Mysore edition, I, 11, 16, p. 137.

गान्धर्वमप्येके प्रशंसन्ति सर्वेषां स्नेहानुगतत्वं तु ।

¹⁸ *Mahābhārata*, Calcutta edition, Ād'parva, ch. 73, 4.

विवाहानां हि रम्भो गान्धर्वः श्रेष्ठ उच्यते ।

quite certain with regard to his debt to Baudhāyana. These sūtra works are generally assigned to the period from 600 to 200 B.C. Vātsyāyana has also embodied in his book certain passages from a work whose date is more definitely known, viz. from the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya¹⁹ written about 300 B.C., and he has followed the method of Kauṭilya throughout the Kāmasūtra. This has led to the absurd identification of Kauṭilya with Vātsyāyana and a host of other authors in some of the koshas or lexicons.²⁰ There are some references to secular literature also in Vātsyāyana's book. He says that when a woman shows an inclination to listen to the proposals of a lover, she should be propitiated by reciting to her such stories as those of Ahalyā, Avimāraka and Śakuntalā.²¹ The story of Ahalyā is given in the Rāmāyaṇa and is alluded to by Aśvaghosha in the Buddhacarita, canto IV, verse 72.²² Avimāraka's story forms the subject-matter of one of the dramas of Bhāsa whom Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has placed about the middle of the first century B.C.²³ We cannot be sure, however, that Vātsyāyana

¹⁹ See the English translation of Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra (pp. 11, 12) where Mr. R. Shama Shastri has brought together all the parallel passages in the Arthasāstra and the Kāmasāstra.

²⁰ See the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), March, 1918, p. 274, where Mr. Srischandra Vasu Vidyārṇava quotes the following verse from the *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi*—

वात्सायनो मल्लनागः कुटिलश्चणकामजः ।

द्रामिलः पक्षिलस्वामी विष्णुगुप्तोऽङ्गलश्च सः ॥

See also *A Note on the Supposed Identity of Vātsyāyana and Kauṭilya* by Mr. R. Shama Shastri, B.A., in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 210-216. Mr. Shastri has, however, accepted without question the identity of the authors of the Kāmasūtra and the Nyāyabhāṣya. On this question see *Vātsyāyana, author of the Nyāyabhāṣya* by Mahāmhopādhyāya Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Ind. Ant., 1915, April, p. 82.

²¹ अहल्यां चाहल्याविमारक—शाकुन्तलादीन्यन्यापि लौकिकानि च कथयेत्तदुक्तानि । Benares edition, p. 271.

²² कामं परमिति ज्ञात्वा देवोऽपि हि पुरंदरः ।

गौतमस्य मुनेः पत्नीमहल्यां चक्रे पुरा ॥ Buddhacarita, IV, 72.

²³ J. A. S. B., 1913, p. 265.

derived it from the latter work, because Bhāsa's treatment of it seems to indicate that it was a well-known story like that of Udayana; and, besides, the commentator, Jayamaṅgala,²⁴ gives some particulars that are wanting in the drama.

The story of Śākuntalā is referred to by Vātsyāyana in another place also. In his chapter on the courtship of a maiden, he says that the wooer should point out to the girl courted the cases of other maidens like Śākuntalā who situated in the same circumstances as herself, obtained husbands of their own free choice and were happy by such union.²⁵ This refers to the story of the love between Śākuntalā and Dūṣhanta as we know it from the great drama of Kālidāsa, but Vātsyāyana was certainly not indebted to him for it; it is given very fully in the Mahābhārata.²⁶ Aśvaghoṣa in the Buddhacharita also narrates how Viśvāmitra, Śākuntalā's father, was led astray by an Apsaras whom however he calls Ghrītāchī instead of Menakā.²⁷ He was evidently acquainted with the story of Śākuntalā. The *Kaṭṭhahārī Jātaka* certainly reminds us of the story of Dūṣhanta and Śākuntalā.²⁸ The legend however was known in still more ancient times, viz., the period of the composition of the Brāhmaṇa portion of the

²⁴ The commentator is named Jayamaṅgala in the Benares edition and I have followed it. Pāṇḍit Durgaprasāda's, as well as the Bengali edition names the commentator Yaśodhara and calls the commentary Jayamaṅgalā.

²⁵ याश्चान्या अपि समानजातीयाः कन्याः शकुन्तलाद्याः

खड्गद्वारा भर्तारं प्राप्य संप्रयुक्ता मोदन्ते स ताश्चास्या निदर्शयेत्

Benares edition, p. 278.

²⁶ Ādiparva, ch. 68 ff.

²⁷ विश्वामित्रो महर्षिश्च विगाढोऽपि महत्तपाः ।

दशवर्षाण्यख्यस्यो घृताभ्याप्सरसा हृतः ॥ Buddhacharita IV, 20.

²⁸ Fausbøll's *Jātaka*, Vol. I, No. 7. This has been pointed out by Signor P. E. Pavolini in the *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, volume Ventesimor, p. 297. See also note by Mr. R. Chalmers in his English translation of the First Volume of the *Jātaka*, p. 29.

Vedas. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ²⁹ Śakuntalā is spoken of as having borne at Nāḍapit ³⁰ the great Bharata who is also called there the son of Duḥshanta, and even the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa quotes the legend as having been sung in Gāthās ³¹ connected with the great hero who gave his name to the whole continent of Bhāratavarsha. So that the story appears to belong to the earliest stock of stories of the Indian Aryans. It may here be pointed out that Śakuntalā's mother, Menakā, is mentioned as an Apsaras in both the White and the Black Yajurvedas.³²

²⁹ XIII. 5. 4. 11-14.

एतद् विष्णोः क्रान्तम् । तेन हैतेन भरतो दौःषन्तिरीजे क्षेनेष्टु मां
 बहिं बानश्रे येयं भरतानां तदेतद् गोययाभिगीतमद्यासन्नतिं भरतो
 दौःषन्तिर्यसुनामनु गङ्गायां वृत्रध्वे ऽवन्धनात्पञ्चपञ्चाशत् हयानित
 अथ तृतीयया । शकुन्तला नाडपितृप्सरा भरतं दधे परः
 ; सहस्रानिन्द्रायाश्चान्मेध्यान्य आहरद्विजित्य पृथिवीं सर्वामिति ।
 अथ चतुर्थ्या । महद्दत्त भरतस्य न पूर्वं नापरे जनाः ।
 दिवंमर्त्यं इव बाहुभ्यां नोदापुः पञ्च मानवा इति ।

³⁰ Harisvāmin, the commentator, explains that the hermitage of Kanva where Śakuntalā was nurtured, was called Nāḍapit. See the English translation by J. Eggeling of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Part V, p. 399, footnote 2.

³¹ The *Gāthās* are quoted in a fairly large number in the Brāhmaṇas and the Vedic literature generally, and they are referred to in the earliest portions of the R̥gveda itself (I, 190, 1, etc.). For the most part, these Gāthās contain historical matter, singing about the mighty deeds of great heroes in still older times, as we see from the Gāthās quoted above chanting the great achievements of the eponymous hero Bharata. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 18) makes a distinction between the R̥iks and the Gāthās, saying that the former refer to the gods and the latter to men. It is no wonder that with the Brahmins who placed spiritual concerns far above the temporal from the very earliest times, the literature dealing with the deeds of mere men fell into comparative neglect and was not preserved with the same care as was bestowed upon the R̥iks, though occasional verses were preserved in memory and transmitted orally.

³² मेनका च सहजन्मा चाप्सरसौ—Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, XV, 16 ;

Taitt. Saṃ. 4, 4, 3, 2 ; Māitrāyaṇi Saṃ. 118. 10.

Vātsyāyana's Reference to Earlier Works on the Kāmasūtra.

Vātsyāyana in speaking of the origin of the Kāmasūtra says in the beginning of his book that at first Prajāpati for the preservation of his progeny composed a huge encyclopædia in a hundred thousand chapters dealing with the three objects of human life, viz. Dharma, Artha and Kāma ; that the first two of these subjects were next taken up by Manu [and Vṛihaspati respectively and Nandī, the attendant of Mahādeva, took up the third which he dealt with in a thousand chapters. This last work was condensed into five hundred chapters by Śvetaketu the son of Uddalaka. The work of Śvetaketu was further abridged into a hundred and fifty chapters and divided into seven sections by Bābhravya, a native of the Pañcāla country. Next Dattaka at the request of the courtesans of Pāṭaliputra wrote a separate treatise dealing with the Vaiśika section of Bābhravya. His example was followed by six other writers—Chārāyana, Suvarṇanābha, Ghotakamukha, Gonardiya, Goṇikāputra, and Kuchumāra, each of whom took up a section of Bābhravya and wrote a monograph on it. As the science treated in this fragmentary fashion by numerous writers was about to be mangled and spoiled and as the work of Bābhravya, being huge in bulk, was difficult to study, Vātsyāyana proposes to give an epitome of the whole subject in a single work of moderate dimensions.³³ Towards the end of the Kāmasūtra again Vātsyāyana says that having learned the meaning of the sūtras of Bābhravya (from his teachers, as one would in the case of a sacred text or *Āgama*) and having pondered over them in his mind he composed the Kāmasūtra in the right method.³⁴ He thus admits that the great work of Bābhravya formed the groundwork of his own book, as is also quite evident from the frequent references that he makes

³³ Vide Chapter I of the Kāmasūtra, pp. 4—7, Benares edition.

³⁴ बाभ्रवीयांश्च सूत्रार्थानागमय्य विमृश्य च ।

वात्स्यायनश्चकारेदं कामसूत्रं यथाविधि ॥ Benares edition, p. 381.

to it in every part of the Kāmasūtra. One out of his seven sections, the Sāmprayogika, covering about a fourth part of the whole book, is entirely taken from Bābhavya as he says, at the end of that section.⁸⁵ There can, therefore, be no doubt that Vātsyāyana had before him the great work of Bābhavya Pañcāla. The commentator Jayamaṅgala also quotes several verses stating the opinions of the followers of Bābhavya,⁸⁶ and he seems, therefore, to have access to some treatise specially belonging to Bābhavya's school.⁴

It may be noted that Vātsyāyana speaks of having mastered Bābhavya's book as an *Āgama*, a work of holy scripture, indicating that it was considerably ancient. A Bābhavya who is called Pañcāla by Uvata, the commentator, is mentioned in the Rik-prātiśākhya as the author of the Krama-pāṭha of the R̥gveda and Professor Weber⁸⁷ holds that this Bābhavya Pañcāla, and the Pañcāla people through him, took a leading part in fixing and arranging the text of the R̥gveda. This connexion of the Pañcāla people with the R̥gveda receives a confirmation from what Vātsyāyana tells us in connexion with the sixty-four varieties of connubial *sāmprayoga*. He says that they belonged to the Pañcāla country⁸⁸ and were collectively called

⁸⁵ एवमेतां चतुर्विंशतिं बाम्ब्रयेण प्रकीर्त्तिताम् । Benares edition, p. 182. Besides at pp. 68, 79, 94, 238 and 296 the school of Bābhavya has been referred to.

⁸⁶ यथाहुर्बाम्ब्रयीयाः—

पुत्रिका चित्ररूपाणि पञ्चवः शुक्सारिकाः ।

सर्वेषां गृहभावानां दारकर्माणि कुर्वत इति ॥ Benares edition, p. 279.

Besides, he quotes eight verses—Bābhaviyāh ślokaḥ—at pp. 87, 88.

⁴ [Bābhavya's work ought to be recovered one day. It was current as late as the composition of *Pañcha-sāyaka* which quotes it,—K. P. J.]

⁸⁷ History of Indian Literature, translated by J. Mann and T. Zachariae, Popular edition, pp. 10 and 34.

पाष्वालिकी च चवद्विरपरा, Benares edition, p. 40.

Chatuṣṣhaṣṭi ³⁹—"The sixty-four"—from analogy with the R̥gveda. He avers that the R̥iks collected in ten maṇḍalas are called the *Chatuṣṣhaṣṭi* (being divided into eight Aṣṭakas of eight chapters each) and the same principle holds in the case of the *Samprayogas* too (as they are divided into eight times eight varieties); and besides, because they are both connected with the Pāñcāla country, therefore the Bahvrichas, the followers of the R̥gveda, have out of respect given this appellation of *Chatuṣṣhaṣṭi* to them.⁴⁰ If Bābhavya, the writer of the work on the Kāmasāstra, is the same as the great author of the Kramapāṭha, then he has to be placed in a very early age indeed. But it is doubtful whether the science of erotics could have been systematized so early; though it must be admitted that erotics and eugenics, the sciences that the Kāmasāstra embraces in its scope, had received particular attention from the R̥ishis at the time of composition of the hymns of the Atharvaveda, many of which deal with philtres and charms to secure love and drive away jealousy, with the means for obtaining good and healthy children and other allied matters.

The Pāñcāla country where Bābhavya flourished appears to have been the part of India where the science of erotics was specially cultivated. We have seen how great was the debt of Vātsyāyana to Bābhavya Pāñcāla specially with regard to the section dealing with Samprayoga, the subject-matter proper of the Kāmasāstra. Some of the most objectionable ceremonies in the Aśvamedha sacrifice seem to have originated in the Pāñcāla country.⁴¹ The Pāñcāla people were evidently credited in ancient

³⁹ स प्रयोगाङ्गं चतुःषष्टिरित्याचक्षते चतुःषष्टिप्रकरणत्वात् ॥ १ Benares edition, p. 92.

⁴⁰ अद्यां दशतयीनां च संज्ञितत्वादित्यापि तदर्थसंबन्धात् पञ्चालसंबन्धाच्च बह्वचरैषां पूजाऽर्थं संज्ञा प्रवर्तितेत्येके ॥ ४ ॥

अष्टानामष्टधा विकल्पभेदादष्टावष्टकाश्चतुःषष्टिरिति बाभ्रवीयाः ॥ ५

Benares edition, pp. 93, 94.

⁴¹ See Weber, op. cit., pp. 114-5.

times with extraordinary powers in connexion with matters relating to the sexes extending even to the change of the natural sex as we see in the case of Śikhaṇḍin the son of the Pañcāla king, Drupada.⁴² Polyandry, as we see it in the case of Draupadī Pañcālī, may be regarded as once an ancient institution of the Pañcāla country and the Paṇḍava brothers belonging as they did to the allied tribe of the Kurus, as we see from the common Vedic phrase *Kuru-Pañcāla*, were certainly familiar with it and could have no difficulty in acceding to it. In this connexion a Sūtra of Vātsyāyana is very significant. He says that according to the followers of Bābhavya, who belonged to Pañcāla as we have seen, a woman may not be respected when she is found to have intimacy with five lovers⁴³ (in addition to her husband, explains Jayamaṅgala⁴⁴), showing that five was considered as the limit beyond which it was not decent for a woman to go, and if she did so, she could be approached like a fallen woman. Jayamaṅgala explains that in the case of Draupadī this limit was not passed especially as the five were all her husbands.⁴⁵ We thus see that it is not necessary to go to Tibet for explaining this peculiar case of polyandry. Of the predecessors of Bābhavya mentioned by Vātsyāyana the earlier ones bear mythical names,⁴⁶ but Śvetaketu the son of Uddālaka

⁴² Mahābhārata, Udyoga Parva, Chapters 190-194.

⁴³ इष्टपञ्चपुरुषा नागम्या काचिदस्तीति बाभ्रवीयाः ॥ Benares edition, p. 68.

⁴⁴ स्वपतिव्यतिरेकेण दृष्टाः पञ्च पुरुषाः पतित्वेन यया सा खैरिणी ।
कारणवशात्स्वैरेव गम्या । तथा च पञ्चातोता बन्धकीति पराशरः । Ibid.

⁴⁵ द्रौपदी तु युधिष्ठिरादीनां स्वपतित्वादन्येषामगम्या, कथमेका सत्यनेन स्वपतिरिति चेति हासिकाः प्रुहत्याः । Ibid.

⁴⁶ The authorship of Prajāpati to a work in one hundred thousand chapters dealing with Dharma, Artha and Kāma is also vouched for by the Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva, Chapter 59.

is better known. He is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Ādiparva, chapter 122) as having established a fixity in sexual relations which before him were entirely free and promiscuous like those of natural animals, the institution of marriage having not yet come into existence.⁴⁷ This refers to a primitive stage of society, and it is hardly possible, I am afraid, that this Śvetaketu Auddālaki could have been the author of the work in five hundred chapters referred to by Vātsyāyana. However, the opinions of Auddālaki are referred to by Vātsyāyana in three places in his Kāmāsūtra.⁴⁸ It does not necessarily imply that Vātsyāyana had access to Auddālaki's work in five hundred chapters, as in that case he would have made an ampler use of it; certain opinions must have been current in Vātsyāyana's time among the teachers of the Kāmāsāstra whom he frequently refers to as the *Āchāryas* as having come down from the reputed human founder of the science, or the legend of Auddālaki and his opinions might have been taken from the work of Bābhavya on whom Vātsyāyana mainly depends. We may mention here that in the Chhāndogya and Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishads we meet with a Śvetaketu who however seems to have no connexion at all with our Śvetaketu.

The monographs written by the successors of Bābhavya, Dattaka and others are quoted by Vātsyāyana in the respective chapters of his book. Dattaka's book on the courtesans appears to have been availed of by Jayamaṅgala who quotes a sūtra of Dattaka⁴⁹ where Vātsyāyana has translated the substance of it.

⁴⁷ Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, Chapter 122.

⁴⁸ कथमेतदुपलभ्यत इति चेत् प्रह्वो हि रतिमधिगम्य खेच्छ्या विरमति, न स्त्रियमपेक्षते, नत्वं स्त्रीयौद्दालकिः । Benares edition, p. 76.

नास्मिन्सुतादृष्टाकारयोर्द्वयमस्त्रीयौद्दालकिः । Benares edition, p. 273.

इत्यौद्दालकेष्वभ्यतयोगाः । Benares edition, p. 353.

The commentator refers (Benares edition, pp. 74, 78) two of Vātsyāyana's Sūtras to Auddālaki, but it is not known on what authority.

⁴⁹ “भास्वसंपवे” विशिष्टग्रहणमिति ” इत्यसूत्रमस्यार्थं सूत्रान्तरमाह-प्रतिगणिकानामिति । Benares edition, p. 321.

Of the other writers, Gonardiya has been quoted by Mallinātha in his gloss on the Kumārasambhava, VII, 95, and on the Raghuvamśa, XIX, 29, 30.

Rājasekhara in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, p. 1) refers to Suvarṇanābha as the author of a treatise on a branch of poetics, viz. *Ritirīṇaya* and speaks of Kuchamāra as having dealt with the *Aupanishadika* section. The latter is evidently the same as Vātsyāyana's Kuchumāra, the author of a monograph on the *Aupanishadika* portion of the Kāmasāstra and most probably one and the same work has been referred to by the two authors, there being nothing extraordinary in the fact that the sections dealing with the secrets and mysteries (upanishad) of both poetics and erotics should coalesce. Kauṭilya in the Arthasāstra (Adhikaraṇa 5, 5) has quoted *Dīrgha Chārāyaṇa* and *Ghoṭamukha* who, Professor Jacobi holds, are probably the same persons as the Chārāyaṇa and Ghoṭakamukha of Vātsyāyana; they would, therefore, have lived prior to the fourth century B.C. and Dattaka and Bābhavya who preceded them must be thrown back to a much earlier date. Dattaka, of course, could not have lived earlier than the fifth century B.C. when Pāṭaliputra came into being as capital of Magadha. Goṇikāputra is mentioned by Patañjali (on Pāṇini I. 4. 51) as a former grammarian and Professor Jacobi is inclined to believe that he is the same person as the Goṇikāputra of Vātsyāyana. But in his case, as also in that of Gonardiya by which name Patañjali himself is known, the identification is rather doubtful.⁵⁰

References to Kamasūtra in Later Literature.

We shall take into account only those references to Kāmasūtra that will enable us to arrive at a determination of the date of Vātsyāyana. In canto XIX of the Raghuvamśa, in describing the inordinate indulgence of the voluptuary Agnivarṇa, Kālidāsa has often followed the description in the Kāmasūtra, using even its technical expressions, e.g. the word *Sandhayah* in verse 16 which is used there in the very same

⁵⁰ For Professor Jacobi's opinions see Sitzung. Königl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, 1911, pp. 959-963.

sense as that given by Vātsyāyana in his chapter on *Visrṇa pratisandhāna*. In verse 31, however, there is a more definite and verbal agreement. Vātsyāyana in his chapter on the means of knowing a lover who is growing cold (*Virakta-pratipatti*) gives as one of the indications of such stage मित्रकृत्यमपदिश्य अन्यत शेत⁵¹. Kālidāsa in describing Agnivarna under similar circumstances uses the very same language मित्रकृत्यमपदिश्य पार्श्वतः प्रस्थितं तमनवस्थितं प्रियाः. Another very striking agreement has been pointed out by Mallinātha and dilated upon by modern scholars. Describing the marriage of Aja and Indumatī, Kālidāsa says that when the two touched each other's hands the hair on the bridegroom's forearm stood on end and the maiden had her fingers wet with perspiration.⁵² Here Mallinātha quotes Vātsyāyana who speaks of exactly the same thing happening under the same circumstances.⁵³ In the Kumārsambhava, VII. 77, however, Kālidāsa has reversed this order, saying that it was Hara, the bridegroom, who perspired and the hair stood on end on the bride's hand.⁵⁴ But the language is almost the same and we think Kālidāsa's memory did not serve him quite right when he wrote the Kumārsambhava passage and that he improved himself, as Professor Jacobi holds, in the Raghuvamśa.⁵⁵ The violation in the one case only proves more strongly that Kālidāsa had a knowledge of Vātsyāyana's work and made use of it. Arguing from a similar agreement in another passage of Kālidāsa,

⁵¹ This is the reading given by Mallinātha. The Benares edition reads मित्रकार्यमपदिश्य, etc., p. 323.

⁵² आसीदरः कण्टकितप्रकोष्ठः खिन्नाङ्गुलिः संवटते कुमारी ।

⁵³ “ कन्या तु प्रथमसमागमे खिन्नाङ्गुलिः खिन्नमुखो च भवति । पुरुषस्तु रोमाञ्चितो भवति ; एभिरनयोर्भावं परीक्षेत । ” This passage quoted by Mallinātha is slightly different from the reading in the printed editions where we have खिन्नकरचरणाङ्गुलिः खिन्नमुखो च भवति । Benares edition, p. 266.

⁵⁴ रोमोन्नमः प्रादुरभूदमायाः खिन्नाङ्गुलिः पुंगवकेतुरासीत् ।

⁵⁵ Die Epen Kālidāsa's, p. 155. In this connection, see R. Schmidt, Beiträge zur Indischen Erotik, 1902, pp. 4, 5.

Dr. Peterson has come to the definite conclusion that Vātsyāyana is quoted there by the poet. He refers to the following verse (in Act IV) which is considered to be one of the best in his *Śakuntalā*.

सुश्रूषस्व युष्मन्कुरु प्रियसखीदत्तं सपत्नीजनं
भर्तुं विप्रकृतापि रोषयतया मा स्म प्रतीपं गमः ।
भूयिष्ठं भव दक्षिणा परिजने भोगेष्वनुत्सेकिनी
यान्त्रिवं गृहिणीपदं युवतयो वामाः कुलस्थाधयः ॥⁵⁶

Dr. Peterson then goes on to say : " The first, third and fourth precepts here are taken verbally from our sūtra ; the second occurs elsewhere in our book ; the third we have already had. Scholars must judge : but it seems to me to be almost certain that Kālidāsa is quoting Vātsyāyana, a fact, if it be a fact, which invests our author with a great antiquity."⁵⁷ It will be observed from an examination of the corresponding sūtras of Vātsyāyana⁵⁸ that in the first two lines of the verse quoted above, Kālidāsa has translated the ideas of Vātsyāyana but in the third line he has followed our author verbally. On the authority of this agreement evidently Mahāmahopādhaāya Hara Prasād Shāstri has also stated in this Journal that Kālidāsa's " knowledge of the Kamaśāstra was very deep indeed."⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*, the Bengala Recension, edited by Richard Pischel, p. 89.

⁵⁷ Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, 1891, p. 465 ; see also J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XVIII, pp. 109, 110.

⁵⁸ Dr. Peterson here evidently refers to the following sūtras of Vātsyāyana on the duties of a wife ; प्रवश्रूषवश्रुपरिचर्या तत्पारतन्त्रमनुत्तरवादिता, etc., भोगेष्वनुत्सेकः परिजने दक्षिणाम् ॥ Benares edition, p. 230.

Vātsyāyana devotes the whole of Chapter III of the *Bhīryādhipikā* section to the mutual conduct of co-wives (p. 234 ff). Corresponding to the second line of the verse, Vātsyāyana has नायकापचारेषु किञ्चिदकुलिता नात्यर्थं निर्वदेत्

॥ १६ ॥ साधिक्षेपवचनं त्वेन मित्रजनमध्यस्थमेकाकिनं वद्व्युपक्रमेत न च मूलकारिका स्यात् ॥ Benares edition, p. 227.

⁵⁹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, part II, p. 185.

There is, moreover, a set of sūtras in Vātsyāyana's chapter on *kanyāvisrambha* which reminds the reader at once of the first act of Kālidāsa's *Sakuntalā* as will be seen from the translation here given : ' When a girl sees that she is sought after by a desirable lover, conversation should be set up through a sympathetic (female) friend (*sakhī*) who has the confidence of both ; then she should smile looking downward ; when the *sakhī* exaggerates matters, she should take her to task and dispute with her ; the *sakhī*, however, should say " This was said by her," even when she has not done so ; then when the *sakhī* is set aside and she is solicited to speak for herself, she should keep silent ; when, however, this is insisted upon, she should mutter rather inaudibly " I never say any such thing " and speak in half-finished sentences ; sometimes she should, with a smile, cast sidelong glances at the lover,' ⁶⁰ etc. From what we have said above there can be no doubt that the Kāmasūtra was known to Kālidāsa and that he had made verbal quotations from the work. Now Kālidāsa could not have lived later than the middle of the fifth century A.C., because he places the Hūnas on the banks of the *Vankshū*, the Waksh or the Oxus in Bactria, ⁶¹ before they had been pushed towards the west or towards the Indian frontier.⁶² In all likelihood Kālidāsa lived during the reigning period of

⁶⁰ See Benares edition, p. 195.

⁶¹ The passages of Kālidāsa referred to here are verses 67 and 68, *Raghuvamśi*, Canto IV, beginning—विनीताध्वमाम्बुस्य वंशतीरदिचे जनेः. In the pages of this Journal (volume II, pages 35ff. and 391ff.) Mahamahopādhyāya Haraprasād Shāstri has sought to place Kālidāsa about the middle of the sixth century A.C. depending on the wrong reading of Mallinātha who reads *Sindhu* instead of *Vankshū* in the line quoted above. With all due deference to the great authority of Pandit Shāstri, I would venture to differ from him here. There cannot be any doubt that *Vankshū* is the correct reading here and not *Sindhu*. Vallabhadeva of Kashmir who lived about five centuries earlier than Mallinātha, reads *Vankshū*, and the unquestioned genuineness and reliability of Vallabha's text as compared with that of Mallinātha has been fully established in the case of the Meghadūta where all those verses that had been accepted by Mallinātha as genuine but had been rejected as spurious by modern critics like Pandit Kvar Chandra Vidyāsāgar, Gildemeister and Stenzler are found to be absent from the text of Vallabha. The superiority of Vallabha's text thus established

Chandragupta Vikramāditya in the early years of the fifth century A.C.⁶²

In another work of the same period, viz. the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu, Vātsyāyana the author of the *Kāmasūtra* is mentioned by name. While describing the Vindhya mountains Subandhu says: "It was filled with elephants and was fragrant from the perfume of its jungles as the *Kāmasūtra* was written by Mallanāga and contains the delight and enjoyment, etc.."⁶³ Mallanāga is the proper name of our author,

in the case of Meghadūta applies with equal force to the Raghuvamśa. To an editor like Mallinātha living in the far south in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, *Vaṅkshū* or *Vakshū*, a river in Bactria, was an unfamiliar, outlandish name, and he had no hesitation in substituting for it *Sindhu*, which was nearer home, forgetting though that it would have been geographically absurd for Raghu to have marched northwards from the Persian frontier and met the Hūnas on the Indus. It is significant again, as has been shown by Professor K. B. Pāṭhak, who first drew pointed attention to Vallabha's reading (*Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 265ff., and the introduction to his *Meghadūta*) that Kshirasvāmin who lived about four centuries earlier than Mallinātha speaks in his commentary on the *Amarakosha* of Bactria as the province that is referred to in this passage of *Kālidāsa*; this shows that so late as the eleventh century, Bactria through which the river Vankshu or Oxus flows was considered to be the country where *Kālidāsa* lived the Hūnas. The Vankshu is a well-known river, in the *Mahābhārata* (cf. *Saṃbhāraparva*, 51. 20). Again an examination of the variants given in Mr. G. R. Nandargikar's splendid edition of *Raghuvamśa* shows that *Chāritravardhana*, *Sumativijaya*, *Dinakara*, *Dharmameru* and *Vijayagaṇi*, in fact, most of the great old commentators follow Vallabha and adopt the older reading.

⁶² M. Chavannes has shown from Chinese sources that the Huns had acquired great power in the basin of the Oxus towards the middle of the fifth century A.C. (*Document sur les Toukius Occidentaux*, pp. 222-3). We do not know yet exactly when the Hūnas settled themselves in the Oxus valley. But there can be no doubt that the Hūnas were known in India even before the time mentioned by M. Chavannes. The *Lalita-vistara*, thought to have been written about three hundred years after Christ (*Dr. Winternitz, Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, Band II, p. 199), mentions *Hūna-lipi* (*Ind. Ant.* 1913, p. 266) as one of the scripts learned by the young Siddhārtha (*Lalitavistara* edited by Dr. S. Lefmann, volume I, p. 126). Besides, Dr. J. J. Modi has shown from an examination of passages in the *Avesta* that the Huns were known in Persia as a wandering or pillaging nation or tribe not later than the seventh century before Christ (*R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 71-76). It stands to reason therefore that the Huns should be known to the Indians also, especially since their

Vātsyāyana being his *gotra* or family name as pointed out by the commentator Jayamaṅgala and as is corroborated by some of the lexicons.⁶⁴ Two branches of the Vātsagotra to which our author belongs are mentioned by Āśvalāyana in his Śrautasūtra.⁶⁵ Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Shāstrī holds that Subandhu must have flourished in the beginning of the fifth century about the same time as Chandragupta Vikramāditya.⁶⁶ Thus from the evidence offered by Kālidāsa and Subandhu we can feel definitely certain that the Kāmasūtra was written before 400 A.C. Some editions of the Pañchatantra have two passages in which Vātsyāyana is mentioned by name.⁶⁷ However, in the Tantrākhyāyika which is considered to be the earliest recension of the Pañchatantra, the name of Vātsyāyana does not occur, but in enumerating the usual subjects of study it mentions first grammar and then the Dharma, Artha and Kāma Śāstras in general.⁶⁸ The Tantrākhyāyika has been supposed to have been written about 300 A.C.⁶⁹ The mention of the Kāmaśāstra in it shows, at least, that the science of erotics had, in the third century A.C., obtained an equal footing with the sister sciences of Dharma and Artha as branches of learning that princes were required to acquire. This position it had not

occupation of the Oxus valley, seeing that Bactria was very well known to Vātsyāyana and was considered a part of India so late as the sixth century A.C. when Varāhamihira wrote his Vṛihat Samhitā.

⁶⁴ *Vāsavadattā*, translated by Dr. Louis H. Gray, p. 69.

⁶⁵ वात्स्यायन इति खगोत्रनिमित्ता समाख्या । मङ्गलनाम इति च सांस्कारिकी । Benares edition, p. 17 ; see also note 5, p. 1.

⁶⁶ Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra, Bibliotheca Indica, XII, 10, 6—7, p. 875.

⁶⁷ J. A. S. B., 1905, p. 253.

⁶⁸ Pañchatantra, edited by Dr. F. Kielhorn, p. 2, कामशास्त्राणि वात्स्यायनादीनि and p. 38, वात्स्यायनोक्तविधिना निवेद्य. See Schmidt, op. cit., p. 6.

⁶⁹ ततो धर्मायकामशास्त्राणि ज्ञेयानि—The Pañcatantra, edited by Dr. J. Hertel, Harvard O. S., vol. 14, p. 1.

⁷⁰ Das Pañcatantra, seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung von J. Hertel, 1914, p. 9 ; see also Professor Lanman's introduction to the Pañcatantra, Harvard O. S., vol. 14, p. X.

attained in 300 B.C., when as we see from the Arthasāstra of Kautilya, though Kāma had been recognized as one of the objects of human interest (*trivarga*), it had not as yet a *locus standi* as a science worth study, because it does not find a place in Kautilya's list where we find Dharma, Artha, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, and Ākhyāna (narratives) but not the Kāmasāstra.⁷⁰ In view of the fact therefore that it was Vātsyāyana who made popular the science which was almost extinct (*utsannaprāya*) in his time, the presumption is that the author of the Tantrākhyāyika had his Kāmasūtra in mind when he wrote the passage above referred to.

We thus see that from the literary data given above the earlier limit to the composition of the Kāmasūtra may be assigned on the basis of Vātsyāyana's quotations from the Grihya and Dharma Sūtras and the Arthasāstra of Kautilya, and that the lower limit may be fixed at circa 400 A.C., based on the dates of Kalidāsa and Subandhu and, further, that there are strong reasons to believe that it was known in the third century A.C. From the historical data that the Kāmasūtra affords we can come to a more definite determination of Vātsyāyana's date.

Historical Data about the Date of Vātsyāyana.

The well-known passage ⁷¹ referring to the Andhra monarch Kuntala Śātakarṇi first pointed out by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, ⁷²

⁷⁰ पुराणमितिष्ठतमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतीतिहासः ।
Kautilya's Arthasāstra, edited by R. Shāma Shastri, p. 10. It is significant in this connexion that the Lalita Vistara knows only some of the sections of the Kāmasāstra such as Strilakṣhaṇa, Purushalakṣhaṇa, Vaiśika, etc., but not the Sāstra as a whole (p. 156, Lefmann's edition).

⁷¹ कतर्या कुन्तलः शतकर्णः शतवाहनो महादेवो मलयवतीम्
(जघान) Benares edition, p. 149.

⁷² Early History of the Deccan, p. 31. I beg leave to submit that *Kartari* here does not mean "a pair of scissors" as translated by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, but it is a technical term to denote a kind of stroke dealt by a man with one or both of his hands at a woman's head, at the parting of the hair (Simanta). Vātsyāyana says that these strokes are in vogue among the people of the South (Dākṣiṇātyānām) and he condemns them as they sometimes proved fatal. The case of Kuntala Śātakarṇi is an example in point. Ben. ed., pp. 147—9.

furnishes important data. According to the Puranic list of the Andhra monarchs, Kuntala Sāti or Svātikarna is the thirteenth in descent from Simuka the founder of the family. Śrī Malla Sātakarṇi, the third monarch in this list, has been identified by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal with the Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Hāthi-gumphā inscription of Khāravela and it has been shown by him that an expedition was undertaken by Khāravela in 171 B.C. against this Sātakarṇi.⁷³ Kuntala is separated from him by 168 years according to the Puranic enumeration⁷⁴ which is held as substantially correct. Kuntala therefore reigned about the very beginning of the Christian era. This is then the upper limit of the composition of the Kāmasūtra which was therefore written between the first and the fifth centuries after Christ. We may next attempt to come to a closer approximation.

Vātsyāyana mentions the *Abhīras* and the *Andhras* as ruling side by side at the same time in South-West India. He speaks of an *Ābhira Kottarāja*,⁷⁵ a king of Kōṭṭa in Gujerat, who was killed by a washerman employed by his brother. Then again, in his chapter on the conduct of women confined in harems, Vātsyāyana describes the abuses practised in the seraglio of the *Ābhira* kings⁷⁶ among others. Now, King *Īśvarasena*, son of the *Ābhira* *Śivadatta*, is mentioned as a ruling sovereign in one of the Nasik inscriptions and is thought to have reigned in the third century A.C.⁷⁷ Besides, *Mahākshatrapa Īśvara-datta* is considered on very reasonable grounds to have been

⁷³ J.B.O.R.S., Vol. III., pp. 441, 442.

⁷⁴ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 38—40.

⁷⁵ *आभीरं हि कोटराजं परभवगतं भाटपुत्रो रक्षको जवान*, Benares edition, p. 287. Vātsyāyana mentions a *Kāśirāja Jayasena* about whom very little is known.

⁷⁶ *चत्रियसंज्ञकैस्तःपुररक्षिभिरेवायं साधयन्त्याभीरकाखाम*

Benares edition, p. 294.

⁷⁷ *Archæological Survey of Western India*, IV., page 103. See also Professor D.R. Bhandarkar's paper on the Gurjaras, J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXI., p. 430.

an Ābhīra, and his coins show that he reigned some time between circa 236 and 239 A.C.⁷⁸ About a century later, in the early years of the fourth century A.C., circa 336 A.C., the Ābhīras were met by Samudragupta.⁷⁹ The period when the Ābhīras most flourished, therefore, was the third century A.C.,⁴ on epigraphic and numismatic grounds. The Andhra rulers are also referred to by Vātsyāyana but certainly as mere local kings. In his chapter on Īśvarakāmita, or "The Lust of Rulers", Vātsyāyana describes various forms of abuses practised by kings, and it is significant that all the rulers here mentioned are referred to by the names of the people they ruled over and belong to South-Western India, viz. the kings of the Aparāntakas, the Vaidarbhas, the Saurāshtrakas, the Vātsagulmakas and the Andhras.⁶⁰ The Andhra monarchs here referred to evidently ruled over the Andhra people proper, and the social customs and practices of the Andhra people are described in various other parts of the book also.⁶¹ There is no reference in the Kāmasutra to the position of the Andhras as sovereigns exercising suzerain sway. The time therefore described by Vātsyāyana is that when the line of the great Andhra emperors had come to an end and the country was split up into a number of small kingdoms, among which the most considerable were those ruled over by the Andhrabhṛityas, or dynasties sprung up from the officers of the imperial Andhras. Among them the Purāṇas mention the Ābhīras, the Gardabhinās, the Śakas and also some Andhras,⁶² who evidently ruled over a limited

⁷⁸ *The Western Kshatrapas* by Paudit Bhagwanlal Indraji, J. R. A. S., 1890, p. 657ff. See also *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty* by E. J. Rapson, p. cxxxiii ff.

⁷⁹ J. F. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8.

⁴ [Mention of Ābhīras in literature is much earlier.—K. P. J.]

⁶⁰ Benares edition, pp. 287 288.

⁶¹ Benares edition, pp. 126, 135, 287, etc.

⁶² Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 45, the Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmanḍa Purāṇas read—अन्ध्रानां स स्थिते राज्ये तेषां भृत्यान्वया कृपाः ।

सप्तैवान्ध्रा भविष्यन्ति—दशाभीरास्तथा नृपाः ।

सप्त गर्दभिनृचापि शकारपादादथैव तु ॥

territory at the time referred to. The time when Vātsyāyana flourished is therefore the period when these later Andhra kings and the Ābhīras ruled simultaneously over different parts of Western India, that is, subsequent to circa 225 A.C., when the line of the great Andhras disappeared and before the beginning of the fourth century A.C., when the Guptas of whom there is no mention in the Kāmasūtra, were again uniting Northern India under a common sway. From this the conclusion is inevitable that the Kāmasūtra was composed about the middle of the third century A.C.

The Place of Composition of the Kāmasūtra.

It has been held by some that Vātsyāyana wrote his Kāmasūtra at the city of Pāṭaliputra, or modern Patna; but there is hardly any justification for this belief in the book itself. It depends upon the explanation offered by the commentator Jayamaṅgala of the word *Nāgarikyaḥ*⁸³ in one passage of Vātsyāyana by *Pāṭaliputrikyah* and of *Nāgarakāḥ*⁸⁴ in a second passage by *Pāṭaliputtrakāḥ*. Jayamaṅgala has not stated on what authority this explanation of his is based. His identification of *Nagara* with *Pāṭaliputra* is not worthy of much consideration because his knowledge of the geography of Eastern India was anything but accurate; e. g. he explains the *Gauḍāḥ* as a kind of Eastern people living in *Kāmarūpa*⁸⁵ and that *Kaliṅga* is to the south of this *Gauḍa*; ⁸⁶ he says further that *Vaṅga* lies to the east of the *Lohitya* or *Brahmaputra* and *Āṅga* to the east of the *Mahānadi*.⁸⁷ We can therefore have no hesitation in rejecting his identification as a mere haphazard guess. Besides, there is evidence offered by the book itself which

⁸³ तथाविधा एव रहसि प्रकाशन्ते नगरिभ्यः । Benares edition, p. 127.

⁸⁴ न तु स्वयमापरिचयः । अन्ति नागरकाः । Benares edition, p. 163.

⁸⁵ गौडाः कामरूपकाः प्राच्यविशेषाः । Benares edition, p. 295.

⁸⁶ कलिङ्गा गौडविषयाद् दक्षिणेन । Benares edition, p. 295.

⁸⁷ बङ्गा लोहित्यात् पूर्वेषु । अङ्गा महानद्याः पूर्वेषु । Benares edition, p. 295.

shows that the two words referred to above do not refer to Pāṭaliputra. In the first place, Vātsyāyana, in another passage of the Kāmasūtra, mentions Pāṭaliputra by name when he speaks of Dattaka as having written a monograph at the request of the courtesans of that city. He expressly says there *Pāṭaliputrīkā-nām* and not *Nāgarikūnām* as he might be expected to do on the analogy of the other two passages; there is no reason why he should use different words in speaking of the same place in different parts of his book.

Next we see that though Vātsyāyana appears to possess more or less knowledge of all parts of India yet he is acquainted more thoroughly with Western India than with the other portions. Of the country from Rajputana to the south up to the Konkan coast he speaks of almost all the various provinces and peoples. For example, he speaks of Avanti and Mālava (i.e. eastern and western Malwa), Aparānta, Lāṭa, Saurāshṭra, Vidarbha, Vanavāsī, Mahārashṭra, etc.; he mentions twice the Vatsagulmakas, a people living in the south,⁸⁸ and the Andhras and the Ābhīras are mentioned again and again; of the countries to the north-west he speaks of the Sindhus, of the people living in the regions lying between the watercourses of the six rivers including the Indus,⁸⁹ and he even describes the customs of the Vāhlika country or Bactria. The people in the south he knows only as the Dākṣiṇātyas and their country as Dakṣiṇāpatha and he once mentions the Draviḍas and a Cholarāja. The people in the east he speaks of as the *Prāchyas*, "the eastern people," but he seems to know the Gaudas and he makes a collective mention of Vaṅgāṅgakalīṅga in one passage. He does not

⁸⁸ Jayamaṅgala says that two princes Vatsa and Gulma lived in the Dakṣiṇāpatha; the country where they resided was called Vatsagulmaka दक्षिणापथे सोदर्यौ राजपुत्रौ वत्सगुल्मौ ताभ्यामध्यासितो देशो वत्सगुल्मक इति प्रतीयतः. Benares edition, page 238. The Vatsa country is mentioned by Varāhamihira along with Vidarbha and Andhra शौलिकविदर्भवत्सान्वचिदिका: (Kern, *Vṛhatsaṃhitā* Ch. XIV, 8). Rājasekhara in his *K. yamimāṃsā* (op. cit. p. 10) says तन्नास्ति विदर्भेषु वत्सगुल्मं नाम नगरम्.

⁸⁹ सिन्धुवहनां च नदीनामन्तरालीया Benares edition, p. 126.

even once speak of Magadha and of the entire country from Magadha to Rajputana he has very little to say. Once only he speaks of the Madhyaleśa and once each of the Saurasenā and the people of Śāketa and Ahichhatra, the capital of northern Pañcālā.⁸⁰ This meagre mention of the countries of the central and eastern portions of Northern India and the detailed description of the customs of Western India make it abundantly clear that Vātsyāyana had personal knowledge of the western portion alone and that his information about the eastern regions was probably derived from the works of his predecessors like that of Dattaka of Pāṭaliputra. That Vātsyāyana belonged to Western India may also be guessed from the fact that he makes a large number of quotations from Āpastamba's Grīhyasūtra as we have shown before, and it is known that the Vedic school of the Āpastambins flourished in Western India specially in the land of the Andhras.⁸¹

The question next presents itself as to what may be the meaning of the words Nāgarikyāḥ and Nāgarakāḥ in the two passages referred to above. Jayamaṅgala is certainly right in holding that they are proper names referring to a particular place and do not mean the women or men of a city in general as will be evident from the context in which they occur. In neither of the cases is there any contrast between the town and the village. Both the words are used in connexion with other proper names, the former in the order Andhryāḥ, Māhārāṣṭrikyāḥ, Nāgarikyāḥ, Dravīdyāḥ, Vānavāsikyāḥ, etc., and the latter in the order Āhichhatrikāḥ, Śāketāḥ, Nāgarakāḥ. In the second case it is found that the names are those of well-known towns, Ahichhatra, the capital of the North Pañcālā, and Śāketa or Ayodhyā, and the conclusion becomes irresistible that Nagara is also the name of a particular town, and as we have seen that Vātsyāyana is more familiar with Western India than with the other parts of it we are led to expect Nagara

⁸⁰ He also refers to a *Kaśīrāja*. Benares edition, p. 287.

⁸¹ Bühler, *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, Introduction, p. xxxiii.

there. We find here "the great ancient city of Nagara"⁹² the ruins of which now lie scattered over an area of nearly four square miles in extent in the territory of the Maharajah of Jeypore, 25 miles to the south-south-east of Tonk and 45 miles to the north-north-east of Bundi.⁹³ Mr. Carlleyle, who made an archæological survey of the place, picked up here several thousands of the most ancient types of coins ever found in India, many of the punch-marked variety and many bearing the legend *Jaya Mālavāna* in Brāhmi characters.⁹⁴ The city is not very far from Malwa and we think the democratic coin legend speaking of the "Triumph of the Mālava people" refers to the celebrated Mālavagaṇa who are known to have used the era now called the *Samvat*.⁹⁵ There is another ancient city Nāgri or Tamvabati Nāgari (about eleven miles north of Chitore) which has been identified with the Madhyamikā of Patañjali;⁹⁶ this city might also claim identity with Vātsyāyana's Nagara, but I think the former is the more probable one as the latter was evidently called Majhamikā or Madhyamikā⁹⁷ about the beginning of the Christian era. Pāṇini appears to have known *Nagara* as the name of a particular city as it appears in the *Gaṇa* or group *Kattryādi* referred to in one of his sūtras.⁹⁸ The Kāśikā commentary enumerates fifteen names as

⁹² Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle in Cunningham's Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Vol. VI, pp. 161, 162.

⁹³ Ibid, p. 162.

⁹⁴ These coins are described by Mr. Carlleyle and also by Sir A. Cunningham *ibid*, pp. 180—183, also Cunningham, Vol. XIV, p. 150.

⁹⁵ Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 87 and 158; J.R.A.S., 1913, pp. 995-998, and 1914, p. 747; Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, 1913, p. 161; Thomas, J.R.A.S., 1914, pp. 1012, 1013, etc.

⁹⁶ Carlleyle, *op. cit.*, pp. 200 ff; Cunningham, Vol. XIV, p. 146.

⁹⁷ The coins found here bear the legend *Majhamikāya Śrībijanapadaśa*, Carlleyle, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

⁹⁸ कच्छग्रादिभ्यो ढकञ् Pāṇini, IV. 2-95. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, who first drew attention to this sūtra, says in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1911, p. 34, footnote 45, "Nagara as the name of a town, was known to the author of Kāśikā." He considers *Nagarkot* or *Kāṅgḍā* as the Nagar from which the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas derived their name.

belonging to this class ; that the word *Nagara* in this *Gaṇa* is older than the *Kāśikā* and is a proper name, appears from what the *Kāśikā* says in connexion with another sūtra of Pāṇini (IV. 2, 128) ; it states there that *Nagara* is read in the *Kattryādi* group as the designation of a particular city as it occurs in company with other such names there.⁹⁹ From a city called *Nagara* also the *Nāgari* alphabet may have derived its name. The existence of a city called *Nagara*¹⁰⁰ therefore cannot be questioned. There is, however, no justification for holding that the *Nagara* we have referred to was the city where Vātsyāyana composed his work, it being only one of the many places that he has mentioned in illustrating his sūtras ; the utmost that we can say is that from the uncompromising, straightforward manner in which he has exposed the evils practised by kings, officials and queens, he must have belonged to a *Gaṇarājya* or a democratic government like the city of the *Mālavas* described above. This is also apparent from the importance he attaches to the assembly of citizens (*Nāgarika-Samavāya*) alluded to before.

९९ कत्तयादिषु तु संज्ञाशब्देन साहचर्यात् संज्ञानगरं पठते तस्मिन् नागरेयकमिति प्रत्युदाहार्तम् (*Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, IV. I. 128). The last part of this quotation would have *Nāgareyaka* as the correct form of derivative to designate a citizen of this particular *Nagara*, but Vātsyāyana has apparently not followed Pāṇini here, perhaps in deference to popular practice. The *Kāśikā* in accordance with the sūtra of Pāṇini here lays down that the form *Nāgaraka* is derived from *nagara* to signify abuse or expert knowledge (कुतश्चनप्रावीण्ययोः), otherwise, it will be *Nāgara* and the example given to illustrate this point is नागरा ब्राह्मणाः. This shows that the *Nāgara Brāhmaṇas* were known to the *Kāśikā*.

¹⁰⁰ There is a district or *bhukti* called *Nagara* mentioned in the Deo-Baranark inscriptions of Jivitagupta (Fleet : Gupta Inscriptions, p. 216), but it is in Bihar and has no connexion with our city.

III.—A Note on the Statues of Śaiśunāka Emperors in the Calcutta Museum.

By R. D. Banerji, M. A.

The statues which were discovered in Patna, first of all about a century ago and then in the front garden of the Asiatic Society of Bengal fifty years back, have been discovered for a third time in the well known Bharhut gallery of the Calcutta Museum.* It must be admitted that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-law, has really discovered these two statues, which are the oldest statues in India. There cannot be any doubt about the fact that these two pieces of Indian sculpture belong to the oldest known period of Indian Plastic Art. The question of their identification had puzzled artists and antiquarians for more than half a century. There may be difference of opinion about the different parts of Mr. Jayaswal's theory but there cannot be two opinions about the readings *Aśo* and *Vaśa Nandinī* and therefore Mr. Jayaswal's identification of these two pieces of sculpture as statues as against images and as statues of two Śaiśunāka Emperors, Aśa-Udayin and Varta-Nandin, rests on very solid grounds. Consequently it has to be admitted that in these two specimens of Indian sculpture, Mr. Jayaswal has really discovered the oldest known Indian statues and has correctly identified them with two Emperors of the Śaiśunāka dynasty of Northern India.

Before the identification of these two specimens the statue of the Kushān Emperor of Kāpiśka I. was the oldest known statue in India. Even if we reject other evidence about the date of these two specimens the script of the short inscriptions on their backs would be sufficient to prove that the statue of Kāpiśka is decidedly later in date than the Patna ones.

* *Ante*, p. 88.

In 1913 the late Dr. Theodor Bloch, Ph.D., of the Calcutta Museum, made an attempt to decipher the inscriptions on these two statues. But they baffled his attempt. The word *Namdi* could be deciphered by him with portions of the other words. He, however, did not publish the result of his researches as he was not sure of his interpretation. It was at that time that the palæography of the records was carefully examined. I did this work under Dr. Bloch's supervision but the result of my investigations, too, were not published at that time at his request.

In 1913 Dr. D. B. Spooner, then Superintendent of the Eastern Circle, consulted me about the date of these two sculptures. He was of opinion that they were specimens of Mauryan Art and thought so because of the high polish on them. When I pointed out to him, the peculiarities of what I then considered a later script used in the short records on the monuments, he told me that most probably the inscriptions were later in date than the sculptures. I did not agree with him at that time but it seems to me now that probably Dr. Spooner was correct in assigning a later date to the inscriptions than the sculptures on which the records are incised, if the inscriptions turn out to be post-Mauryan.

As to the reading of the inscriptions I agree entirely with Mr. Jayaswal in his reading of the inscription on the statue of Varta-Nandin. There is only one defect in it. In this record the second syllable of the first word is *ba* and not *pa*. The meaning is not affected in the least, as the word in both cases remains to be the same (*sarra*). I examined the original very carefully once again in Calcutta and I find that the top bar of the square *ba* is partly distinct and in part faintly traceable on the stone. In 1903 Dr. Bloch and I read wrongly the first word as *yakha* (Skt. *Yakṣa*), because we failed to discern the vertical upper limb of the *sa* which is faintly discernible on the stone.

I am afraid I cannot agree entirely with Mr. Jayaswal in his reading of the inscription on the statue of Aja for the following reasons :—

(1) The syllables read by him as *bha* in *bhage* and *dhī* and *se* in *chhonīdhīse* are not sure results. The first syllable of *bhage* may be *bha* because it has some resemblance to the Mauryan and later Mauryan *bha* but the absence of the right upper vertical which is characteristic of this consonant is missing. Even in the Bhattiprolu records the upper vertical is present though it is on the left instead of right. On the other hand there is a short covered hook attached to the left upper corner which cannot be explained.

(2) The syllable read by Mr. Jayaswal as *dhī* in the last word of this record appears to me to be *vī*. *Va* lost the upper vertical line on the top in the first century B.C. This vertical is to be found in the later Mauryan inscription from Mathura¹ but it disappears in the inscription of Śōḍasa.²

(3) The syllable read by Mr. Jayaswal as *se* in the same word appears to be *Ko* of the first century B.C. or A.D. The *Kci* stroke, which is the precursor of the serif, is visible on the original. The form of the syllable as well as the form of other letters in the same inscription indicate that it should not be read as *se*. The oldest known form of the palatal sibilant is to be found in the record, probably pre-Mauryan, incised in one of the caves at Ramgarh in Sirguja State.³ This form very nearly resembles the later form of Punic *shin*. Had the last syllable of the word read by Mr. Jayaswal as *Chhonīdhīse* been really *se* then the resemblance between the Jogimara form of the palatal *sa* and this one would have been easily noticeable.

The forms of the majority of letters in both of the inscriptions show that the records should be regarded as later in date. I shall take them in order and show their resemblance to forms in other inscriptions of undisputed date. The

¹ Epi Ind., Vol II, p. 198, No. 1.

² Ibid., p. 199, No. 2.

³ Arch. Annual, 1903-4, p. 128, pl. XLIII b.

second letter of the first word on the statue of Aja is read by Mr. Jayaswal as *ga*. It is correct but the form of the letter is late. The Mauryan *ga* has an acute angle at its top whereas the top of this letter is round. With this compare *ga* in *Phagugāsīsa* in an inscription¹ which must have been incised at the same time as the record of the year 72 of the reign of Śoḍāsa.

(5) The vowel *ā* in *Āco* very closely resembles in form the same vowel in the Sarnath inscription of the first century B.C. or A.D. Cf. *ā* in *Aśvaghōsasya*.²

(6) In the same word the form of *ca* in the second syllable is certainly much later. The Mauryan form is quite different. The form in the Patna inscription resembles that in a Mathura inscription of the year 52 of the Kuṣāṇa era, cf. *cha* in *vāchakasya* in l. 2.³

(7) The form of *cha* in *Chonī* is also later. The Aśokan form consists of a circle bisected by a vertical straight line which projects above the upper periphery of the circle whereas here we have a vertical straight with two ellipsoid curves attached to its lower extremity, one on each side. The Aśokan form persisted for a long time, cf. *vachīputrasa*.⁴ The form in the Patna inscription resembles the Kuṣāṇa form, cf. *Chatra* in the Kuṣāṇa Buddhist inscription from Sarnath.⁵

Examined palæographically the inscription on the statue of Varta-Nandin also point to the same conclusion. The following facts indicate that this inscription also should not be regarded earlier than the first century B.C. :—

(a) The triangle instead of a round figure or circle as the base of *kha* in *khate*.

(b) An isosceles triangle as *ra* in *chonīviko*.

(c) The curvature in the base line of *na* in *chonī*; cf. also the form of *na* in *Nandī*.

¹ Epi. Ind., Vol. II, p. 200, No. V.

² Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 171, inscription *e* and *f*.

³ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 203, No. XVIII.

Ibid., p. 199, No. I.

Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 176ff.

{d) Two right angles instead of a semi-circle in the back of *da*.

A careful scrutiny of the original inscribed surface enables me to assert that the records were incised on the statues after the finishing of the sculptor's work.

We do not know any other examples of pre-Mauryan art and consequently we cannot make comparison. It appears to me, however, that the statues were finished and exhibited in a gallery of the sort described in the *Pratimā nūṭakam*. Long after, when people had begun to forget who the Śaiśunākas were, somebody connected with the Art gallery had the names chiselled on the monuments in an inconspicuous place.

NOTE ON THE A OVE.

1. The letter which I read as *bh* is not explained by Mr. Banerji and cannot be explained on the theory of a late script. The letter has to remain unidentified, as in Mr. Banerji's note, on the late theory, and consequently the whole word (*bhage*) unread.

2. The peculiar composition of *ga* is not noticed. It is composed of two parts. Then it is not correct to say that the Aśoka *ga* is always angular; see Siddapur in Bühler's Chart.

3. *Kha* has a quadrilateral base, not triangular, which again is impossible to be explained on the late script theory.

4. If *vīko* is read instead of my *dhīse* (or *dhīso*), the result is a senseless word; *chthonī-vīko* gives no meaning. Then, two different forms of *va* are to be read in the inscriptions, one with the top-bar and the other without it, which is inadmissible. On the late script theory the letter which I read as *dhī* cannot be read at all. I agree that the Ramgarh inscription (Jogimara) is pre-Aśokan, not pre-Mauryan. But to call it "the oldest known" is to beg the very question. The Kalsi and Girnar *sa*'s are nearer the Śaiśunāka letter. It is radically different from the later *ka*'s, being a three-stroke letter.

The Kushan and Western letters preserve the tradition of older forms and very probably a different style than that adopted officially under Aśoka.

5. Mr. Banerji leans to the conservative view, but he fails to read all the letters on his hypothesis and to give any sensible meaning to his new readings wherever he differs from me. Until and unless all the letters can be identified and explained on the hypothesis of a late script, I am not prepared to accept that hypothesis.

My arguments on the evolution of the letters based on the stroke-effort have not been considered by Mr. Banerji. I think that it is axiomatic that a three-stroke letter must be older in origin than a one-stroke or two-stroke representative thereof.

I am, however, very glad to see that Mr. Banerji agrees with me in the reading of the proper names and in the general result.

K. P. J.

IV.—Marathi Copper-plate of Puri.

By K. N. Dikshit, M. A.

The plate is a record on metal (dimensions 9" × 6½") of the usual agreement given by a pilgrim to a ministering priest at places of pilgrimage by which the latter is to be recognized as the **चेत्रोपाध्याय** by any one of the pilgrim's family who may visit the place (subject to the turning up of a similar promise of an earlier date).

The language is Marathi and the script Modī, which is even now current in the Maratha country.

Amritrao Raghunath of the Peshwa family hereby recognized Gauranga Pāṇḍe resident at Jagannath-purī or Purī, as the Tirthopādhyāya for his family, at the request of one Jagannatha Harihara, an agent of the Tirthopādhyāya who saw the Peshwa in his camp.

It reads thus :—

ओमंत अ
मंतराव
रघुनाथ ।

१ । वो । ^१ राजश्री गौरंग पांडे वास्तव्य

२ । अं च पुढ्योत्तम जगन्नाथ गो ^२ ॥

३ । सेवक अमंतराव ^३ रघुनाथ नमस्कार सु ॥ ^४

^१ = वेदमूर्ति abbreviate form of address for learned Brahmans.

^२ = गोसावी This epithet marks the close of the address proper.

^३ The adopted son of the Peshwa Raghunathrao. He never actually succeeded to the throne of the Peshwas (except for a spell during the troubles of 1802), as a son was born to Raghunathrao after the adoption,—the notorious Baji Rao II, the last Peshwa. Amritrao retired on a pension offered by the British and his lineal descendants are still to be found at Karwi or Chitrakut in Banda District (U.P.).

^४ = सुरदेन. The Marathas continued to use the Muhammadan calendar, though in a corrupt fashion.

- ३ । मया तैव आलफ जगनाथ हरिहर गुमास्ता तु-
 ५ । न्हा कडील यागो चेत्र मजकूर चे तीर्थउपाध्यप
 ६ । शाविशी हुजूर श्रीचे मुक्तामौ येजन विनंती
 ७ । कैलो त्याजवरून चेत्रमजकूरचे तीर्थ उपाध्ये
 ८ । पण तुम्हास लेहुन दिव्हे असे तरी चेत्र मज
 ९ । कुरी आमचे वंशीचे येतील ते तुम्हाकडे
 १० । तीर्थ उपाध्येपण चालवितील यापूर्वी दु-
 ११ । सरे कोण्हाकडे वडिलाचा लेख निघाल्यास हे पत्र
 १२ । रद्द असे जाणीजे ॐ श्रवाल समन्वार्थ जाण ।

श्री
हे खन
मर्यादा ।

(Seal of the
illustrious
Amritarao
Raghunath)

TRANSLATION.

To Gaurang Pāṇḍe, resident of the sacred
seat (Kshetra) of Purushottama Jagannatha.

Amritarao Raghunatha, with compliments, informs that at the request of Jagannatha Harihara, your agent, who requested His grace in camp for the conferring of the dignity of his Tirtho-padhyāya, he is pleased to confer on you in writing the same. Hence if any of our family visit this sacred place they will continue to patronize you. This charter should be considered null and void if any one else is able to produce a document (conferring the same priesthood) by any of our forefathers. 1st day of Shawāl ; Let this be known.

[The end of the writing.]

V.—Translation of Maharajah Kalyan Singh's Khulāsat-ut-Tāwarikh.*

(I.)

By Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Husain Khan.

ACCOUNT OF THE NAZIMS OF BENGAL FROM THE REIGN OF
JAFAR KHAN TO 1227 HJRAH.

SOME ANECDOTES OF MAHABAT JANG, SUBEDAR OF BENGAL, AND
OF SERAJUDDAULA BAHADUR, GRANDSON OF MAHABAT JANG.

Jafar Khan.

Jafar Khan was a court noble. In the time of Mohammad Aurangzeb he was appointed to the office of Dewan of the Government Estates in Bengal. He was a good administrator and worked with caution and sagacity. The Viceroyalty of Bengal devolved on the princes of the royal blood, till at last prince Azimushshan, the son of Bahadur Shah, was appointed Subedar of Bengal. Jafar Khan all along continued as Dewan of Bengal. After the death of Mohiuddin Mohammad Aurangzeb, Azimushshan hurried to the assistance of his father Bahadur Shah in his struggle with Azam Shah. After gaining victory in this battle, Azimushshan chose to remain with his father, and got Jafar Khan appointed to the Subedari of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as well as to the Dewanship of Bengal. After this, Jafar Khan, whose real name was Murshid Quli Khan, laid the foundation of the city of Murshidabad in his name. Sarfaraz Khan was the son of Shujauddaula and the son-in-law of Jafar Khan. But the relations between husband and wife were strained and Jafar Khan's daughter separated from her husband, and along with her son Sarfaraz Khan Alauddaula lived with her father. Jafar Khan brought up his grandson, and planned to have him appointed his successor in office,

* The MS. of this work was placed in my hands by Syed Khursed Nawab, since deceased, of Patna City.

inasmuch as in his lifetime he had asked the reigning sovereign for the grant of the *sanad* and other necessary orders sanctioning his grandson's succession in the Viceroyalty. But it so happened that he fell ill and died.

Shujauddaula.

Shujauddaula, the son-in-law of Jafar Khan, resided in the province of Orissa, but was really an inhabitant of Burhanpur in the Deccan. He belonged to the "Afshas", which is a class of Turks of Khorasan. During the stay of Aurangzeb in the Deccan, he married the daughter of Jafar Khan, the then Dewan of the province of Bengal, and accompanied him. With the political rise of Jafar Khan, Shujauddaula also rose, so much so that during the Viceroyalty of Jafar Khan, Shujauddaula became Subedar of Orissa or a Deputy of Jafar Khan. The mother of Ali Verdi Khan Mahābat Jang belonged to the tribe of "Afshas" and was related to Shujauddaula. Mahābat Jang, together with his father and his brother Haji Ahmad, was in the service of the Emperor Azim Shah. After the death of Azim Shah, Ali Verdi Khan was reduced to straitened circumstances and lived a retired life. In the beginning of the reign of Mohammad Shah, Mirza Molammad, the father of Mahābat Jang, presented himself before Shujauddaula and got into his service. Shujauddaula treated him well. Having heard this, Mahābat Jang proceeded from Shahjahanabad to Orissa in a most wretched condition and made his appearance before Shujauddaula and his father. Shujauddaula kept him also in his service. Mirza Mohammad Ali Mahābat Jang was a talented man. He soon ingratiated himself into the favour of Shujauddaula and rose to a high position in his service. He then sent for his brother Haji Ahmad with his family and relatives. He remitted to them a decent amount for their travelling expenses, and they all travelled safe from Shahjahanabad to Orissa. Haji Ahmad also got into the service of Shujauddaula. The two brothers were men of great merit and their services to Shujauddaula conduced much to the stability

of his government. By virtue of his courage and judgment Mirza Mohammad Ali Mahābat Jang rose to a much higher position than his father, brother and other nobles of Shujaud-daula's court. Shujauddaula recommended him to the Emperor for a suitable post and the title of Mohammad Ali Verdi Khan. But Jafar Khan was displeased with Shujauddaula, and in view of his ill-health he was anxious that Alauddaula Sarfaraz Khan should succeed him in office. It was therefore that he asked His Majesty through his representatives to appoint Sarfaraz Khan who was then the Dewan of Bengal to act as the Viceroy of Bengal. Hearing this Shujauddaula consulted Mohammad Ali Verdi Khan and Haji Ahmad. With their advice he made a representation to the King, asking His Majesty to be pleased to confer upon him the Viceroyalty of Bengal and Orissa. He submitted this representation with a magnificent present. He then arranged for two daks, one from Orissa to Shahjahanabad for a reply from the King and the other from Orissa to Murshidabad with a view to get timely information of the health of Jafar Khan, who was suffering from a fatal disease. Ostensibly he dismissed some of his military officers and sent them to Murshidabad to remain in different places and await his arrival. He made extensive arrangements for boats, as the roads were then almost impassable on account of the rainy season, and anxiously waited for an opportunity till at last he received the intelligence of the despatch of the royal *sanad*, and of the approaching death of Jafar Khan, who it was said could not live for more than five or six days. In Orissa he left Mohammad Taqi, his son by his second wife, to act for him as his deputy, and himself proceeded to Murshidabad with Mohammad Ali Verdi Khan and other nobles. He travelled partly by boat and partly by land. But on his way he heard the news of Jafar Khan's death, while the royal *sanads* conferring upon him the Viceroyalty of Bengal and Orissa also reached him. He named the place where he received this auspicious news *Mubarak Manzil*. From there he hurried to Murshidabad, and held court in *Chehlul Satoon*, the

hall of public audience made by Jafar Khan. He sat in a right royal manner with his companions and ordered the Dewan to read the royal *sanads*. He ordered rejoicings to be made, and took presents from the residents of the place. His son, Sarfaraz Khan Allauddaula was then two miles distant from the scene of action. Sarfaraz Khan consulted his men as soon as he heard the sounds of rejoicing and was informed of the facts. Without a dissentient voice all said that inasmuch as his father was in possession of the royal *sanads* and of the state treasury, the only course open to him was to submit. Sarfaraz Khan then rode, and went to his father and, after offering his congratulations, made a present to him. Shujauddaula seated his son on his lap, and confirmed him in his post of Dewan of the Khalsa Sharifa (Government lands) of Bengal. He moreover bestowed favours on his son, and treated him so affectionately and with so much distinction that both he and his mother forgot the death of Jafar Khan and felt resigned to their lot.

It is true that no one loves anybody as much as he does his son. After finishing his domestic business and conciliating the family and relatives of Jafar Khan he busied himself in the management of state affairs and attempted to act independently. In some matters he also consulted Mohammad Ali Verdi Khan and Haji Ahmad Khan. He took the revenue and settlement departments in his hands, and worked with the assistance of Rai Alam Chand, an old, clever, and experienced revenue officer (Dewan). He appointed Jagat Seth Fateh Chand, who was a millionaire and the most famous banker of his time, as a cashier of the state and companion. He made himself the head of the judicial department and personally disposed of civil cases. Once in a week he heard the parties and administered even-handed justice. It was therefore that the public was very grateful to him. He summoned before him many of the Zamindars and Talukdars of Bengal who were all along in prison since the time of Jafar Khan; gave a patient hearing to them, and released them on the security of Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and their taking

oaths of allegiance. He not only released them from confinement but also conferred *khilat* upon them according to their respective positions in society. Such acts of magnanimity and philanthropy made him exceedingly popular. This reign was very peaceful. He appointed his son-in-law Murshid Quli Khan Bahadur Rustam Jang the administrator of Jahangirnagar, Dacca. He appointed Syed Ahmad Khan, son of Haji Ahmad, the Faujdar of Rangpore. Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan, the youngest son of Haji Ahmad and son-in-law of Mahābat Jang, was appointed the Faujdar of Rajmahal and Nawazish Muhammad Khan, the nephew and eldest son-in-law of Mahābat Jang, the Bakhshi of the army. Mohammad Ali Khan Mahābat Jang, Haji Ahmad, Alam Chand and Jagat Seth Fateh Chand had a hand in all administrative and revenue matters and did their work properly. It was at this time that Fakhruddaula was transferred by the order of the Emperor from the Subedarship of Behar. Shujauddaula took this opportunity of asking the Emperor for a *sanad* in his own name appointing him the Subedar of Behar. He then appointed his son Alauddaula Sarfaraz Khan to act as his deputy. But Zebunnissah, the daughter of Jafar Khan and wife of Shujauddaula, was unwilling to separate her son from her and consequently asked her husband to appoint Mohammad Ali Verdi Khan Mahābat Jang to act as the Subedar of Behar as a deputy of her son Sarfaraz Khan. The said Khan was then summoned at the entrance to the female department. Zebunnissah then had an elephant, a palki with an embroidered covering and jewels given to, and a magnificent *khilat* conferred upon, Ali Verdi Khan by her son Sarfaraz Khan. At her instance Ali Verdi Khan became the recipient of these very things at the hands of Shujauddaula as well. Shujauddaula also gave the Khan the office of Panj Hazari, the title of Mahābat Jang Bahadur and the privilege of keeping the flag (Alam) and the band (Nakkara). Thus it was that Mahābat Jang left for Behar in state. With the permission of Shujauddaula, Mahābat Jang took his two sons-in-law with him, and leaving

Murshidabad reached Azimabad (Patna). He successfully administered the province of Behar and after one year returned to Murshidabad. He waited on Shujauddaula, was received by him warmly, and then returned to his province. Mahabat Jang's short administration of Behar was a great success. He subdued the unruly Zamindars and rewarded those who were loyal and submissive. He filled the posts with able and competent men, and provided himself with all that is necessary for a man in his position. He managed to keep himself in the good books of Shujauddaula, till at last the latter died at the time of the entry of Nadir Shah in Shahjahanabad.

Allauddaula Sarfaraz Khan.

Allauddaula Sarfaraz Khan, the son of Shujauddaula and the grandson of Jafar Khan, succeeded to the *musnad* of Viceroyalty of Bengal, Behar and Orissa after his father's death and busied himself in the management of the affairs of the province according to his own lights. Though he did not interfere with Rai Alam Chand, with Haji Ahmad or with Jagat Seth Fateh Chand, yet Mir Murtaza, Haji Latf Ali Khan and Mardan Ali Khan who were his old friends and who owed Haji Ahmad a grudge, always spoke ill of him. They represented the enmity and opposition that really existed between Haji Ahmad and themselves and poisoned the mind of Allauddaula against Haji Ahmad to such an extent that Allauddaula at last took from him the seal of Dewani which had been with him from Shujauddaula's time and made it over to Mir Murtaza. Feeling greatly insulted, Haji Ahmad wrote to his brother all that had happened to him. Mahabat Jang saw the change and confusion that had taken place in the affairs of the Indian Empire. After Shujauddaula's death he saw that the time was most opportune for furthering the treacherous designs that he had entertained. He therefore secretly applied through Mohammad Ishak Yar Khan, who was at that time a great favourite of Mohammad Shah Badshah and was an old friend of Mahabat Jang, to obtain the Viceroyalty of Bengal, Behar and Orissa in his own

name from the time of the death of Shujauddaula and he also promised to pay one crore of rupees as *Peshkash* and to send all the wealth and money of Shujauddaula's house. His request was granted by the King and he sent the *Sanad* of Viceroyalty to him. He now began to entertain the idea of ruling Bengal and of killing the son of his own master. Apart from this, the complaints of his brother Haji Ahmad who had been writing to him all that was transpiring at Murshidabad and the information given him by treacherous persons like Jagat Seth Fateh Chand and other nobles of Murshidabad who had joined him were the chief cause of his enmity with Sarfaraz Khan. Mahābat Jang began to muster an army and to collect weapons of war on the pretext of marching against the zamindars of Bhojpoore, till one year and one month of the rule of Allauddaula had elapsed. With a view to fight with Sarfaraz Khan he marched out of the city of Azimabad and encamped near the tank of Waris Khan. He summoned all the young and old Hindus and Muhammadans before him. When all had assembled he gave the *Quoran* in the hands of the Muhammadans and Ganga water in the hands of the Hindus and asked them to take oaths of allegiance. He said :—" I am going to fight with my enemy. I wish to have a solemn declaration from such trustworthy and old friends as yourselves for my satisfaction. If you wish to remain my friends and help me you should solemnly declare it on oath that you would not refuse to follow me even if I plunge into fire or water, that you would remain enemies of my enemies and friends of my friends and that you will be ever ready to help me." The officers of the army, who together with the soldiers were the sincere friends and real well-wishers of Mahābat Jang, gladly accepted the conditions and took very strict oaths on the *Quoran* and Ganga water. Unanimously and as if with one voice, they exclaimed loudly that they were ready to accept his friendship and to show their bravery. The new employers followed suit and entered into a solemn agreement and became ready to accept the friendship of Mahābat Jang. Having obtained security on this point he disclosed the real fact to them.

He related to them how Sarfaraz Khan had been disgracing his brother and himself and then informed them of his intentions. As they had already entered into the solemn compact they had no alternative but that of believing his statements and helping him. The Darbar ended in the evening. The next morning, having left his son-in-law Zainuddin Khan as his naib in Patna, he marched towards Murshidabad. The arrangements regarding the way were so strict that no letter reached Murshidabad at that time and no traveller could outdistance him. When he reached the Pass of Shahabad, to pass through which would have been very difficult in case of the opposition of its keepers, he left his army in the valley and sent Mustafa Khan Afghan with two hundred horses and footmen together with the *Parwana* and *Dastak* which bore the seal of Sarfaraz Khan and which had been sent ere this, to call a certain Jamadar to Murshidabad. He represented the *Parwana* to be a passport for his army and ordered Mustafa Khan to enter the Pass after showing it to its keepers, who were about a hundred or two hundred footmen and Barkandazes, and sound the drum of his camel after reaching that place. Mustafa Khan acted upon the order. When he arrived near the Pass, the keepers, as usual, ordered him to stop. Mustafa Khan sent the *Dastak* and the *Parwana* through a follower of his. The *Mutasaddi* (clerk) of the Pass ordered the Pass to be opened after seeing the *Parwana* and *Dastak* and allowed the men to enter. Having entered it, Mustafa Khan gave the appointed signal and sounded the drum loudly. On hearing this, the vanguard of Mahābat Jang's army advanced in a body from the valley with much splendour. The keepers were confused and were about to move when Mustafa Khan cried with a loud voice: "Take care: budge an inch and you will receive due punishment; all of you will be killed on the spot." Confused and perplexed all remained where they were and the men of Mustafa Khan opened the gate of the Pass. The vanguard of Mahābat Jang entered the Pass and the same day Jagat Seth Fateh Chand got Mahābat Jang's letter. Jagat Seth on calculating the days from the time Mahābat Jang

began his journey understood that he must have entered Telia-garh that day and would reach Murshidabad in five or six days time. He himself submitted the petition which was intended to be presented to Sarfaraz Khan and informed him of the state of affairs. The petition ran thus : " The disgrace of my brother Haji Ahmad has now reached its climax. I have, therefore, come down to this place to see that my (fair name) prestige is protected. I hope that you will allow Haji Ahmad with all his relatives and dependents to depart." The great as well as the common folk were much surprised at the news. Sarfaraz Khan called together the nobles of the army and all his well-wishers. He also called Haji Ahmad and admonished him. Haji Ahmad began to talk very politely and mildly as suited the occasion and promised that he would at once ask Mahābat Jang to return if he obtained leave to go to him. Some were not disposed to grant him leave as they thought the statement of Haji Ahmad to be deceptive ; others were disposed to believe in it. But Gholam Ghaus Khan, who was a respectable Sirdar of Sarfaraz Khan and was a brave man, submitted that Haji Ahmad be sent along with his family and his dependents to Mahābat Jang and that if he did not fulfil his promise he would be punished for his treacherous act. Sarfaraz Khan approved of his suggestion and sent Haji Ahmad along with his family and dependents to Mahābat Jang. Haji Ahmad after his arrival repeatedly sent representatives to Sarfaraz Khan and submitted that Mahābat Jang still owned allegiance to Sarfaraz Khan, and that Sarfaraz Khan should not therefore think of marching against him but that he should come out of the city ; after having audience and representing certain facts to him Mahābat Jang would return. Sarfaraz Khan believed in the representation of Haji Ahmad and came out of the city. On the 22 Muharram 1153 Hijra, Allauddaula Sarfaraz Khan came out of Murshidabad with his men and encamped there. After three or four marches he reached *Kahamara*. From there he reached mauzah Karmak which is on the bank of the Bhagirathi and encamped there. On this side Mahābat Jang

also came nearer and distributed ammunition the same night. The next morning, riding on an elephant, he divided his army into three parts, and posted Rang Lall, who was a good Sirdar, to face Ghulam Ghaus Khan, and himself crossed the Bhagirathi with two divisions, one of which he sent to the rear of Sarfaraz Khan and with the other faced his front. Both sides opened fire. Gholam Ghaus Khan showed such conspicuous bravery and fought so intrepidly that Rang Lall was killed with a large body of his men and the rest took to flight. But suddenly the army of Mahābat Jang attacked the rear of Sarfaraz Khan and caused much confusion while Mahābat Jang and his men attacked Sarfaraz Khan's front. In this double fight some famous generals of Sarfaraz Khan were killed with a very large following and in the thick of the combat a bullet struck Sarfaraz Khan and killed him on the spot. The army of Sarfaraz Khan was also defeated. ~~The~~ driver of Sarfaraz Khan's elephant, seeing his master dead, took the elephant out of the battle-field and advanced towards Murshidabad. When Gholam Ghaus Khan's eyes fell on his master's elephant, he thought his master was taking to flight owing to his cowardice, and he therefore sent a horseman to bring the elephant before him. When the horseman came alongside the elephant, the driver said that his master was killed and that it was his corpse that he was taking back. The horseman returned and informed Gholam Ghaus Khan of the matter. On hearing the news the bright world looked dark to this brave, conscientious and faithful general. With his men he sprang on the army of Mahābat Jang like a lion and proved his manliness and bravery, till at last he was himself killed together with his two sons and his friends and went to the everlasting Heaven. In the same way other generals of Sarfaraz Khan fought with Mahābat Jang's army, and Mahābat Jang gained victory over the son of his master, possessed himself of his tents, furniture, etc., and sent his brother Haji Ahmad towards Murshidabad. Haji Ahmad with the rapidity of wind and lightning reached Mushidabad and proclaimed the rule of Mahābat Jang by beat of drum. He removed the confu-

sion and brought all the offices and treasury of Sarfaraz Khan in his possession. At the sad news of the death of Sarfaraz Khan, the cries and wailings of his family were heard. In this short narrative it would be difficult to dwell on the straits to which Allauddaula's family were reduced in consequence of this lamentable circumstance.

ACCOUNTS OF NAWAB MAHĀBAT JANG BAHADUR.

Nawab Mahābat Jang, whose real name was Mohammad Ali Verdi Khan, was in the beginning one of the office bearers of the King's Court. How and through what influence he came to Bengal from Hindustan has already been related in the description of Shujauddaula's rule. It is not necessary to re-narrate it here. In short, two days after the death of Sarfaraz Khan, Mahābat Jang in the middle of the month of Safar 1152 Hijra entered Murshidabad with great pomp and splendour and with much magnificence and grandeur sat on the *masnad* of the Viceroyalty of Bengal, Behar and Orissa and ordered public rejoicings. The aristocracy of the city were granted audience and presented His Excellency with *nazars*. Mahābat Jang obtained all the wealth and treasures that had been amassed by Jafar Khan, Shujauddaula and Sarfaraz Khan, which were worth more than a hundred crores. He sent one crore in cash and some other valuables worth about a crore, which he had gained on confiscating the house of Sarfaraz Khan, to Mohammad Shah. The King conferred upon him the title of Hisam-ud-daula and gave him the mansab of Haft Hazari and the privilege of keeping *Mahi* and *Maratib*. He gave the permanent (*Subaduri*) governorship of Behar to his younger son-in-law Zainuddin Ahmad Khan whom he had left at Azimabad as his Deputy, and asked for him the title of Ihtishamuddaula Bahadur Haibat Jang, and a Palki, JhalarJar, the mansab of Haft Hazari (keeping 7,000 men) and the privilege of keeping *Mahi*, *Maratib* and *Naubat* and *Alam*. For his elder son-in-law, Nawzish Mohammad Khan, he asked the office of Haft Hazari (7,000 men) and for the title of Ihtishamuddaula Bahadur Shahamat Jang and conferred upon him these titles and privileges together with the office of Jahangirnagar

and the Diwani of (Khalsa Sharifa) Khas Mahal of Bengal. To his third nephew, Syed Ahmad Khan he gave the above privileges and the title of Mohamuddaula Bahadur Saulat Jang and gave him the Deputy Governorship of Orissa after taking it from Murshid Quli Khan, the son-in-law of Shujauddaula. He also honoured the other officers of his army who were concerned in shedding the blood of their innocent master Sarfaraz Khan with other titles and offices. Rai Alam Chand, the Dewan of Shujauddaula, was appointed to the office of Dewanship and was given the title of Rai Rayan, while Raja Janki Ram, the old Dewan of Mahābat Jang, was given the Dewanship of the other departments.

He marched against Murshid Quli Khan, the son-in-law of Shujauddaula, the Deputy Governor of Orissa, and obtained victory over him in a battle. Murshid Quli Khan together with his wife and children and all the wealth and treasures he had, embarked on board a ship and going towards the Deccan ended his life peacefully and in good circumstances under the protection of the Nizam-ul-mulk.

After this Mahābat Jang got possession of the whole of Behar, Bengal and Orissa and devoted his energies to the financial and political administration of the country and worked with great firmness and ability. He also collected all the things necessary for a governor and a noble for himself as well as for his nephews. He adopted Sirajuddaula, the son of his younger daughter Amina Begum, as his son, and gave him a princely education. He wished ardently that Providence in his merciful way may confer the Viceroyalty of Bengal and Orissa on his grandson. This is what he wished. But as a punishment for his act of killing the daughter's son of Jafar Khan, his daughter's son was killed by Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan. An account of this affair will, God willing, be given elsewhere.

He discharged the duties of his high office honourably and he ruled for sixteen years from 1153 Hijra with great firmness and vigour. For about ten years during this period he had to remain engaged in fighting with Raghuji Mahratta and with

some of his treacherous employés such as Mustafa Khan, Shamsher Khan and Sardar Khan by whose hands his son-in-law Zainuddin Khan had been killed. He always showed bravery and manliness in battle and was for the most part successful and victorious. At last on account of old age he made peace with Raghuji and made over to him the province of Orissa in lieu of *Chauth*. He thus saved himself from the Mahrattas and his subjects from their ravages and loot. For six years after the peace, he spent his life in protecting the country and the property of his subjects and lived with ease and comfort and with a peaceful mind. He was very kind to his faithful subordinates and always bestowed favours upon them. It would require another book by itself if I were to write about all the events and adventures of Mahābat Jang, and moreover it would be out of place in this small volume, and I therefore satisfy myself with this much and trust to futurity for the completion of this work. But I relate some of the events of the Nawab's rule with the view of making these events of Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan's life more clear.

Nawab Mahābat Jang (Nazim), Governor of Bengal, was a very wise man. He had a keen insight into administrative and financial problems and proved himself a capable Governor. He had thorough acquaintance with military affairs, and was a brave warrior of his time. He made full inquiry before he took any judicial notice of facts. He paid not the slightest attention to the idle talk of sycophants. Truly speaking he seemed to have been born to rule Bengal. Internal peace reigned throughout his dominions. All along he discharged the onerous duties of his exalted position with much credit, and by the force of his character raised himself in the estimation of not only his friends but also of his enemies.

It is said that he had a step-sister, Shah Khanum, by a slave girl, whom he had given in marriage to Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan by giving him the post of Bukkshi of his army (paymaster of his forces) on a salary of Rs. 5,000 a month. But being a shrewd observer of human nature, he was

very suspicious of Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan, and incessantly watched his movements and kept an eye over all his acts. He neither honoured him too much nor disgraced him. He always took a middle course. From Shah Khanum there were born a son, Meeran *alias* Sadiq Ali Khan, and a daughter named Fatima Begum who was married to Mir Mohammad Kasim Khan. Towards the close of Nawab Mahābat Jang's rule, Nawab Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan kept two women named Munni Begum and Bahoo Begum of the Kanchin caste. He loved them most passionately, but through fear of Mahābat Jang kept the matter secret, till Nawab Mahābat Jang suffered from a fatal disease and made over the Viceroyalty to his grandson Sirajuddaula then a mere youth, advising him specially not to fight with the English, and at last died. Nawab Sirajuddaula, after the death of his grandfather, ascended the *masnat* of the Viceroyalty of Bengal—a Heaven-like Province. He reaped the consequence of his indolence and dissipation, his treachery, cowardice and meanness. He paid no attention to the advice given him by his grandfather and became the cause of his own downfall and death.

Sirajuddaula sent his men to Rajnagar to arrest Kishen Bullabh, son of Raj Bullabh, the Dewan of the late Mahābat Jang. Kishen Bullabh fled to Calcutta where high English officers such as Mr. Drake and others took him under protection. This provoked the ire of Sirajuddaula and he asked the representatives of the English who were present in his court to send Kishen Bullabh to him at once together with his belongings if they really wanted their own safety for otherwise they would have to reap the consequences of this indiscretion and undue interference. In short, matters became more and more complicated. The English replied that they could not make over the person of the man who had sought protection under the Company's flag but that they were ready to make good the defalcations made by him (Kishen Bullabh). Sirajuddaula at last marched against the English on the 22nd Ramzan 1169 A.H. and captured the factory of Calcutta which

at the time contained only a few men under Mr. Drake. The remaining English fled on board a ship and Calcutta came into the possession of Sirajuddaula. He posted a large force in the Makhua Police-station with the object of arresting the advance of the English if they came and himself went to Murshidabad. When the ship conveying the English from Calcutta reached Madras, they were invited by Mr. Clive, then a commander of the English forces sent to help Nawab Mohammad Ali Khan, Nazim of Arcot. Clive also sent a despatch to England giving a graphic account of the recent doings of Sirajuddaula. But after further consultation he embarked on board a ship with the men under his command, and without waiting for orders from England, sailed for Calcutta. Having anchored at sea he sent friendly letters through spies to Nawab Jafar Ali Khan, Jagat Seth, Mahtab Chand, Mahtab Chand's brother, Maharaja Sarup Chand, Fakhrul Tujjar and others, whose names the author does not remember at this time. The spies delivered the letters to the addressees. The cruelty of Sirajuddaula was such that Nawab Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan and the other great men of the city did not consider their lives and properties secure, and they therefore looked upon the letters received from Clive as a God-sent blessing and entertained a secret love for the East India Company. To Mr. Clive's letters they simply sent this couplet in reply :—"The pupils of our eyes are thy nest : Be kind and come because this house is thine."

. At last after some further correspondence everything was settled between the parties and the solemn compact was signed, giving to Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan the permanent Subedarship of the Province. From this place Clive marched towards Calcutta till at last he reached near the Makhua Police-station. By a night attack he defeated Sirajuddaula's men who were posted on the spot. On entering Calcutta with his party he occupied the vacated bungalows. A detailed account of the affair would be rather too lengthy for this work. To be short, from Calcutta to Murshidabad there were fought several battles between Siraj-

uddaula, Sirajuddaula's men and the English. But in almost every one of these the English were victorious and Sirajuddaula was defeated, till at last he fled towards the north. But at or near Rajmahal he fell into the hands of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan and was made prisoner. But Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan felt no regard for the past favours shown to him by Sirajuddaula, and mercilessly put him to death together with his brother Mirza Mehdi.

Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan now met Major Clive and the other English officers at Cassimbazar. Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan signed a treaty giving 6 annas of the entire revenue of the province to the English, and with the consent of the English ascended the *masnad* of Viceroyalty.

This incident enhanced the power and prestige of the East India Company. The author does not remember the exact date of the occurrence, but it took place perhaps in 1763 A.D.

As it is the intention of the author to give a more detailed account of the reign of Meer Mohammad Kasim, he does not like to dwell at great length on other cognate matters. But for the sake of continuity he will first mention a few facts of Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan's reign after which he will narrate the events of Mohammad Kasim's life, in which will also be introduced some accounts of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan.

To the best of the author's recollection all the vast treasure that had been amassed by Jafar Khan, Murshid Quli Khan and Sarfaraz Khan and considerably increased by Ali Verdi Khan fell at once into the hands of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan when he was placed on the throne by Major Clive and the other English officials after the death of Sirajuddaula. The English had no idea of the vastness of this hoarded wealth of which the new viceroy became the possessor. Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan promised to pay to the English only three crores of rupees, the amount that had been looted from their factory at Calcutta, and brought the whole of Bengal and Bihar in his possession and control. Meeran *alias* Mohammad Sadiq Ali Khan was the son of Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan from his *nibaki*

wife Shah Khanum. This young man was by nature unscrupulous and intriguing and had a great hold on his father. He was appointed the deputy of the Viceroy during his father's lifetime. He meddled unnecessarily with the administrative and financial affairs of the country and had some innocent persons, specially some women of Nawab Mahabat Jang's family, executed without any fault. But Divine revenge fell upon him for his cruel act, an account of which is given below : —

General consternation prevailed in Behar owing to the arrival of Shah Alam in its vicinity. Kamgar Khan, a loyal zamindar of Behar, together with some respectable Khans of Patna, viz. Nawab Hidayet Ali Khan and others went over to the King's army, and there was a great dislocation of both public and private business. Much loss of life and property was caused in consequence of this disturbance. Hearing all this Saddiq Ali Khan came from Murshidabad to Patna, and with the help of the English army defeated the King's force first in Behar and then near Burdwan and thence returned to Murshidabad.

As the events of the viceroyalty of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan and Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan are long, e.g. the return of Meeran from Murshidabad to Patna for the purpose of fighting with Khadim Hossain Khan, the Amil of Purneah, the death of Meeran on the way by a lightning stroke, Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan's arrival at Patna for the purpose of confiscating the forts, etc., of Raja Ram Narain, Raja Ram Narain's peace with Colonel Clive *Sabit Jang*, the interview of Maharaja Shitab Rai Bahadur with Colonel Clive *Sabit Jang* through Mr. Amyatt, the senior officer of the Azimabad Factory, the alliance entered into by Colonel Clive and some other English officials with Maharaja Shitab Rai Bahadur, the wars of Shah Alam, the accession of the King on the throne through Maharaja Shitab Rai Bahadur and the treaty between the Company and the king through Maharaja Shitab Rai Bahadur, an account of which cannot be fully narrated even in two volumes, the author leaves them for the present and relates only such events as relate to Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan,

The author remembers that Khadim Hossain Khan, Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan's subordinate at Purneah, possessed riches amassed by previous governors and misappropriated the revenues of the Perganahs. He had appointed some eight thousand men (horse as well as foot) and through the fear of Nawab Saddiq Ali Khan broke with Meer Jafar Khan, looted Purneah, and in the hope of gaining the goodwill of the king came to Hajipur. Captain Knox and Maharaja Shitab Rai Bahadur with their men crossed the river Ganges, gave battle to Khadim Hossain Khan and defeated him completely. Captain Knox says that Maharaja Shitab Rai Bahadur displayed much courage and bravery during the fight, which were highly commended and appreciated by the English.

After his defeat Khadim Hossain Khan went towards Champaran. A few days after, Meeran with British troops under the command of Colonel Clive marched to Patna and thence towards Champaran. Meeran was struck by lightning on the way and died. Colonel Clive drove Khadim Hossain Khan out of the country and with the corpse of Meeran returned to Patna and thence to Murshidabad. After a few days Colonel Clive went to Calcutta, made Mr. Drake a senior officer of the Calcutta factory (perhaps temporary) and himself sailed to England. From Madras he sent Mr. Henry Vansittart Shamaudaula Bahadur, the senior officer of Madras, to Calcutta. Mr. Vansittart was a capable officer and was eminently fitted for the honourable post to which he was newly appointed. Mr. Amyatt, the senior officer at Patna, was transferred to Calcutta as a junior member of the Council and Mr. Apes became the senior officer at Patna.

Meer Jafar Khan felt very sad and disturbed in consequence of the death of his son and could not therefore attend to his business, which as a matter of course caused much disorder, and led to the rise of Meer Mohammad Qasim.

VI.—A General Account of the Pābris or Hill Bhūiyās of Bonāi.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

I.—Habitat.

Of the various aboriginal tribes inhabiting the tributary states of Orissā, the Pābri (Pāhārī) or Hill Bhūiyās of the Bonāi and Keonjhar states are, with the exception of the Juangs of Keonjhar, ethnologically most interesting. I took advantage of the last Puja vacation to make a preliminary study of the Hill Bhūiyās of the Bonāi state and the result of my enquiries is summarized in this and following chapters.

The state of Bonāi lies between $21^{\circ} 39'$ and $22^{\circ} 8'$ North Latitude and $85^{\circ} 23'$ East Longitude and
The Country. is bounded on the North by the Sārāṇḍā Parganā of the Singhbhum district and the Nāgra Parganā of the Feudatory States of Gāngpur, the Feudatory States of Bāmra and Pāl Laharā, on the West, too, by the Bāmra State, and on the East by the Feudatory State of Keonjhar. The river Brāhmaṇī which is formed by the union, at village Pānposh in the Gāngpur State, of the Chōtā Nāgpur rivers the Sankh and the South Koel enters the Bonāi State near village Bānki and traverses the state from north to south dividing it into halves. It is mainly the open tracts of land between either bank of the river and the hill ranges that rise a few miles beyond on the east and west of the river which is suitable for regular wet cultivation of rice, and it is in these tracts that the Hinduized Bhūiyās, the Gonds and other Hinduized tribes and a few Hindu castes live. The Hinduized Bhūiyās of the Plains call themselves *Khaṇḍāil* (swordsmen) Bhūiyās or *Pānch Saiā* (Five Hundred) Bhūiyās, and form the

militia of the state, imitate many Hindu customs, and look down upon the Hill Bhūiyās or Pābris, as they are called, as savages. The Hill Bhūiyās in their turn do not eat at the hands of the Hinduized Bhūiyās whom they call "Talēr Bhūiyās" or "Bhūiyās of the lowlands".

The Pābri or Hill Bhūiyās occupy the jungle-covered hilly regions extending east and north-east from about the tenth mile after the Brāhmaṇī is crossed at Bonāigarh, the capital of the state, up to the easternmost limits of the state and passing beyond the Bonāi state into the state of Keonjhar. Of this large tract only a small portion to the north-east around village Kuirā forms a fairly well watered valley, and the Bhūiyās of this tract known as Kuirā Parganā practise regular wet cultivation of rice and call themselves "Pānch Sāi" Bhūiyās although there can be no doubt that they were originally Pābris or Hill Bhūiyās like the Bhūiyās of Pābri Parganā, and they still form marriage alliances with the latter and follow practically the same customs and usages. The more well-to-do amongst these Bhūiyās of the Kuirā Parganā now seek the aid of Brāhman priests at their marriages and disclaim relationship with the Pābri Bhūiyās. A few settlements of Pābri Bhūiyās are also met with in the Kumri Parganā to the south-east of Pābri Parganā. In this paper I shall deal mainly with the genuine Pābri Bhūiyās of the Hills of Bonāi and refer only incidentally to the customs of the other Bhūiyās of the state to show how the latter have diverged from the primitive customs still obtaining among the Pābris.

The land of the Pābri Bhūiyās rises several hundred feet above the central valley of the Brāhmaṇī and consists of a series of most inaccessible hill ranges covered with tangled forests in which the tiger, the panther, the hyena and the wild dog prowl about for their animal prey and, if possible, for some stray human victim; where the wild elephant, the bison, the wild pig (*Sus Indicus*) and the bear roam about in search of food and occasionally cause great damage to the scanty maize

and other crops and vegetables grown on the hill slopes by the Pābri Bhūiyā. The *nilgāi* (*Portex pictus*), the *sambar* (*Rusa aritotelis*), the *chithal* or spotted deer (*Axis maculatus*), the mouse deer (*Meminnā Indica*) and the four-horned antelope (*Fatrecerus quadricornis*) are pretty common in these heavy jungles, and constitute occasional game for the Hill Bhūiyās, who, however, live chiefly on vegetable diet.

During my stay in these parts I heard frequent complaints of wild elephants and wild pigs damaging the crops and vegetables of my Pābri friends, and in my journey through these jungle-covered hill ranges, footprints and fresh excrement of wild elephants were pointed out to me as indicating the recent presence of those animals; and one of my party succeeded in bagging a huge wild pig which required four strong men to carry the carcass. Wild fowl of various kinds are abundant in these jungles. The *Sāl* (*Shorea robusta*) predominates in these forests, and among other important trees are the *Sisu* (*Dalbergia sissoo*), *Asan* (*Terminalia tomentosa*), *Kusum* (*Schleichera triuga*), and *Piāsāl* (*Pterocarpus marsupium*). Jungle fruits, edible roots and wild herbs of a few varieties found in their native jungles are utilized by the Hill Bhūiyās to supplement their scanty stock of food, and certain herbs and roots of their jungles are used by them for medicinal purposes.

The home of the Pābri Bhūiyās is on a much higher elevation than the plains of Bonāi and is consequently much cooler and pleasanter. The hills rise to an elevation of from 2,000 to over 3,500 feet above sea level. Owing however to the presence of heavy tangled forests, the climate is at certain seasons unhealthy and malarious, although the indigenous population resist malaria much better than outsiders. Spleen among children is not uncommon and most people are liable to attacks of fever, especially after the rains.

II.—A Pābri Settlement.

The settlements of the Pābris or Pāhāri Bhūiyās nestle in the valleys between successive hill ranges, generally close to one of the numerous tiny boulder-covered hill-streams that trickle down the valleys.

Houses and their Contents.

Each settlement owns a large tract of forest land within the limits of which the village site is shifted from time to time. They leave one site when all the trees on it have been cut down and the *kōmān* and *dāhī* lands exhausted, and remove to another site within the area. They again return to the old site when new trees have grown up to some height. In some villages this shifting of sites is done once every ten years. Each village consists of from about a dozen to about 40 houses, and each house consists of from one to four huts. The huts are generally rectangular in shape with two sloping roofs. The walls are made of logs of wood planted vertically on the ground and plastered over with mud from inside; and the roofs are thatched. In the middle of the settlement is a decent and commodious hut called the *Maṇḍa Ghar* which is the dormitory for bachelors and also serves as an occasional guest house. Arranged round the inner walls of this hut are the *chāngs*, or tambourines, played upon by the young men in their dances. Some of these *chāngs* are supported against the wall, while others are suspended with string from deer horns affixed to the walls. In front of the *Maṇḍa Ghar* is a spacious yard which is called the *durbār* or meeting ground where dances are held in the evenings and where the tribal *pañchāyats* sit when occasion arises. On one side of this yard is a round wooden post from 3½ to 4½ feet high affixed to the ground which is called the *Subhā Khūṇṭā* (Auspicious post) or the “Gāin-Sri-khūṇṭā” or post representing the tutelary goddess of the village. When a new village site is selected, this post is first stuck up in its centre with ceremonies which will be described in a subsequent chapter; and the prosperity or otherwise of the village is bound up with this post. If it is blown down by the wind or is otherwise uprooted, the village site must be forthwith changed as otherwise dire misfortune

will overtake the settlement. By the side of the *Maṇḍa Ghar* is generally another smaller hut which serves as the seat or temple of the mother-goddess *Thākuraṇi*. Close to the *Maṇḍa Ghar* are the houses of the village headmen—the *Nāek*, or secular, and the *Dihuri*, or sacerdotal, headman. All around are the huts of the other families of the settlement. Narrow lanes and by-paths run between rows of houses. Outside the older settlements are a number of jack-fruit trees and close to the settlements are hills on whose slopes the villagers have their scanty cultivation. On the comparatively more level ground between the hill slopes and the group of huts the villagers grow some vegetables such as pumpkins, beans, and yams.

The following description of the house of a headman of a Pabri settlement will give an idea of the material condition of a comparatively well-to-do Pabri family. The house of the *Dihuri* of village *Rāonta* consists of four huts. The main hut, which runs from north to south, is divided into two compartments by a partition of wooden posts placed side by side, leaving an opening at one corner. The entrance to this hut is through a wooden door moving on a socket in the eastern wall. The northern compartment is used as a combined kitchen and sleeping room, the hearths being in front of the door and close to the western wall. The southern compartment is used as the *bhitar* or "inner" tabernacle where the ancestor-spirits are believed to have their seat and where offerings are made to them. No outsider is admitted into this room, and valued possessions of the family, in the shape of money, clothes, utensils and store of maize, rice and other grains, are stored there. Coins and clothes are kept in a bamboo box. The richest family rarely owns more than three or four brass utensils, but the generality have none whatsoever. They eat from leaf plates and drink from leaf cups or pumpkin gourds; cooking vessels are all of earthenware. Palmleaf mats form their only bed. In a large settlement of nearly forty houses only two string beds could be found. The second hut, which is to the north of the first and also faces east, is called

Contents of the Houses.

the *Mela-ghar* in which I found a few earthen vessels for the brewing of rice beer, two bamboo umbrellas with handles and one umbrella made of *siālī* leaves and having no handle, two brooms, some *chop* (*Bāhīnīa scandens*) fibres, some ropes, a few empty bamboo baskets, a small *purā* or straw-rope receptacle containing rice for supplying *rasad*, or provisions to public officers visiting the village which the headman collects from contribution by the villagers, one winnowing basket, three pumpkin gourds, one palmleaf mat, one earthen jar of *ghee* (clarified butter) also meant for the *rasad* of public officers, one *bisāh* or weighing beam with a small bamboo basket suspended with strings at one end of the wooden beam on which notches have been cut to indicate a *seer* (two pounds) and fractions of a seer. There were also in this room one rope sling (*ghūr pūni*) for discharging stones at small birds that eat up grain put out to dry in the sun, one *kōlrā* or curved axe for cutting undergrowth in the jungle, one axe (*bādiā* or *tāngī*), one ploughshare (*lohā*), one bow and four arrows, and one bugle made of a gourd for scaring away elephants in the jungles. This hut has also a door made of planks of wood joined together and moving on a socket. In this hut are sometimes accommodated relatives of the family, such as a married daughter and her husband, when they come on a visit. The bachelors of the village also sleep in it when the *Maṇḍa Ghar* is occupied by guests. In front of these huts are two other huts, one used as a cattle-shed and the other as fowl pen and *ḍhenki ghar* where rice is husked with a mortar and pestle. The cattle-shed has a floor made of logs of wood placed side by side over the earthen floor. These two huts have doors made of split bamboo. The average Pābri Bhūiyā has no separate *ḍhenki ghar*, and only a few Pābris own cattle and require a cattle-shed, only one, two or three men in a big settlement own cattle and plough, and the others who require the occasional use of a plough borrow it from some neighbour. A hole for husking grain with the wooden pestle is usually made in the floor of the compartment used as the kitchen. The average Pābri has no separate storeroom and the *bhitar* or inner compart-

ment also serves as the store or lumber room. Decorations to the houses or drawings on the wall are practically unknown, but the walls are sometimes coated over with a kind of yellowish earth with which the Pabri's scanty clothes are also dyed.

III.—Physical Features and Mental Characteristics.

Men and women are well-proportioned, of medium height, and rather light build. The hair is black and plentiful on the head, but generally scanty on the rest of the body, though men with good beards and whiskers are occasionally seen. The hair is ordinarily straight but sometimes it has a tendency to curl, and I met one or two men with distinctly curly or rather woolly hair. The mouth and teeth are well formed and the eyes are straight and of medium size, sometimes small. Their heads are dolicocephalic, their noses are broad but not so broad nor so depressed at the root as among most other aboriginal tribes of Chōtā Nāgpur and Orissā. The skin of the Pabri Bhūiyā also shows a much lighter brown tint than that of the average Dravidian and Muṇḍā-speaking aborigines. This is a trait which at once strikes the observer. The women are even fairer than the men. But the Pabris are mostly prognathous, the projecting cheeks and jawbones giving a certain squareness to the face. The lips are generally rather thick. Both sexes are very agile and can stand fatigue well and travel great distances. The weekly market held every Saturday at village Khūtḡāon on the westernmost extremity of the Pabri country where the Hill Bhūiyās exchange grains and vegetables for salt, tobacco and cloth with the lowlanders is attended by women as well as men from the end of Pabri Parganā, a distance of twenty miles. And I have seen several Pabri Bhūiyās bearing heavy loads on carrying poles slung across their shoulders walk at a fair pace across the jungles and hills of the Kuiṛā and Pabri parganas a whole day with only a couple of hours' rest on the way.

The Pābri Bhūiyā is cheerful, lighthearted, and even gay in the presence of acquaintances, although shy and timid before strangers. At my first visit to the Khūtgaon bāzār a number of Pābri women and some young men fled at sight of the stranger, and it was with difficulty that a few could be induced to allow me to photograph them. On a closer acquaintance with them I found them frank, friendly and hospitable. Although they are respectful to people in authority and to those they consider worthy of respect, they are not servile, and an air of equality comes natural to them in their intercourse even with the highest authorities they know. They assume an air of superiority to the Kōls—as they call the Mūṇḍā, Orāon and other immigrants from Chōtā Nāgpur and elsewhere. These “Kōls” who have settled in the Pābri villages with the permission of the headmen have to carry burdens and render certain other services at their bidding. The Pābri Bhūiyās are an industrious people. Both sexes bathe daily and they keep their houses clean and tidy. In intelligence they compare favourably with most other hill tribes. The *Dihuri* or priest of one of the Pābri villages I visited impressed me as exceptionally intelligent. On certain points about which a Pābri Bhūiyā decided to withhold information from me, he remained firm even when in a state of drunkenness, though he was otherwise extremely voluble and talkative. Like aboriginal tribes not spoilt by contact with a superior civilization, the Pābri Bhūiyās are on the whole simple, truthful, and honest but timid, stubborn, and easily excitable. They value chastity in the married of both sexes. A male or a female, married or unmarried, going wrong with a person of a different tribe is regarded as a heinous social offender and is punished with excommunication. The men are addicted to drink but women abstain from it.

IV.—Dress and Ornaments.

The dress of the Pābri Bhūiyās is of the simplest. At home

Dress. most men wear only a very short loin cloth round the waist, and the poorer men wear only

a strip of perineal cloth kept in its place by a string round the waist. Boys and girls up to the age of twelve or thirteen almost invariably wear such perineal cloths which the girls change for a longer cloth only when strangers visit the village or when they dance in the evenings. Young men at their dances and festivals wear long loin cloths with one end hanging down below the knees. Except the poorest, each man has two full-sized cloths, one worn round the waist and another as an upper garment. These however are used only on special occasions and during visits to other places. The cloths of men and women are all dyed a light yellow with a kind of yellowish earth which is abundant in the country.

An adult Pābri female uses a cloth about twelve cubits long which is worn as a combined skirt and shawl. Poorer women have each only one such cloth, which is used while going out, whereas a smaller waist cloth is worn in the house. Women have generally a separate bathing place a little apart from that of the men. As most women have only one cloth, they take it off before entering the water.

Girls and young women wear a number of thick brass bracelets (*berā*) on both arms, brass rings (*mūdi*) on the fingers, a larger number on the left hand than on the right, a number of toe rings (*jhūlia*), one brass anklet (*pahūr*) on each leg, one or two wristlets (*tār*) on each wrist, and one or more bead necklaces (*māri*) made of brass or lac (*pahūra*), or both. Most young men wear bead necklaces. Neither tattooing of the body nor cicatrization is practised. The headmen of villages use no head-dress and are not distinguished by any particular insignia of office. But the Pābri Garh-Nāek of village Kuira, the headman appointed by the Rājā for the whole of the Kuira Parganā consisting of twenty-nine villages, has been presented by the Rājā of Bonāi with a costly silk dress consisting of *paijama*, *chaphan*, turban, belt, sword and shield, and the Pābri Maha-Nāek or headman appointed by the Rājā for the whole Pābri Parganā has also been presented with a robe of honour by him. These men are not the recognized social or

religious headmen for their respective parganās but they wield great influence as the intermediary between the people and the Rājā.

V.—Daily Life.

The daily life of the men is largely devoted to the production of food by the *kōmān* and the *dāki* system of cultivation. The *dāki* process of clearing land is as follows : A portion of a hill slope is selected for clearance and all the trees on it are cut down and arranged in rows and a large number of bushes and shrubs are also cut down and placed round the trees. These are left for some time to dry and then they are set fire to. When the trees are all reduced to ashes the land is dug up and made ready for the cultivation of upland (*gōrā*) rice.

The *kōmān* process of preparing lands for cultivation is as follows : A plot of hill slope is selected for the purpose and all bushes and shrubs growing on the site are cut down and placed in heaps at the foot of each tree on the selected plot, and left to dry for a month or so. If in the meanwhile other bushes or shrubs have sprouted they are also cleared, and fire is set to all these heaps of bushes and shrubs so as to burn all the branches and twigs of the trees. The ashes are now spread all over the plot, and the *kōmān* is ready for cultivation. Generally on one portion of a *kōmān*, upland rice is sown, and on another such crops as *maḥā* (maize), *maṛuā* (*Eleusine coracana*) and *kāngu* are grown, and on the ashes at the feet of the standing trunks of trees, vegetable creepers such as *nim* (beans) and *dhuk* are planted so that the creepers may go up the trees.

Wet cultivation of paddy is rare in the Pābri parganā which is full of hills and jungles. In a few villages at the foot of the hills a little wet cultivation of low-land paddy, known as *Bil dhān*, is now practised.

From the month of Māgh (January) to Baiśakh (April), men are engaged in the preparation of *dāki* and *kōmān* fields. Between Fālgun (March) and Baiśakh (May) both men and

women carry cattle-dung manure to their fields. It is not permissible to cut down trees or manure the fields until the new mango blossoms have come out and the Māgh-jāfrā festival in January as well as the *Am-nua* ceremony, which follows shortly afterwards, have been performed, and paddy cannot be sown unless the *Tirtiā-muṭi* ceremony has been celebrated in Baisākh (April). These ceremonies will be described in a subsequent chapter. Women are not allowed to cut trees or plough the fields, but they may break clods of earth in the fields; this is generally done with axe-handles. In these months also the men cut down from the jungles trees which are taken to their fields and burnt for ash-manure; and men and more particularly women dig for edible roots, yams and tubers. As soon as there is a shower of rain the men plough their fields; and then again when the weather is dry they bring to the fields wood for burning into manure or apply cattle-dung manure to the fields. In the months of Chait and Baisākh (March-May) men also go out to hunt deer, wild pigs or other animals. Between March and May, when the streams are almost dry, boys and men catch fish with their hands. Boys and girls give such help to their parents as they can in household and field work. They also draw water and look after the cattle. Between the months of Māgh and Baisākh the work of repairing and building of houses is also undertaken. In Baisākh and Jaiṣṭho (April—June) the fields are sown by the men with paddy, the uplands being sown after the lowlands, if any. In Aṣāṛh (July) transplantation is made in the *bīl* lands, if any, men and women both taking part in the operations, but the subsequent reploughing and levelling of the fields are the business of the men alone. In Srāban and Bhādo (August-September) both men and women weed the rice fields. In Bhādo (August) *gōṛa* or upland rice is harvested and *rāsi* (*sesamum*), *makāi* (maize) and a few other grains and vegetables are sown on the uplands; and wet lands, if any, are embanked to store water in them. In Āswīn (September-October) both men and women harvest the *gōṛa* (upland) rice, and in Kārtik (October) the *bīl*

(lowland) rice, if any. In Aghān (November) the harvested lowland rice is threshed and winnowed. Such is the yearly routine. The period between the sprouting of the crops and the harvesting is one of great anxiety and sleepless vigilance. Most of the male population of a village have to be in their fields at night to protect the crops from the ravages of wild elephants, bears and other animals. A kind of rude scaffolding is perched on some tree in the field to serve as the resting-place of the watchers, and logs of wood are kept burning at the foot of the tree where the men by turns warm themselves. In the day-time women too may be seen helping the men to protect the ripening corn from birds and beasts. On a day in October when I arrived at noon at a Pābri settlement of about forty families, I found the whole adult male population and many of the women thus engaged in their fields.

This arduous round of duties is, however, relieved now and then by pūjās and festivals which mark the termination of one stage of labour and the beginning of another, such as the Māgh-jātrā festival in January when old fire in all the houses is extinguished and new fire is ceremonially kindled by friction of two pieces of wood by the *Dihuri* with eyes covered over with riceflour cakes, all the villagers kindle their own new fire from this sacred fire and rice is boiled in milk over it and offered to the ancestor spirits. It is only after this ceremony that the forest trees may be felled. The Ām-nuā festival of the new mango blossoms is celebrated in February, after which alone the fields may be manured; the Tirtīā-muṭi festival in April on which day sowing operations have to be commenced with a ceremonial sowing; the *Ashāri Pūjā* in July when sacrifices are offered to the tutelary deities (*Grām-Srī*, etc.) for rains and good crops, and the *Bihirā Pūjā* at the same time after which alone transplantation of lowland rice may be undertaken; the Gāmbhā Punāi festival in August when the Pābri celebrates his temporary respite from agricultural labours by making a feast of rice-flour cakes and other delicacies and giving absolute rest for two days to the cattle of the village, washing their hoofs, besmearing their forehead and horns with

~~sesamum~~ oil and pounded turmeric and giving them raw rice as well as fried rice (*khāt*) to eat and burning earthen lamps at night in the cattle-sheds; the *Bār* and *Nuā-khāt* festivals in September when with appropriate ceremonies the first sheaves of upland rice are reaped by each cultivator from his field and new rice eaten after offering the same to the gods; and finally in some villages the *Karam-jātrā* festival in October or November and the *Pous-jātrā* festival in December, both pure festivals of rejoicing and merriment, the former after the harvesting but before the threshing of the rice crops and the latter after the rice has been harvested, threshed and garnered. These feasts and festivals will be described in detail in a subsequent chapter.

During respite from field labours men make gourd drinking vessels, bamboo sticks and bows, wooden pestles, mortars and the threshing apparatus called *dhenki*; and in the winter and spring their girls weave mats of wild date palms (*Felix sylvestris*). The girls of a village go in a body to the jungles and collect date-palm leaves and sāl leaves, and gather yams for food and dry leaves for fuel. Women make cups and plates of the sāl leaves. From Magh (January) to Baisākh (April), bachelors and maidens often visit other villages for dancing. When at home they dance at the *darbār* ground after the evening meal. Bachelors sleep together in the *Maṇḍa-ghar* save in the months of Bhādra, Āswīn and Kārtik (middle of August to middle of November) when they mostly guard their *kōmān* cultivation.

The following is the programme of a day's work that was gone through by a Pabri family during my visit to their village in October. The family consisted of Chandan Pabri, his wife and a younger brother. As they had harvested their *gōrā* paddy and had no wet cultivation they were not required to guard their fields. At cockerow the two brothers got up, washed their faces, lighted a sāl-leaf-cigarette (*phikā*) in the fire that is always kept burning in the house so long as there is anyone in it. Then Chandan and his brother took a plough and went to the threshing floor where they threshed *gōrā* rice. Chandan's wife, who had a baby in her arms, got up shortly after her husband,

washed her face and went with a winnowing basket to the threshing floor, and husked the threshed rice. The men tied up the rice in a bundle (*het*) which the woman carried home on her head. Chandan's wife then prepared the mid-day meal which consisted of boiled rice and *baitaru*, or pumpkin sliced and boiled in water. After all had had their midday bath the men first took their meals and then the women. Chandan and his wife then went to the jungle, the former to collect fuel-wood and the latter to dig for yams, of which different varieties are used for food, and to gather such fruits as jungle-figs (*dumar*), *parai*, *jaulua*, etc. On their return home, the woman boiled rice and *sāg*-leaves for the evening meal. After taking their meals they went to sleep,—the husband apart from the wife, as custom forbids a Pabri Bhuiyā to sleep with his wife so long as she continues to suckle her baby.

VII.—Ho Riddles.

(Continued from page 358, volume II.)

By Girindra Nath Sarkar, B. A.

23. Asel kui hendē chātu dupilānā.

Of fair complexion a girl black an earthen pot carried on
her head.

Adān redom chikānā mār [kājime].

If you know what it is say.

[Translation.]

A girl of fair complexion carried a black earthen pot on her
head. If you know, say what it is.

Answer.—*Soso* * (a marking nut).

24. Jīām dōyā kām dē dāiā

Grandmother's back not [you] climb up can

Adān redom chikānā mār [kājime].

If you know what it is, say

[Translation.]

You cannot climb up [your] grandmother's back. If you
know, say what it is.

Answer.—*Ginil* (a wall).

25. Jīām tikitā ā kām ud dāiā

Grandmother cooked pot-herb not [you] devour can

Adān redom chikānā mār [kājime].

If you know what it is say.

[Translation.]

You cannot devour pot-herb cooked [by] grandmother. If
you know, tell me what it is.

Answer.—*Bo²-ub¹* (hair¹ of the head²).

* The answer to riddle No. 12 published in the last issue of the "Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society" is *Songsong*. Both *Songsong* and *Soso* are used by the Hos to mean a marking nut.

26. Jiām kulputād kulpu* kām mī daia
 Grandmother locked a lock net [you] open can
 Adān redom chikānā mār [kājime].

If you know what it is say.

[Translation.]

You cannot open a lock locked [by] grandmother. If you know, say what it is.

Answer.—(*Hātānā*⁻¹ *jō*²) (Fruit² of the *Asan* tree¹).

[It can never be broken by the hand except with the help of a piece of stone or an iron bar.]

27. Tuikā bāmeā poitākān

Dwarf a Brahmin with the sacred thread on.

[Translation.]

A dwarf Brahmin with the sacred thread on.

Answer.—*Renfā* (a spinning wheel).

28. †Jējē te chākādā

fruits with will tempt

kurbātē bā bā

of carved shape will make you recede.

[Translation.]

It will tempt you with its fruits but will make you recede with its thorns.

Answer.—*Bākārā* (plum) [*Zizyphus jujuba*].

29. Ilisi dōsi hō tē. bābākō runiā

Twenty thirty men with paddy are grinding

Miḍōgē hōndā-biureā

only one is stirring and moving

[Translation.]

Twenty or thirty men are grinding paddy and only one man is stirring and moving it.

Answer.—*Dālākō ōṇḍō te(h)* (Teeth and tongue).

* A similar word "kulup" is spoken by the people of Dhalbhum and Manbhum in the Chota Nagpur Division. The point of difference between the two words is the position of the letter "u" which comes in one case after 'p' and in another, before 'p'.

† The two words 'jē jē' are the corrupt forms of the two words 'jō jō', the plural form of 'jō' meaning a fruit.

30. Pundi punđi ōlēē
White white ground on
 Tee tekō hereā
 hands with are sowing
Ā'ā tekō iriā
mouth with are reaping

[Translation.]

They are sowing it with their hands on a white ground and are reaping it with their mouths.

Answer.—*Pundi Sākāmre teletekō ōlēā ā'ā tekō pāṛāōā.*
 (They write on white papers and read the letters with their lips.)

31. Kukuru unḍurē rānikō cheōmeō
hollow of a tree in parrots are chirping.

[Translation.]

Parrots are chirping within the hollow of a tree.

Answer.—*Rāpuḍ chātuṛe gāngūi ko ātātāore sārītānā*
 (maize is sounding within a broken earthen pot, at the time of being fried).

32. Miāt gāṇḍurē Ilōnāreā
one on wooden seat father-in-law
Kiminiā dubāking
daughter-in-law are sitting
Kāking kepeḍā.
do not touch [each other].

[Translation.]

On a wooden seat, a father-in-law and his daughter-in-law are sitting together but the one does not touch the other.

Answer.—*Diringking* (Two horns [on the head of an animal]).

[When the father-in-law is within a room, the daughter-in-law would not enter it; and if the clothes of the father-in-law are kept within a room, the daughter-in-law may enter it but would not touch them and *vice versa*. The idea of the one touching the person of the other is foreign to the Hos of Singhbhum.]

33. Nedar pirē kuid king tepegātānā.
On that field two kites are kicking.

[Translation.]

On yonder field, two kites are kicking each other.

Answer.—*Hātā* (a winnowing fan).

. [Every Ho who possesses paddy-fields, has got a piece of land beside them. This land they keep dry and tidy to serve the purpose of a thrashing floor. After the paddy is cut from the field, it is brought to the thrashing ground where it is thrashed and the corns are beaten out. The thrashing over, two Hos on two sides take two winnows in their hands and fan off the particles of dust, straw and such other useless things that are mixed up with the corn. The two winnowing fans, then, look like two kites kicking and fighting each other.]

34. Mido Ho punḍi gutu tā
 One man white hill up to
eḍa tuiṛē
 being taken up
āē teḡē senōā
 will go further of himself •

[*Translation.*]

There is a man who, on being taken up to the white hill, will climb further upwards of himself.

Answer.—*En ho do māṇḍi oṇḍō punḍi gutu ḍo dātāko*
 (The man is food and the white hill is the number of teeth).

35. Engā dō kud bāṅā
 Mother hunch-backed
hōnkōdōkō sengerā
 children straight

[*Translation.*]

The mother is hunch-backed, but the children are straight.

Answer.—*Sār² ālsār¹* (bow¹ and arrows²).

36. Engā dō tingu hāpākānō
 Mother stands still
Hōnkō dōkō huring huringta
 children little little
Hōyōē redōekō susunā
 when wind blows dance

[*Translation.*]

The mother stands still. Her children are little. When wind blows they dance.

Answer.—*Hesā dāru* (peepul tree) [*Ficus religiosa*].

[The mother is the trunk of the peepul tree, the children are the leaves.]

37.	<u>Meḍō</u>	<u>erātāni</u>	<u>bārhisi</u>	<u>āpēhisi</u>
	One	woman	two scores	three scores
	<u>Hōnkō</u>	<u>heb dāiā</u>		
	children	can take into her armpits		

[*Translation.*]

There is a woman who can take into her armpits two to three scores of her children at a time.

Answer.—**Pōrōsō dāru* (The jack tree) [*Artocarpus integrifolia*].

38.	<u>Sunum</u>	<u>mātiā</u>	<u>jur jur</u>
	Oil	a small earthen pot	smooth

[*Translation.*]

A smooth and small earthen pot for oil.

Answer.—*Urimuṭā* (nose of an ox).

39.	<u>Miāt</u>	<u>miāt</u>	<u>tē</u>	<u>joā</u>
	One	one	by	will fructify
	<u>Misātē</u>	<u>mātā-ōā</u>		
	at the same time	will ripen		

[*Translation.*]

One by one will the fruits appear and they will ripen at the same time.

Answer.—*Chāṭuko* (earthen vessels).

[In a pottery, earthen vessels are formed one by one. But they are put into the fire at the same time to be burnt and hardened.]

40.	<u>Engā dō</u>	<u>tingu hāpākānoā</u>
	Mother	stands still
	<u>Hōnkōdō</u>	<u>esuikō</u>
	Children	very quarrelsome

* The Oriya word for it is *poroso*, and the Sanskrit word is *panasa*, cf. Colonel Dalton's Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, p. 177. "It is also probable that many (Hos) were absorbed into the family that conquered them, and this may account for the greater beauty of the Hos as compared with other Kols, and for their having in use a number of common vocables of Sanskrit origin."

[Translation.]

The mother stands still ; her children are very quarrelsome.

Answer.—*Mārchi* (chilli).

[The mother is the *mārchi* plant ; the children are the *mārchi*s having a hot pungent taste.]

41. *Midō dārurē dubiān regē*

One on tree when he sits

Sirmātē dubuiā lātār pātē āiā

Upwards turns the posterior downwards turns the mouth

[Translation.]

There is a creature ; when it sits on a tree, it turns its posterior upwards and its mouth downwards.

Answer.—*Bāduri* (a bat).

42. *Kāmār dō unumāi*

Blacksmith dives into water

Mārā dō dā chetān rē susunā

Peacock water above on dances

Hō dō kuṭi pā rē tinguākānā

Man bank near on stands

Hākukōē sāb-unḍiā

Fishes catches gathers

[Translation.]

A blacksmith dives into water ; a peacock dances on the water ; a man catches and gathers fish standing on the bank near by.

Answer.—*Kāmār dō tānsi, mārā dō mārā ind ōndō hō dō hākubānsitāni* (Blacksmith is the fish-hook, peacock is the peacock's feather, the man is the man who angles with line and hook).

43. *Midō kāējāngānā*

One boneless

Otērē unḍueā

in the earth makes hole

Sirmātē e'e rākābeā

Upwards excrements raises

[Translation.]

There is a creature [which is] boneless ; it makes holes in the earth and raises its excrements upwards.

Answer.—*Hākē* (an axe).

48.	Buruchi	mārāng,	dāru	mārāng ?
	Hill is it	big	tree	big
	Dāru	mārāng		
	tree	big		

[*Translation.*]

Is the hill big or the tree big? The tree is big.

Answer.—*Hākē* (an axe).

[The hill is the axe made of iron which comes out of ore found in hills. The tree is the wooden handle of the axe.]

49.	Punḍi	diri	sārlāgātē	bōlōa
	White	stone	straight	enters

[*Translation.*]

A number of white stones are entering straight through.

Answer.—*Māṇḍi ḍunḍu* (cooked rice).

[Cooked rice when swallowed enters straight into the stomach.]

50.	Gajākāni	jīḍkō	udkōṇē
	The dead one	the living one	devours

[*Translation.*]

The dead devours the living.

Answer.—*Kumbāḍ* (A bamboo trap to catch fish with).

51.	Munḍākō	rāṇchārē
	A rich man's	house in
	Hāti-lāi	bōrākenā
	Elephant's bowels	are lying along

[*Translation.*]

An elephant's bowels are lying in a rich man's house.

Answer.—*Bar bāyār* (A long thick rope made of straw).

52.	Miḍō	setārē dō	upuniākātātē	seneā
	A creature	in the morning	with four legs	walks
	Tārā singi dō	bāriākātātē	seneā	
	At noon	with two legs	walks	
	Ābūtānrē dō	āpeākātātē	seneā	
	In the evening	with three legs	walks	

[*Translation.*]

A creature walks with four legs in the morning, with two legs at noon and with three legs in the evening.

Answer.—*Ho* (a man).

[A man in his childhood goes on all fours; when grown up, he walks with two legs; when he becomes old, he takes the help of a stick which serves the purpose of a third leg.]

VIII.—The Mango Tree in the Marriage-Ritual of the Aborigines of Chota Nagpur and Santalia.

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

If we examine the marriage-rituals of the aborigines of Chota Nagpur and Santalia, we come across a very curious feature thereof, namely, the more or less important part played by the mango tree therein. Among the Mündās, the Birhōrs and the Blumij, all of whom are now in a primitive state of culture and live on the Chota Nagpur plateau, the bridegroom has, before the actual marriage with the human wife takes place, to go through the travesty of a wedding with a mango tree. Then again, among the Mündās and the Birhōrs of Chota Nagpur and the Santals who live in the Santal Parganas, the twigs or leaves of the mango tree are used largely in the performance of various rites ancillary to the main ceremony of the marriage.

Let us, first of all, deal with the marriage-ritual of the Mündās of Chota Nagpur. When the Mündā marriage procession leaves the bridegroom's village, it stops at the first mango tree (*uli*) on the way. Round the trunk of this tree, the bridegroom puts a mark of rice-flour dissolved in water and ties up a thread. The bridegroom's mother then sits down thereunder with the bridegroom on her knees. She then asks certain questions of her son, which being answered, the latter puts into his own mouth a mango-twigg and molasses. After chewing the mango-twigg a little, he gives the chewings to his mother who swallows the whole mass and blesses her boy.¹ Similarly on the occasion of the performance of the bride's '*Uli-Sākhi*' ceremony, the bride with a number of her female relatives next proceeds in the

¹ *The Mündās and Their Country.* By Sarat Chandra Roy, p. 446. Calcutta: The City Book Society, 1912.

palanquin, vacated by the bridegroom, to a neighbouring mango tree. After her arrival there, the bride puts a mark on the tree with moistened rice-flour and ties up a thread around its trunk. This tree is thus made a witness (*sākhi*) to the marriage.¹

Then again, when the Mündā bridegroom arrives at the courtyard of the bride's house, a number of female relatives come out to meet him, each carrying a brass *loṭā* filled with water and a pestle. Each of these women first sprinkles water on the bridegroom with a mango-twigg and then brandishes the pestle, jestingly saying: "If you prove covetous, if you prove a thief, you will be thus beaten with a pestle."² This custom of sprinkling the bridegroom with water by means of mango-twiggs is alluded to in a Mündā folk-song wherein a Mündā youth, bidding defiance to all social restrictions, says:—

"For a bride I shall seek where affection will lead,

My wishes alone the sole guide that I know.

No sprinkling of water with mango-twiggs I'll need,

*No mark of vermilion over my brow."*³

This practice of performing the lustration with mango-twiggs is also resorted to on other ceremonial occasions, as will appear from the undermentioned incident in the Mündā legend of Lutkum Haram and Lutkum Buria. It is stated therein that the Asūrs led the Tōrō Kōrā towards their furnaces to offer him up as a sacrifice to appease Sing Bōngā. The Tōrō Kōrā had previously given the following instructions about the correct way of performing this sacrifice. Two virgins, who should fast for three days and nights, should work the furnaces with bellows newly made of white goat-skin, and furnished with new bellow-handles and with a new bellow-nozzle. These bellows should be worked continuously and without any stoppage all the days and all the nights long. After the expiry of the prescribed three days, *they should sprinkle water on the furnaces with mango-twiggs* and thereby put out the fire. And the said water used for

¹ *The Mündās and Their Country.* By Sarat Chandra Roy, p. 447.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 446.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 517.

sprinkling over the fire should be brought in new earthen pitchers placed over head-cushions made of cotton-thread.¹

[I have not yet been able to ascertain whether the custom of performing the *Uli-Sākhi* is in vogue among the Orāons of Chota Nagpur. Perhaps, future researches into the marriage-customs of this interesting people will throw light on this point.]

The ceremony of the *Uli-Sākhi* is also performed among the Birhōrs who are one of the most savage of the jungle-peoples of Chota Nagpur. This quaint rite is performed among them almost in the same way as amongst the Mūdās of the same province, as will appear from the following account thereof. On his way to the bride's village, the Birhōr bridegroom, who is carried in the arms of his elder sister's husband and is accompanied by his mother and other women-folk of his *tāṇḍā* or settlement, is, first of all, taken to a mango tree. The women take with them a *lotā* or jug of water, two leaf-platters and several leaf-cups, each of which contains molasses, rice-flour, vermilion and some unbleached thread. After reaching the foot of the tree, the bridegroom makes, with the little finger of his right hand, a vermilion-mark on the trunk thereof. While his little finger is still in contact with the tree, a woman of the party winds a strand of the unbleached thread five times round the trunk of the mango tree just below the vermilion-mark. Then some one of the party strikes the branches of the tree with a stick or club and fetches down some leaves or twigs thereof. Then a few of these twigs or stalks of the mango-leaves are handed over to the bridegroom who chews them a little and makes over the chewed mass to his mother. She, in her turn, mixes the chewed mass of twigs or leaf-stalks with molasses and swallows the same. This ceremony is repeated five times [note that five is a sacred number] and known as the bridegroom's *Uli-Sākhi* ceremony.²

When the bridegroom arrives in procession before the hut of the bride's father, three or five [note that three and five are

¹ *The Mūdās and Their Country*, By Sarat Chandra Roy, p. 33 (Appendix II).

² J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IV, p. 78.

sacred numbers] females come out to welcome him. This is known as the *Ārchhā-Parchhā*, or the ceremony of welcoming the bridegroom. These women carry a new basket containing pounded turmeric and three or five torches made out of rags steeped in oil and *twisted round the stalks or twigs of mango-leaves*. Taking her stand before the bridegroom, each one of these women, one after the other, holds one of the lighted torches in her left hand, and, with her right hand, smears a little of the turmeric-paste over his temples. Then he, in his turn, besmears the temples of these women with the turmeric-paste with his right hand. Then the torches are cast off by the women.¹ After the bridegroom has been introduced to the female relatives of his bride by the *Ārchhā-Parchhā* ceremony, two girls come out with two pitchers of water brought from some neighbouring stream, tank or spring with the performance of some rites, and, *dipping a few small mango-twigs in these pitchers*, sprinkle the said water all over the body of the bridegroom. In his own turn, the bridegroom *dips one or two mango-twigs in a bowl of water* brought to him by one of his own party.²

Then comes the bride's *Uli-Sākki* ceremony. On this occasion, the bride's mother, accompanied by the bride and several other women, goes to a mango tree, the bride being carried in the arms of one of these latter women. It is a *sine qua non* of this ceremony that this tree should not be in the direction of the bridegroom's *tāṇḍā* or encampment. If a mango tree fulfilling this condition be not found, *a mango-branch is planted in the ground in the prescribed direction*. Under this mango tree or branch, the bride, her mother and other female companions perform the same ceremonies as have been performed by the bridegroom, his mother and other companions at his own *Uli-Sākki*.³

The twig or leaf of the mango tree also plays an important part in other ceremonies connected with the wedding-ritual of the Birhōrs.

¹ J.B.O.E.S., Vol. IV., pp. 79, 80.

² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Take, for instance, the rites performed on the occasion of the bridegroom's *Adhibās* ceremony which generally takes place on the morning of the day which is fixed for the marriage and on which day the bridegroom's party is to go to the bride's village. On the occasion of this ceremony, the bridegroom's sister's husband excavates a miniature tank and plants a young plantain tree on its eastern bank. On its western margin, a slab of stone is placed over three bundles of thatching-grass. On this stone slab, the bridegroom and his mother take their seats with their faces turned towards the east. Thereafter two girls *dip twigs of the mango tree, which have been brought by the husband of the bridegroom's elder sister, in two pitchers containing ceremonial water* which has been previously brought by some other women from a neighbouring spring or stream. *With these twigs, the two girls sprinkle water from the two pitchers over the bridegroom* who thereafter bathes in the water of one of these two pitchers, and his mother does so in that contained in the other. Thereafter his mother, placing a new winnowing fan (with certain ceremonial articles in it) on her head, sits down at the door of her hut just inside the doorstep. While the bridegroom, who has, in the meantime, taken his meal, sits down confronting his mother on the outer side of the doorstep. *The husband of the bridegroom's elder sister then twists into the shape of cigarettes each of the mango-leaves with which water has been previously sprinkled on the bridegroom, and weaves them into six garlands, each garland being made of three twisted mango-leaves. Two of these six garlands are worn by the bridegroom, two by his father, and the remaining two by his mother, one being worn on an arm and the other on a leg by each of them.*¹

Similar garlands of mango-leaves appear also to be worn by the bride. For it would appear that, on the occasion of the performance of the ceremony known as the "*Exchange of Blood*", which takes place at the bride's place and in the course of which ceremony the bridegroom touches the bride with his own "*sināi*" or blood-stained rag and the bride touches him with

¹ J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IV., pp. 77, 78.

hers, the bridegroom and bride *exchange their garlands of mango-leaves*.¹

On the return of the bridegroom with the bride to his own house, one of his womenfolk shuts his eyes with her hands. *Then he has, in this blindfold state, to take off from his arm the aforementioned garland of three twisted mango-leaves and buries it with his hands in the water of the aforesaid miniature tank. Then another woman blindfolds the bride with her hands; and, thus blindfolded, the latter has to search for the buried garland of mango-leaves with her hands and fish out the same from the tank*.²

A quaint ceremony is, however, performed among the Kāwān clan of the Birhōrs, wherein the leaves of the mango tree figure largely. Before the bridegroom and the bride enter the hut, a fowl is sacrificed, and its blood is sprinkled on them. Then the bridegroom's mother draws with rice-flour steeped in water a chain of round figures from the courtyard right up to the door of this hut, and *places a mango-leaf on each of these round figures. First of all, the bridegroom, in going up to the door of this hut, has to place his footsteps on each of these mango-leaves. Thereafter he is followed by the bride in a similar way*.³

Then, on the occasion of the *Chouthā-Chouthi* Ceremony which is performed on the morning of the day next to that on which the bridegroom with the bride returns to his own place, both of them change their turmeric-dyed cloths. Thereafter the bride places on her head a basket containing about twenty pellets of clay and takes up in her hand a *loṭa* filled with water and covered up with a leaf-cup holding some molasses. With these she wends her way to her father's *tāṇḍā* or encampment. Taking up in his hands a bow and an arrow and a *leafy twig of mango*, the bridegroom goes after his bride, always remaining at a little distance from her.

As soon as the bride arrives at the boundary of her husband's encampment, she puts down upon the ground her basket and *loṭa*

¹ J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IV., pp. 81, 82.

² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

of water and commences to run in the direction of her father's settlement. Thereupon the bridegroom places his bow and arrow near the basket put down by his wife, and pursues her till he reaches her. Catching hold of her hand, *he beats her on her buttocks with the mango-twigg which he holds in his hands* and takes her back to the place where she had left her basket and where the womenfolk of his own encampment had, in the meantime, gathered.¹ [Thereafter other ceremonies are performed with which we are not concerned.]

Lastly, the mango-twigg figures conspicuously in that quaint and curious ritual, namely, the ceremony which marks the beginning of the taboo between a Bīrhōr and the elder sisters and cousins of the wife. After the elder sisters and cousins of the bride have performed the *Chumān* or Symbolical "Kissing" Ceremony of which the details need not be given here, each of them, by turn, asks the bridegroom: "What is your name?" After communicating to them his own name, he enquires of them their respective names. In reply to his question, each of them tells him her own name, and thereafter, *dipping a leafy mango-twigg in a bowl of water, sprinkles therewith a little of this water on the bridegroom. He, in his own turn, dips a mango-twigg in water contained in a brass plate which is placed before him, and sprinkles therewith a little water over her.* As each of these elder sisters and cousins of the bride finishes this ceremonial sprinkling of water, she pulls the bridegroom by the ears, strikes his back thrice with her closed fists, and tells him: "From to-day regard me as your *Jeṭh-sās*; listen well with your ears; do not utter my name again with your lips." After making this remark, she places her present on the plate before the bridegroom and goes away. Henceforth he and his *Jeṭh-sās* must not utter each other's name, nor talk to each other, nor sit together on the same mat, nor come near each other.²

We shall now deal with the Bhumij or the Bhumij-Kōls who have ethnic and linguistic affinities with the Mūdās, the

¹ J.B.Q.R.S., Vol. IV., pp. 88, 89.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 86.

Hōs and the Santāls and whose home is in the Mānbhūm District of Chota Nagpur. On examining the marriage-ritual of this people, we find that, among them also, the quaint ceremony of *Ām-Bibāhā* (or the Marriage with the Mango Tree), which is almost identical with the *Uli-Sākhī* of the Mündās and the Birhōrs, is prevalent. It is performed as follows :—

Before going to the bride's place, the Bhumij bridegroom and his mother have to go to a mango tree and sit thereunder. Then this tree is marked with streaks of rice-flour steeped in water and with vermilion. Then the bridegroom breaks a twig from this tree, touches it with his lips, and then hands it over to his mother. She, in her turn, chews part of it and then throws it away. [Among the Mündās and the Birhōrs, however, the twig is chewed with molasses by the bridegroom; and the whole of the chewed mass is then handed over to his mother who gulps it down.]

After the foregoing rite has been performed, the following dialogue takes place between the Bhumij bridegroom and his mother :—

Mother.—Where are you going to with so much éclat ?

Bridegroom.—I am going to fetch a female slave for you, mother.

The Bhumij bride, in her turn also, has to perform the same ceremony of the *Ām-Bibāhā*. As soon as the bridegroom's party arrives at her place, the bride, accompanied by her mother and some female relatives, goes to a neighbouring mango tree and streaks it with rice-flour dissolved in water and with vermilion. They then sit under this tree. Then the bride touches a mango-twig with her lips and hands it over to her mother. The latter chews it with her teeth and then throws it away. After this has been done, they return home to perform the actual marriage-ceremony.¹

[The mango-twig is also used in the funeral ceremony of the Bhumij. After the corpse of a deceased Bhumij has been placed

¹ J.B.O.R.S. for September 1916, pp. 277 ff.

upon a pile of wood, the deceased's eldest son procures a twig of the mango or *palās* tree, and gets it wrapped up in a piece of new cloth previously soaked in ghi or clarified butter. This twig is then lighted and applied thrice [mark that three is a sacred number] to the deceased's mouth. After this rite has been performed, the eldest son returns home direct, leaving his relatives and friends to set fire to the funeral pyre].¹

Then we come to the Santāls who have their home in Santālia. On an examination of the marriage-ritual of this aboriginal people, we come across the fact that neither the ceremony of the *Uli-Sākhi* nor that of the *Ām-Bibākā* forms a part and parcel thereof. But we find another interesting feature thereof, namely, the fact that the leaves of the mango tree are used in connection with the celebration of the Santāl's marriage-ceremony and in the performance of a rite subsidiary to the main wedding-ritual. Take, for instance, the *māndwā* or the marriage-booth of the Santāls. This booth, which is erected in the courtyards of the houses of both the Santāl bridegroom and bride, is decorated with festoons of the leaves of the mango tree. In the same way, the entrances to their houses from the streets are also rigged out with wreaths made of mango-leaves. Then again, strings in which leaves of the mango tree have been tied up are also stretched overhead across the streets in three places [mark that three is a sacred number].² Lastly, when the Santāl bride takes her seat in a new large and flat basket, is lifted up by certain bearers, taken out into the street where the Santāl bridegroom, sitting astride on the shoulder of his brother-in-law or uncle, awaits her coming, and is raised, while still seated in the basket, to the level of the bridegroom, both of them sprinkle each other three times with water by means of a sprig of the mango tree.³

On a careful study of the foregoing descriptions of the so-called "Marriage with the Mango Tree," we are struck with two

¹ J.B.O.R.S. for September 1916, p. 231.

² J.B.O.R.S. for September 1916, pp. 311, 312.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 315, 316.

noteworthy features thereof, namely, (a) that we may either take the aforementioned rite as an instance of the widely-spread Indian custom of entering into a mock-marriage with a tree or plant, or (b) we may consider it as the instance of a ceremony for enabling the tribal godlings resident in the mango tree to witness and thereby sanctify the actual marriage with the human wife.

(a) If we look upon the ritual performed in connection with the mango tree in the light of "a mock-marriage with a tree or plant", as is indicated by the Bhumij term *Ām-Bibāhā* applied to it, we are supported in our view by a considerable mass of Indian evidence on the point. For I have already shown elsewhere in this *Journal* that, in various parts of India, if a person is desirous of marrying a third or fourth human wife, he has, first of all, to go through the travesty of a marriage with the *babul* tree (*Acacia arabica*) or the *āk* plant or the gigantic swallow-wart (*Calotropis gigantea*).¹

Then again, there arises the question: Why, of all other trees, the mango tree should be selected as a suitable substitute for a human wife for performing the ceremony of the *Ūli-Sākhi* or the *Ām-Bibāhā* with?

We shall try to show, by reasoning set forth *infra*, that the mango tree is looked upon by the Mūndās, the Bīrhōrs and the Bhumij as the habitation of their tribal godlings, and that, therefore, it is sacred. This tree is also looked upon as a scarer of evil spirits and influences by various other races of people all over India; and its twigs and leaves are used for making the aspersion at sundry rural ceremonies in different parts of this country. Wreaths made of its leaves are hung up on the occasion of *pūjās* and other festive celebrations on the house-door. In Rohilkhand, on the occasion of the *Akhtif* Festival (The Festival of "The Undying Third"), the cultivator goes at daybreak to one of his fields, taking with him a brass *loṭā* full of water, a branch of the mango tree, and a

¹ Vide my article "On the Use of the Swallow-worts in the Ritual, Sorcery and Leechcraft of the Hindus and the pre-Islamitic Arabs" in J.P.O.R.S. for June 1918, pp. 198, 199.

spade. The attendant priest then makes certain calculations and ascertains the spot where the first digging should be done. This having been done, the peasant digs up *five* clods of earth with his spade, and then sprinkles the water from the *lotā* *five* times with the branch of the mango tree into the trench.¹ At the Pola Festival held in Berar, the bullocks of the whole village are led in procession under a sacred rope made of twisted grass and covered over with mango-leaves.² [Compare this sacred rope with the Santāl's strings in which mango-leaves have been tied up and which are stretched overhead across the streets in three places.] Whenever cattle-murrain breaks out in Northern India, it is a common practice to hang up a rope of straw into which mango-leaves have been strung, over the roadway by which the cattle enter or leave the village on their way to the grazing-ground.³ It is also on account of the sacredness of the mango tree and of its consequently possessing the property of scaring away evil spirits and influences that the twigs or leaves of this tree are so largely used in the performance of various rites ancillary to the main marriage-rituals of the Mündās, the Bīrhōrs and the Bhumij of Chota Nagpur, and of the Santāls of Santālia.

(b) If we look upon the rite of the so-called "Marriage with the Mango Tree" as the instance of a ceremony for enabling the tribal godlings, resident in this tree, to witness and thereby sanctify the actual marriage with the human wife, our theory is supported by ample evidence which proves the existence, among several wild tribes of India, of the belief that their tribal godlings, who dwell among the leaves of their sacred trees, act, firstly, as witnesses of their deeds and scrutinizers of their conduct, and, secondly, play the rôle of judges of their conduct and punish them for their misdeeds, if any.

Take, for instance, the pipal tree (*Ficus religiosa*). It is regarded throughout India as sacred to the deities who are

¹ Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad Edition of 1894) pp. 369, 370.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 377.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 378.

believed to take delight in sitting among its leaves and to hear the music made by the rustling of its foliage. While giving evidence before a court, the Hindu or aboriginal witness takes a pipal leaf in his hands and invokes the deities, who sit above him, to crush him or his nearest and dearest relatives in the same way as he crushes the leaf in his hand, should he happen to depose to anything but the truth. He then plucks and crushes the leaf and deposes to what he has to state.

In the same way, the lofty red silk-cotton tree (*Bombax malabaricum*) is regarded by the jungle-tribes of India as the favourite seat of their godlings who are far more terrible by reason of the fact that the latter are superstitiously believed to keep watch and ward exclusively over the people living in the vicinity of this tree, and, having their faculty of superintendence less engaged, are able to institute a far more searching enquiry into the conduct of every man and woman who dwell immediately around them. The pipal tree is believed to be inhabited by some one or other of the three gods of the Hindu Trinity—Brahmā the Creator, Vishṇu the Preserver, and Maheśvara or Śiva the Destroyer—whose duty is supposed to be to exercise superintendence over the affairs of the whole universe. But the silk-cotton and other trees are believed to be the homes of the lesser godlings who are entrusted with the task of looking after the affairs of only a single district, or, perhaps, of a single village. The people of this district or village have their eyes always fixed upon these godlings; and every one of them is fully aware that he is, at any time, liable to be hauled up before the tribunal of these their minor deities, and to be compelled to undergo the punishment meted out by the latter to himself or to his nearest and dearest kinsmen, if he has already told or is about to tell a lie, or if he has already given or is about to give false testimony.

In their own courts held under the pipal or the silk-cotton tree, the imagination of the aforementioned jungle-peoples very often did what their godlings, who were believed by them to preside over their said courts, were generally supposed to do. If a witness told a falsehood, he believed that the godling, who sat

on the leafy throne above him and scrutinized the heart of every man, must have come to know of his misdemeanour. From that time forth, his guilty conscience pricked him every now and then ; his sinful heart did not afford him any rest ; and he constantly feared that the enraged godling would punish him for his misconduct. If any accident befell him or those nearest and dearest to him, it was looked upon in the light of a punishment inflicted upon him or his kinsmen by the offended godling. Even if no accident happened to him or to his relatives, his own guilty and troubled conscience was sure to bring about some other evil to himself. ¹

On a consideration of the foregoing evidence, we venture to propound the theories (1) that the aborigines, namely, the Mündās, the Bīrhōrs and the Bhumij of Chota Nagpur, and the Santāls of Santālia regard the mango tree as the habitation of their tribal godlings ; (2) that these lesser deities, from their leafy homes, witness and thereby sanctify the actual marriages of the aboriginal bridegrooms with their human brides ; and (3) that it is for these reasons that the first-named three aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur perform the ceremony of the *Uti-Sākhī* and the *Ām-Bībāhā* with the mango tree.

¹ Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, Vol. II, pp. 111—113.

IX.—Is Māhli a Real Caste-name ?

By Rai Saheb Chuni Lal Ray, B.A.

A few months before the Census of 1911, I was camping at Rāhe (thana Sonāhātu, Subdivision Khunti, District Ranchi) when one of the census enumerators of the village came to me and sought my advice how to distinguish in the enumeration book between the two classes of Māhli which he said there were in that part of the district. I gave him the stereotyped answer, viz., that subcastes were not to be entered, and advised him to describe both classes of Māhli as "Māhli" simply in the enumeration book. The average enumerator would probably have been satisfied with this, but so was not my interrogator. He said that the two classes spoke two different languages, and that although they might be shown as belonging to the same caste, it would certainly be incorrect to state that the two classes spoke the same language. This aroused my curiosity, and I enquired of the enumerator if he could take me to any place where I could see both classes of Māhli; he asked me to follow him to the next village, which I did. There he called a number of men and arranged them into two groups, one class calling themselves Ōr Māhli or Bāns Māhli and basket-weavers by profession, the other class known as Pātars or Pātar Māhli, whose principal occupation, I was told, was oil-pressing. The Ōr Māhli told me that they were not the same caste as the unclean Pātars, whose gibberish they could not understand; the Pātars similarly assured me that they could not follow the language of the Ōrs who, they said, were no better than Dōms and Tūris. I asked members of each class to speak in their own dialect and watched them speaking; and I found that, although evidently it was an exaggeration to say that the language of the Pātars was not intelligible to Ōrs, and *vice versa*, it was pretty

clear that they spoke distinctly different dialects. The dialect of the Ōr Mähliis contained a number of words which were common in Santālī but were not used in Mundāri, while the Pātar Mähliis were speaking, so far as I could make out, in exactly the same dialect of Mundāri as is used by Mundās in that part of the country. Thus :

Ōr Mähliis.	Pātar Mähliis.	English equivalent.
Hoꝛoing irtānā ...	Bābāing irtānā ...	I am reaping paddy.
Hoꝛo iring senu'k kānā ...	Bābā irtē aing senu'tana...	I am going (to the field) to reap paddy.
Ing kāing sārīānā ...	Aing kāing ituānā ...	I do not know.
Aingāgā peṛā bānu'kkoā buru cetānre.	Buru cetānre aingāgā kapulko bānko.	There are no relatives of mine on the hills (i.e. on the Ranchi plateau).
Āmā'k cimināng hopon menā'kkoā.	Cimināng āmā'k honko menā'kkoā.	How many children have you ?

In answer to my question where their *kuṭums* (relatives by marriage) could be found, both Ōrs and Pātars named numerous villages in what is known as Pānch Pārgānā (the five Pārgānās Rāhe, Tamar, Bundu, Silli and Basantpur) and the adjoining thānās of Manbhum district; the Ōrs spoke also of *kuṭums* in Jonha and Ranchi thānās, while the Pātars spoke of *kuṭums* towards Khuntī. One of the villages mentioned by the Pātars was Takrā in thānā Khuntī, a place that I had passed a few days before and where I had come across a colony of Mundās who were, like the Pātars, oil-pressers by profession and who, I had been told, were known by the distinctive name of Khanghar Mundās. I hazarded a guess, and asked them if they knew anything about the Khanghar Mundās of Takrā, to which they at once replied that Khanghars of Takrā were their *kuṭums* and that Pātar and Khanghar were but different names used in different localities for one and the same caste. Khanghar

Mundās whom I subsequently came across in Bundu and Khunti thānās acknowledged their identity with Pātars (Rakhal Khan-ghar, chaukidar of Lābgā in thānā Bundu, is, for instance, son-in-law of Tui Pātar of Maipa in thānā Tamar; and Lālā Pahn, Kānre Pahn, Amru Pahn of Takrā are related to Thakur Pātar and Gahan Pātar of Nuriḍi, thānā Tamar). I have been told that the caste is known by still another name in Singhbhum district, viz. Tāmariā; and that the men in thānās Torpa and Basia who returned themselves as Mähli-Mundās are also Khanghar Mundās *alias* Pātar Mähli. I had no occasion, however, to meet either Tāmariās or Mähli-Mundās after I got the information, and I am not in a position, therefore, to vouch for its correctness.

West of Ranchi town, in the area which alone is locally recognized as Nagpur proper and in Borwe (thānās Chāinpur and Bishunpur) and in Biru (thānās Simdega, Kochedega and Kurdeg) the term "Māfli" stands for quite another class, known also as Gorāits, who are neither basket-weavers like the Ōrs nor oil-pressers like the Pātars. Gorāits are ordinarily described as village watchmen and runners by profession or as drummers or as makers of *kakaes* (combs) or as fishermen; but probably their most important function in the social organization in Orāon villages is the services required of these Gorāits in ceremonies connected with the births, marriages and deaths of Orāons. On the day that the newborn Orāon child is to get his name—theoretically the sixth day after birth, but in reality the day on which the pots of pachwāi set for brewing after the child's birth are ready—the Gorāit has to be called in to shave the child's head and to take a very important part in the *nāme pinjā* (name-giving) ceremony. The Gorāit is generally not an adept in shaving, and the shaving of the scalp is generally completed by a barber, or an Orāon, but the first tuft of hair must be removed by the Gorāit's hands. The shaving over, the Gorāit takes a cup made of a leaf, or leaves, fills it with water, and, placing it on the ground, takes his seat before it with a small quantity of rice in his hands. Names for the

child are suggested by the parents or their relatives ; and as each name is suggested, the Gorāit drops two grains of rice into the water from two opposite sides of the cup and watches if the grains meet as they sink to the bottom. If the grains do not meet, the name must be given up and a fresh name has to be suggested and two more grains of rice dropped into the water. The process is repeated with another name and another pair of grains of rice, and so on, till the meeting of two grains of rice dropped at the same instant proclaims the particular name which the child is to bear in life.

At Orāon marriages it is the Gorāit's wife whose services are required. The first thing to be done when the bridegroom returns to his house with his newly-wedded wife is the *isun sindur* (oil and vermilion) ceremony. The Gorāit's wife is called in, and she comes with a new *kakae* with which she parts the hair of the bridegroom and of the bride. She then besmears their heads and bodies with oil and then applies *sindur* (vermilion) to the heads of both. Although the *sindurdān* by the Gorāit woman had been preceded by another at the bride's place, when the bridegroom and bride applied *sindur* to each other's foreheads, this second *isun-sindur* is an equally essential item of the marriage rites, and not till this is over can the newly-wedded pair salute the bridegroom's parents and other seniors in the bridegroom's village and obtain their blessings.

In connection with the Orāon's funeral ceremonies the Gorāit's services are equally necessary. After the cremation is over, the Gorāit must be fed and propitiated first before food can be served out to the assembled relatives or to the spirit of the dead man invited to return to his old home. And for this service the Gorāit gets, besides a full meal, a new brass vessel (a *chhipi*) and some money, and also, if the relatives of the deceased are well-to-do, a piece of cloth. Gorāits very often pride themselves as being for the Orāons what the Brāhmins are to the Hindu castes, getting as they do, food and *dakkinā* if the Orāons are to perform properly any of their social ceremonies. Orāons on the other hand assert that the Gorāits are mere

mercenaries who take upon themselves, in return for the present and money gift, the sins of the deceased; and in fact the Gorāits occupy a comparatively inferior position in the social scale.

In the tribal language of the Oraons, Gorāits are known as Tūriyar or Tūris. No Gorait would, however, call himself a Tūri, and among Sadāns (non-aboriginals and others who speak in Gāonwāri Hindi) the expression Turi* stands for quite a distinct class who are basket-weavers by profession. Near about Ranchi and in the eastern thānās, the expression Turi is rather loosely used by Sadāns indiscriminately for all basket-weaving castes; but most of these so-called Turis are found on questioning to be really Dōms or Mirdhās or Bāns Māhlis or Ghāsis, and they all disclaim connection with Turis. It is only further to the west or to the south, in Gumlā and Simdegā subdivisions and in scattered villages in thānās Tapkarā, Karrā, Lāpung, Bero, Māndar, Burmu, Kuru and Lohārdagā that one comes across a class who are not only known to others as Turis but also describe themselves as Turis. Some men of this class whom I met at Birdā in thānā Karrā and some others whom I met at Meromdegā, thānā Kochedegā, Pargānā Biru, said that in their own language they called themselves Hōr, which they said was also the Turi equivalent for man. Turis of the Lohārdagā side do not, however, call themselves Hōr; and Budhua Tūri of Sarāngo, who is, in the *panchayet* of the caste for Korambe Pargānā, the *dewan*, told me that the term Hōr is merely equivalent to the common noun man, and that the name by which Turis describe themselves is Huse't. Tūris of Birdā, on the other hand, told me that Huse't means split bamboo and cannot possibly be a caste name. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the Turis of Lohārdagā side as well as those of Birdā and Karrā and of Gumlā and Biru form one endogamous group. Birsā Turi and Panrūā Turi whom I met at Birdā (thānā Karra); Turis whom I met at Rood, a village

* "Turi" the Oraon equivalent for Gorait, is pronounced with the accent on the first syllable; the Sadān word Turi, and the word used by the basket-weaving Turis themselves, has no such accent.

very close to Kuru on the thirty-third mile of the Rānchi-Lohārdagā road, and Kanhāi Turi of Borgāon (near Armai) in Gumlā thānā all spoke of relationship with Bandhu Turi of Beyāsi (thānā Māṇḍar). The Birdā men spoke also of relatives in Torpā and Lāpung thānās (at Tapkarā and Sārangloyā), the Rood men spoke of relatives in thānās Māṇḍar, Beṛo (villages Choreā, Beyāsi, Maburi, Kanjgi, Tero, Jhiko, Jamgāin) as well as in Ghaghrā and Bishunpur thānās (villages Sarāngo, Dewāki, Kasmār, Ichā, Kitā), while the Bargāon man spoke of his relatives in pargānās Pālkot (villages Baghimā, Bangru, Kulukerā, Dongāpāni) and Biru (at Tamrā near Simdegā). Both near Kuru and Lohārdagā and near Kochedegā I found the Turis speaking of Orāons as "Jojo" and of Lohārs as "Kōṭe'c".

I have not come across any Turis of this class or heard of any of them living east of a line running from Choreā in thānā Māṇḍar south-east to Hasberā near thānā Karrā and then south through Torpā, Kolebirā and Bāno thānās. West of this line Orāons are the predominating caste and Muṇḍās are very few in number, except in thānās Kolebirā, Bassiā and Bāno; but the language which the Turis speak resembles Muṇḍārī very closely. Thus, Birsā Turi and Panṛuā Tūri of Birdā in thānā Karrā, whom I met at their village outstill, translated—

"I am going" by "Ing seno'tānāing"

"You are going" by "Ām seno'tānā"

"He is going" by "Inikō sentānā"

and when I asked them how their language differed at all from Muṇḍārī, they could give me nothing more than that they would say "Kāe emtānā" (He does not give) where Muṇḍās will say "Kāe omjādā"; and that Muṇḍās will say "Kāji" (word) while they would say "Kāthā". (I may here mention that *em* is the Santālī equivalent for Muṇḍārī *om* "to give" and that *Kāthā* is the Santālī equivalent for *Kāji* in Muṇḍārī).

In the same area in which the Turis live is to be found another caste of basket-weavers, who call themselves Ōrs (the same name by which the Bāns Māhlis of the Pānch Pargānās and of Jonhā and Rānchi sometimes describe themselves). These

Ōṛs disclaim all connection with the Turis, water touched by whom they would not drink. They call themselves Hindus, their principal god being Tāngināth, and one of this caste, Dhanpat Ōṛ of Lohangdi near Silam, is reported to have employed a Brāhmin priest on the occasion of his son's marriage. *Ōṛeyyās* (baskets of a particular shape and make) are the only things that they would make out of bamboo, and it is on this account, they say, that they are called Ōṛs; Turis make *sup*s (winnowing fans), *nachuās*, but not *oreyyas*. These Ōṛs have no knowledge of the Ōṛ Māhli or Bāns Māhli of the eastern part of the district; and they feel offended if they are called Māhli, that term signifying Gorāits in the area in which these western Ōṛs are found.

Turis also disclaim all connection with these Ōṛs of the west and would not drink water which an Ōṛ has touched. The only caste, they say, with whom they are in any way allied are the Rāūsā Turis, members of which caste could be found at Dhourā Nawāḍi near Chāmpi (thānā Lohārdagā) and Patrātu near Sons (thānā Māṇḍar). The Gāsā'k Turis, as the real Turis call themselves when distinguishing from Rāūsā Turis, take water from the latter; and Lengā Somā Turi of Bharno added that it was also possible for a Gāsā'k Tūri to have a wife from the Rāūsā Tūri caste, but only by the *balkatti* form of marriage. I saw the basket-weavers at Patrātu near Sons; they said they had never heard of the name Rāūsā Turis, and that they call themselves Bāns Māhli, not Turis. They had relations, they said, at Dhourā Nawāḍi near Chāmpi, but most of their castemen were to be found eastwards, at Umedandā, at Rānchi, at Tāṭisilway and further east. Chaitu Māhli of Ranchi (tola Hatmā) and Somrā Māhli of Tāṭisilway, whom they mentioned as their relatives, said that they and these Patrātu relatives of theirs were the same caste as the Bāns Māhli or Ōṛ Māhli of the east. Chaitu knew of the basket-weaving Turis of Nāgpur; Bāns Māhli could take water from these Nāgpur Turis, and *balkatti* marriage between these Nāgpur Turis and Bāns Māhli would be permissible, though Chaitu Māhli could not quote any actual instance where this had taken place.

The possibility of *balkatti* marriage between two groups which do not ordinarily intermarry can, I believe, be generally regarded as good evidence of these two groups having originally formed one caste; and I think it would not be unjustifiable to hold that the basket-weaving Turis of Nagpur and the Bāns Māhlis or Ōṛ Māhlis of the eastern thānās are merely subcastes of what originally formed one caste. It is also possible (although there is not much positive evidence in support of this) that the Ōṛs of the west are yet another subcaste who have come under the influence of Hinduism to a greater extent than the other subcastes. I would further hazard the suggestion that the name Ōṛ is not derived from the term Ōṛeyyā, as the Ōṛs suggested (the converse is probably true the name Ōṛeyyā being derived from Ōṛ), but that it is only a corruption of the expression Hōṛ or man. Practically all the main groups of the Kharwar race call themselves by the expression which, in their special dialect stands for "man"; thus, the Mundā calls himself Hōṛō, the Santāl calls himself Hōṛ, while the Larka Kol of Singbhum calls himself a Hō. In the language of the Turis, Hōṛ stands for "man"; the very same word is used for "man" by such of the Bāns Māhlis of Tāṭisilway, Lāpung (a village near Āngarā in thānā Jonhā) and some adjoining villages as have not yet forgotten their tribal language. Very probably the same word is used by their admitted relatives further to the east, in Bundu and Tamār, although I am not quite sure on this point.

The following are the names of *Gotras* (exogamous groups) that came to my notice among Turis, Ōṛ Māhlis of the eastern thānās, and the western Ōṛs of Nagpur proper. Names of the things tabooed are also noted, where these could be ascertained:

Turis.	Ōṛ Māhlis or Bāns Māhlis.	Ōṛs of western thānās.
Ind <i>alias</i> Hasdā'k (a fish, also mushroom).	Ind (a fish, also a mushroom).	Hasdā'k.
Baghwā (tiger, also squirrel)	Baghwā (the tiger).	

Turis.	Ōr Māhlis or Bāns Māhlis.	Ōrs of western thānās.
Tōp.		Tōp (cap or pugree).
Charhan.	Charḍi.	
Jāri or Kerkeṭā (a bird).	Karkusā.	
Māil.	Mandri (the parrot).	Rās (the Ras festival of the Hin'us).
Tirki (eggs left over after the mother bird has hatched some of the eggs).	Dumri (the fig tree).	Koyā or Barwā (a wild animal).
Sōren (a fish, also a mixture of rice and meat).	Turu. Piri.	
Sāmā (the sambhar deer).	Sondriyār (these men cannot have their ears bored by Sonārs or goldsmiths).	

I could get only four *gotra* names of Gorāits. These are Bāgh (tiger), Ind (a fish, also a mushroom), Kachhuā (tortoise) and Kujur. The first two names appear also among Turis and Ōrs ; but I cannot say if this fact, or the fact that the name Māhli is shared in common by Gorāits and by the Ōr Māhlis or Bāns Māhlis of the eastern thānās is sufficient to connect the Gorāits with Turis, Ōrs and Bāns Māhlis. Ind appears as a *gotra* name among Asurs also ; Kujurs are to be found among Ōrāons and Kachhuās among Mundās. Similarly, Kerkeṭā and Tirki appear as *gotra* names with Turis as well as with Ōrāons ; and Hansā'ks and So'rens are to be found both among Turis and among Mundās. Bāndō (wild cat) appears as a *gotra* name both among Ōrāons and among Mundās ; similarity of *gotra* names should not, therefore, be taken as any evidence of a common caste.

As for similarity of the name Māhli, this is shared by the Pātars who are admittedly the same caste as Khanghar Mundās, and then there are the Māhli Mundās as well ; and I am inclined to think that the term Māhli is not a real caste-name at all, but is merely a common name used by different castes,

just as the term Māhtō is used indiscriminately by Kurmis, Ahirs, Koiris and Bedēas in Chota Nagpur and by Babhans in Behar. Mr. Streatfeild held the opinion that Māhlis were a degraded offshoot of the Mundās but were now a caste by themselves, divided into the two subcastes, Pātars and Ōrs; he also held that Gorāits were Dosādhs who had merely taken a new name with their new occupation in Chota Nagpur and had taken to beef and pork (vide his letter No. 265-C, dated the 1st October 1901, reporting on certain castes in Ranchi, printed as Appendix VIII to the 1901 Census Report for Bengal). Apparently he did not know that Gorāits also very often call themselves Māhlis, for he would have found it very difficult to reconcile his theory of Gorāits being Dosādhs with the other theory that all the various groups known by the name Māhli were allied to each other and were all of Mundā stock. Mr. Streatfeild knew of Māhli-Mundās and Khanghar Mundās, and had been told that these were identical with each other, but he does not appear to have been aware of the identity of either with the Pātar Māhlis. That Māhli-Mundās *alias* Khanghar Mundās *alias* Pātar Māhlis *alias* Tamāriās are degraded offshoot of the Mundās there can be little doubt; but in all probability the Ōr Māhlis have not with the Mundās a greater degree of kinship than have Santals, Hos, Tūris, Asurs or other main sections of the Kharwār group. As for Gorāit Māhlis, it has still to be ascertained whether they are of the Kharwār group at all.

At the census of 1901, the total number of persons returned as Gorāits in the area now forming Bihar and Orissa was 7,629, of whom as many as 6,277 were from the district of Ranchi. It is not possible to say what was the total number of Gorāits in the district or in the province in 1911, as the census tables for that year show only castes of which the provincial aggregate in 1901 had been 50,000 or over, or which had numbered over 25,000 in any single district. A request was made by the Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi to have a special exception made in favour of Gorāits, but this did not meet with success.

The Superintendent of Census Operations had also been requested to have a separate column in the caste table for Patar Māhlis and Khanghar Mundās, and also to include in the same column figures for Tāmāriās as well, if further investigation in the Singhbhum district established the alleged identity between Patars and Tāmāriās. It is not known whether any further enquiries were undertaken to test the allegation about identity of Tāmāriās with Patars ; but the Tables show only 8,952 Tāmāriās in the whole Province, of whom all but 118 were returned in Singhbhum and the Orissa and Chota Nagpur States. The number of Māhlis in Ranchī shown in the 1911 Table is 22,011 and apparently includes as in 1901 (when only 13,549 Māhlis were returned) Patars as well as Ōṛs and Bāns Māhlis. Khanghar Mundās were apparently again included, as in 1901, under Mundās, so that members of admittedly the same caste were shown, some as Mundās and others as Māhlis ; while, on the other hand, Patar Māhlis and Ōṛ Māhlis, who regard each other as untouchables almost, were mixed up under one common heading " Māhli ".

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Ruins at Gholamara.

By Anantaprasad Sastri, M. A.

About four miles to the south of Purulia in the district of Manbhum is the village of Charra.¹ Even at present it is a large village containing many well-to-do families—a few belonging to the higher classes, the majority being cultivator. It contains a girls' school and a boys' school. It bears traces of a flourishing past, and many of the relics that are still extant appear to be of some interest to students of Indian antiquities.

The most notable are two stone temples, about 50 feet high. The stone is of a dull white colour, rather rough and unpolished. The stone pieces are of a rectangular shape, about 2 feet long and 1 foot broad, and are laid upon one another with a very thin layer of cement between them. They show clear signs of decay. A rectangular opening in the front of the stone wall leads into the sacrarium or *garbhagriha* which, now full of rubbish, at one time contained the image. The top of the temple is adorned with a stone wheel or *chakra*, and evidently at first there were two of them. The shorter one, which we found lying at a distance, was at one time upon the larger one which is even now in its original position. For the general design of the top or *sikhara*, I would refer the reader to the Kandarya Mahadeva temple at Khajuraho, Plate XCII, *Indian Architecture* by E. B. Havell. The similarity extends, to some extent, to the sloping shape of the body. In fact, the complete absence of figure sculpture in the decorative treatment of the building is

¹ The trip to Charra and Gholamara was led by Rai Sahib Chuni Lal Ray, Superintendent of Excise and Salt, Manbhum.

one of its striking features. The two temples at Charra are of the same type though one of them has suffered more from the effects of time than the other. From a similarity of the peculiarities noted by Mr. Havell¹ we might regard them as instances of Hindu architecture of the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

Just at the entrance to the village, on the bank of a pond, there is standing an image of a female deity surrounded by smaller ones. It is about 5 feet high, of a blackish stone and very smooth. I was informed by a local man that it was found imbedded in the mud under water and taken out and kept in its present position by people who were clearing the pond. The image is evidently the representation of the Hindu Goddess *Sasabhuja* with weapons in her several hands and accompanied by her retinue. The fine contour of the central figure and the bold lines of the minor ones are unmistakeably the handiwork of a master craftsman. Other images, including those of Jaina Tirthankaras which we found scattered through the village, are also noticeable.

About a mile from Charra we found an image which was called *Bāṇeswar* by the villagers. *Bāṇeswar* is a well-known name of Śiva, but this name was possibly attributed long after the image. The image is still worshipped by the neighbouring village-people and the spot is held sacred. If really a representation of Śiva, it furnishes us with a different conception of the god than what is in vogue. It has ten hands, one holding something like an armour or *chakra* and presumably the other hands also had different sorts of weapons in them. From the large number of stones lying about the image we think that there must have been a small temple there which had fallen down. The image is in a bad condition and extremely crude and primitive in its workmanship. Being of grey block stone, the different limbs lacking the sense of proportion, it betrays an inferior stone-carver's attempts at creating an object of art. Its author cannot have been very ancient, he may have flourished much

¹ E. B. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 195.

later than the artists who built the stone temples and the image at Charra.

Two miles to the north-west is Gholamara. Here, on a somewhat elevated piece of land, surrounded by open tracts and inside a grove we found ruins. The site is picturesque, shady and retired.

The central image there is of black stone, very smooth and dark, about 3 feet high. It is sadly mutilated, its two hands being broken off, but the remains suffice to impress upon one its majestic beauty. It gives us a really noble conception carried out with magnificent strength and breadth of modelling. All the different parts evince perfect proportion, the whole figure proves in the sculptor that intuition which, to quote Dr. Coomaraswamy, is "the vision of the artist and the imagination of the natural philosopher".¹ Calm, impassive, infinite pity in every lineament, the inner-informing spirit pervading the whole physique, the sculptor who hewed out of a mass of insensible rock his vision of the god certainly knew that "beauty is inherent in spirit not in matter". The physique and *motif* of this figure remind us of the splendid statue of Avalokitesvara from Borobudur in Java, about tenth century A.D.² The similarity is quite evident though there is a difference in posture.

The two small figures at the two sides of the central image are very neat. Only the heads are visible, the rest lying buried underground. The clean force of the chisel is visible in every feature however tiny. Both of them represent the god rapt in contemplation—the clear, serene face of the sage, freed from all wordly passions and desires, in perfect communion with the Universal Soul. They corroborate Mr. L. Binyon when he says that "the Indian ideal is the beauty of contemplation not of action".³ The head-formation of all the three is the same, matted hair in the shape of a heap on the top; the smaller two are clothed with an ascetic robe of which the wavy lines are depicted with vigour.

¹ Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Aims of Indian Art*, p. 2.

² E. B. Havell, *The Ideals of Indian Art*, p. 34, Pl. II.

³ Lawrence Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, p. 22.

There are something like two pillars standing behind the central image. The whole place is filled with slabs of stones, big and small, and it is more than probable that a temple stood there as the abode of the images. Besides these we found one head and an arm in all likelihood belonging to the same body, the other limbs of which (and possibly other figures too) are now lying under the heap of stones there.

The head is of the same blackish stone as that of the central figure, highly polished and glossy. It is about 9 seers in weight and covered with vermillion which proves that the body with the head must have been an object of worship to the villagers and that not very long ago. But it is apparently a head of Buddha. The whole face is distinguished by an exquisite purity of sentiment.

At a distance of about 20 yards from the above-mentioned main ruins there lies a lion over a goddess. It is imbedded in the ground in an oblique position and must originally have belonged to the principal heap but was probably carried thither and left by posterior hands. The lion is of special interest. The fine curves of the mane and the face have suffered severely from the effects of time and the goddess below with her eight hands holding a sword and other weapons has become almost indiscernible. The suggestive mien and forceful proportions together with the majestic posture of the lion are very impressive. The sculpture of this lion belongs to the class of the bull at Māmāllapuran (see Havell's *The Ideals of Indian Art*, p. 158) and the elephants at Konāraka (see Havell's *The Ideals of Indian Art*, plate XXIII). The lion is of the same black stone as the other figures. The sculptor who carved the fine features, the wavy mane, the magnificent chest and the life-like legs seems to have belonged to the school to which the other sculptors who created the above images belonged.

An inscription was found carved on a slab half-buried there. It is a very simple one and reads

Śrī Dānapati Sādhokasya.

The letters are Nāgari of the proto-Bengali type. They closely resemble those of the Deopārā Prāsasti of about

A.D. 1080-90¹ and of the land grant of Vaidyadeva A.D. 1142.² It gives us the name of the donor (Dānapati).

To come to an approximate date of the ruins. We get two definite landmarks : from the similarity with the Borobudur sculpture—eighth or ninth century A.D., and on the other hand the fourteenth century A.D., when Jain sculpture began to be scarce, so much so that we read in Mr. Barodia's *History and Literature of Jainism* that about the fifteenth century A.D. the worship of images was forbidden by several Jaina religious teachers.³ So we arrive at the approximate period from the ninth century to the fourteenth century. The palæography of the short inscription also points to about the tenth century or a little later.

We might obtain many new pieces of evidence if the site were excavated and we have published this note with the hope of inducing people to undertake the task of unearthing these buried and forgotten remains, by which much interesting light might be thrown on an obscure page of the history of Manbhum. It would, moreover, be of interest to lovers of Indian Art to study these remains.

¹ George Bühler, *Indian Palæography*, Pl. V., Col. XVIII.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. V., Col. XIX.

³ C. D. Barodia, *History and Literature of Jainism*, p. 131.

II.—Identification of Three Monuments at Sārnāth.

By Brindavan C. Bhattacharya, M.A.

A great diversity of opinion prevails among antiquarians with regard to three monuments discovered at Sārnāth. No finality of conclusion having been attained, they have only been content with a partial solution of the problem. A fresh discussion of the subject, as a whole, therefore, needs to be started which would possibly be of some service to future researches.

At the outset the nature of the problem should be made clear after having explained what the three monuments just mentioned are. They may be taken to be: (1) The Aśoka Pillar, (2) Jagat Singh Stupa and (3) the "Main Shrine". About these three we possess two ancient accounts of two different ages. One is Hiuen-tsiang's description of Sārnāth, another is the Mahīpāla Inscription. In Hiuen-tsiang's travels these monuments are mentioned as intact, whereas the Mahīpāla Inscription mentions repairs of their ruined condition. A complicated problem was likely to have arisen from the attempt to compare the newly discovered monuments with those described by Hiuen-tsiang. But none the less, no endeavour has hitherto been made to establish the equation between Hiuen-tsiang's account with the Mahīpāla Inscription, and between these two and the topography of the newly discovered monuments. We shall presently attempt such an identification in the light of our up-to-date knowledge of the ruins at Sārnāth.

As the monuments seen by Hiuen-tsiang have come down to us, they certainly existed in the time when the Pāla officers were engaged in the repairs of the Sārnāth monastery in

general. Let us now understand the Chinese Pilgrim's account in so far as it concerns our discussion. He writes :—"To the north-east of the river Varanā, about 10 li or so, we come to the Sānghārama of Luye. Its precincts are divided into *eight portions* (sections) connected by a surrounding wall * * *. In the great enclosure is a *Vihāra* about 200 ¹ feet high, above the roof is a golden-covered figure of the *Ámra* fruit. The foundations of the building are of stone, and the stairs also, but the towers and niches are of brick. In the middle of the *Vihāra* is a figure of Buddha made of (native copper) * *, he is represented as turning the wheel of the law. To the south-west of the *Vihāra* is a stone stupa built by *Aśoka-rāja*. Although the foundations have given way, there are still 100 feet or more of the wall remaining. In front of the building is a stone pillar about 700 feet high. The stone is altogether as bright as jade. It is glistening, and sparkles like light ; * * * * *"¹

Next we may examine now how far the present remains can be identified with the monuments mentioned in the above extract ; we propose the following identifications :—

A.—" A *Vihāra* 200 ft. high " = the Main Shrine and its original foundations.

B.—" A stone stupa " = the Jagat Singh stupa (according to Sir John Marshall's conclusion).

C.—" A stone pillar " = the *Aśoka* Pillar.

Assuming the above equations to be true, the actual progress of the pilgrim round the sacred precincts might have been something like this :— Entering the site where the " Main Shrine " now stands and where the old shrine facing the east stood and contained an image of the " Divine One ", the Chinese pilgrim would retire keeping the shrine on his right hand (*Pradakṣiṇa*) and moving to the south he would

¹ Beal's " Buddhist Record of the Western World " (Popular Edition), Bk. VII., pp. 45, 46. Also Watter's " On Yuan Chwang's Travels ", Vol. II, p. 50 ; Beal's " Life of Hsuen-tsiang ", p. 99. The height of the *Vihāra*, as given here, is 100 feet instead of 200 feet of other versions.

then come to "Jagat Singh Stupa" and moving round, keeping it also to the right, he would finally look on the Aśoka Pillar to the true north from where he stood and to the west of the "Main Shrine".

A.—Anybody examining the present main shrine carefully will come to the conclusion that its erection is rather of a comparatively recent time and its original site was a much larger one as it can be inferred from the pavement extending towards the east, which was undoubtedly the direction of its main gate.¹ As to who built the room of the present main shrine we shall discuss presently.

B.—Sir John Marshall, upon close examination of the structure, has ascribed the Jagat Singh Stupa to the Aśokan period.² Therefore, we may have no hesitation in asserting that that was the stupa which the Chinese pilgrim noticed to the south-west of the main building.

C.—The description left by Hiuen-tsiang of the pillar having a "dazzling brightness" exactly fits in with the Aśoka pillar now standing, now under a shade, to the west of the Main Shrine. Sir John Marshall, however, questioned this identity. But nearly all his questions Dr. Vogel has tried to answer. We have Mr. V. A. Smith's opinion in his "Asoka" accepting the same identity. We quote here the passage:—"Only two of the ten inscribed pillars known, namely, those at Rummindei and Sarnāth, can be identified certainly with the monuments noticed by Hiuen-tsiang. * * *

Again, turning to the Mahīpālā inscriptions we note that many years after Hiuen-tsiang's visit to Sarnāth, an inscription was engraved in Mahīpāl's reign to the effect that some repairs have been made of the ruins of Sarnāth (1026 A.D.), * * * *

¹ Hiuen-tsiang speaks of *Saṅghārāma* generally as having the "doors open towards the east." Beal's "Record of the Western World" (Popular edition) p. 74.

² "Guide to the Buddhist Ruins of Sarnāth" by D. R. Sahni, p. 9.

³ Asoka (Second Edition), p. 124.

⁴ Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, p. 139; J.A.S.B. (N.S.), Vol. II, 1906, pp. 445-7; Epi. Ind., Vol. IX, 1907-8, pp. 291-3.

Much light, it may be shown, is thrown on the monuments under review by certain passages of this inscription.

The couplet, we quote below, is the most important part of the record :—

(a) “*Tau Dharmarājikām Sāṅgīm Dharmachakram punar-navam.*”

(b) “*Kṛtavantau cha Navīnāmaṣṭa-Mahāsthāna Saila Ganddha Kuṭīm.*”

Translation :—“ They (Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla) repaired the Dharmarājikā and the Dharmachakra (vihara ?) including the accessories, as well as the Gandhakuṭi, made of stone, belonging to the eight great places.”

We shall attempt now to examine these monuments and establish their identity, as far as we can, in the light of Hiuen-tsiang's travels, and epigraphic finds.

Dharmarājikā—Dr. Vogel tried to identify the present “*Dhāmekh Stupa*” with the “*Dharmarājikā*” of the inscription. But since the publication of Dr. Venis' true view that the word *Dhāmekh* was derived from *Dharmekṣā* rather than from *Dharmarājikā*, Dr. Vogel has finally abandoned his identification. Archaeologists have, however, ascertained that the *Dhāmekh* Stupa belongs to the Gupta period and not to the Aśokan period. The word *Dharmarājikā* again was used to denote the Aśokan stupas generally.¹ It has already been pointed out that the Jagat Singh Stupa was of the Aśokan age. It is inferable, therefore, that the word *Dharmarājikā* refers to the original structure of the Jagat Singh's Stupa. Moreover, we gather from the travels of Fahien that he saw a stupa where the *Panchavaggiyas* paid reverence to the Buddha and to the north of it was the famous site of “Turning the Wheel of the Law”.² Judging from this, I am inclined to believe that the *Dharmarājika* or the Jagat Singh was meant by that stupa by Fahien.

¹ 84,000 *Dharmarājikās* built by Aśoka Dharmarāja, as stated by *Dīpāvadāna* (Ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 379) quoted by Foucher, *Leo. Boudhique*, p. 554.

² The Pilgrimage of Fahien (translated by Laidlay) pp. 307-8.

Dharmohakra.—Its mention has been made in the Mahipāla inscription as *Sāṅgaṃ Dharmachakraṃ*. Dr. Vogel took the word *sāṅgaṃ* to mean "complete". The late Dr. Venis seemed to have accepted his rendering evidently in the absence of a better one. This rendering, in my opinion, appears very doubtful and therefore deserves to be examined. We meet with an expression like *Sāṅga Veda* meaning *Ṣaḍaṅga-Veda*. Likewise, we may take the expression *Sāṅgaṃ Dharmachakra* to mean the present *Dharmachakra* together with its various accessories. The meaning of *Dharmachakra* remains now to be settled. From the fact that the Buddha at Sārnāth turned "the Wheel of the Law" have originated in later times the Dharma-chakra symbol or the symbol of the Wheel, the *Dharma-chakramudrā*, and even the name *Dharmachakravahāra* denoting the monastery of Sārnāth.¹ In a seal, discovered in the course of excavation at Sārnāth, is inscribed श्रीसङ्गमंचक्रे श्रीमूलगन्धकुटी भगवतो।² It may consequently lead us to the conclusion that the whole monastery used to be called *Saddharmachakra* and a chapel within its precincts was known as *Mūlagandhakūṭi* (Main Shrine). From all this we may deduce that the present monastery, as a whole, together with its accessories, has been meant by the expression *Sāṅgaṃ Dharmachakraṃ*. Mr. A. K. Maitra, of the Vārendra Research Society, is of opinion that the Dharmachakra symbol, which formerly surmounted the lion capital of Aśoka and of which the fragments are now being preserved in the Sārnāth Museum,³ is the exact object which is denoted by the foregoing expression in the Mahipāla Inscription. The practice of adorning the lion capital of Asoka with the Dharma-chakra symbol was not an uncommon feature in ancient days, and, as a matter of fact, we find the same thing on the Aśoka pillar at Sāñchī. Therefore nothing can be said with certainty as to the object which was repaired—either the whole monastery or

¹ In the inscription of Kumāradevī we find that Sārnāth has been called Saddharma-chakra Vihāra, vide the present writer's "History of Sārnāth", p. 112.

² Hargreave's Annual Progress Report for 1915, p. 4.

³ Sir John Marshall's Annual Report, A. S., 1904-5, p. 36.

the Aśoka pillar. It is not unlikely that the whole monastery was under repairs along with the repairs of the Dharma-rājikā inasmuch as the monastery, the Gandha-Kuṭī and the Dharma-rājikā were all in a ruinous condition. The Pāla brothers, it may rightly be supposed, undertook to repair all of them.

Aṣṭa-mahāsthāna-Śaila Gandhakuṭī.—Drs. Hultzsch, Vogel and Venis have offered various interpretations to this expression. Of these, Dr. Venis' is the latest. The late learned doctor, after having shown the impossibility of expounding the compound as the *Gandha-kuṭī* erected of stone brought from eight great places, on the ground of Sanskrit grammar, has put forth the following careful interpretation: "Shrine is made of stone and in the shrine are, or to it belong, eight great places (positions)."¹ According to the rules of Sanskrit grammar, this compound can be no other than the मध्यमपदलोपि समास. Then, of course, the component parts would be:—अष्ट महास्थानस्या (or स्थितां) 'ष्टैलगन्धकुटी². We shall consider now whether this interpretation suits the topography of Sarnāth as well as holds good on several other grounds. Remarks have been heard from scholars that the explanation hitherto advanced of the expression is far from being satisfactory.³ To work at the details, it appears that the word "*Śaila-Gandhakuṭī*" here, no doubt, refers to the Main Shrine existing to-day, for architectural characteristics of the twelfth century A.D. are traceable in the ruins and the style of this building. The word Gandhakuṭī has, however been discussed elsewhere. Again, the previously mentioned earthen seal, bearing the legend अश्वमेधचक्रे मूलगन्धकुर्वी भगवता, furnishes us with the information that "in the Mūla Gandhakuṭī which was situate in the Saddharmachakra Vihāra", etc. The age of this epigraph is much anterior to that of the Mahipāla Inscription. Thus, we find that the relation which the

¹ J.A.S.B. (N.S.), Vol. II, No. 9, p. 447.

² Cf. वियम्भधरसुतः Daśakumāra Charita.

³ Mr. Hargreaves, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, in a letter to me expressed the same view—"Its explanation, I am afraid, must always remain doubtful."

Dharmachakra Vihāra or the whole monastery bore to the Gandhakuṭī has been a matter of considerable antiquity. Round the chapel in which the Buddha dwelt an extensive monastery may have gradually come into being. That chapel used to be called "Gandhakuṭī" and the whole monastery passed by so many different names. Our attention may be turned again to Hiuen-tsiang's account just for the sake of comparison. We shall find there that he also saw the whole monastery and a high building made of stone.¹ There was an image of Buddha therein represented in the *Dharmachakramudrā*. In the traveller's account one thing appears to be specially striking and on which he seemed to have laid much stress, viz. "The Saṅghārāma was divided into eight portions (sections)".² I conjecture from this that these eight parts of the Saṅghārāma in course of time developed into eight great places or *sthānas* or monasteries which constituted the whole establishment. And very probably this Saṅghārāma having distinct divisions received the true designation of *Aṣṭa mahāsthāna*. Curiously enough it is to note that six distinct monasteries have already been exhumed by modern exploration. I was also informed by a Superintendent of the Indian Archæological Department that probable sites of more vihāras still lay hidden on the east of the saṅghārāma. No spadework has, for some reasons, been carried on in that direction. We may nevertheless arrive at these conclusive points that *Aṣṭa mahāsthāna* was the name given to the whole Saṅghārāma and *Sāila-gandhakuṭī* was the name which signified an old stone building situated probably in the middle of the Saṅghārāma and therefore called at one time Mūla, meaning "central" or "original", from the fact that the Buddha had set up his first residence there, and at another time "*Sāila*" as it was chiefly built of stone.

¹ The Buddhist literature informs us that the room where the Buddha dwelt was usually made fragrant by burning some incense and thus it received the name of Gandhakuṭī. The word, again, in course of time, has been modified into Gandhola and came to be used in a similar sense in Tibetan books—"Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang" by S. C. Das, C.I.E., p. 77.

² Cf. Watter's version. "This establishment, he says, was in eight divisions all enclosed within one wall." Watter's, Vol. II, p. 50.

III.—Raja Indradyumna.

By J. N. Samaddar, B.A.

In one of my peregrinations I found an Oriya priest making some excavations on a small ridge in the village of Jaynagore near Lakhisarai in the Monghyr district. The presence of an Oriya priest at that place naturally excited my curiosity and on enquiry I came to know from him that he believed to have had received a mandate प्रत्यादेश while asleep from the god Jagannatha to build a temple there and so he had come all the way from his native district, Puri, to carry out the command, which he proposed to do by begging.

On my return to the Dâk Bungalow, on further enquiry I came to know that there is a tradition in that part of the country that close to the top of the northern ridge in that village, one king named Indradyumna had his treasure which was sealed with a magic seal and that a number of fruitless attempts had been made in the past to discover this treasure. It was said that the Oriya priest had come there as Jagannatha had revealed to him the place of the treasure on condition that he would build a temple there, rivalling the temple at Puri. My curiosity being intensified, I went to the ridge the next day, and as fortunately the priest was then absent I was able to take a more minute observation of the excavation (?) which was going on and found that underneath the grass some pavement was indeed discernible and portions of the grass having been removed in some places, the pavement was clear.

Mr. V. A. Smith in his History referring to the Pâla kings observes that "According to tradition, the ruler of Magadha at the time of the Muhammadan conquest in A.D. 1197 was Indradyumna Pâla. Forts attributed to him are still pointed out in the Monghyr district." (*History*, p. 401.) The Archæological

Survey Reports also mention "the last king Inderdaum or Indradyumna who held out the fort of Jaynagar on the Kiyul river against the Mohemedans" (A.S. Vol. III, 134) and "Jaynagar is said to have been the stronghold of the last Hindu Prince of Magadha named Inderdaun or Indradyumna. He was defeated by the Makhdun Maulana Nur. There is a small village called Jaynagar, but the name belongs properly to the strong military position on the south, to which Indradyumna is said to have retired after his defeat by the Mohemedans." (A.S. Vol. III, 159).

This King Indradyumna to whom is attributed "*Attara-ganda pukoor*" (seventy-two tanks), has also his traditions in the neighbouring village of Uren which is also said to be one of his forts, while another of his forts is located at Indappe, a few miles from Gidhour. Close to the ridge mentioned in the beginning of my note are to be seen a large mud rampart and several mounds which appear to have been massive works, evidently to protect the city.

But the most interesting legend relating to the King is what has been mentioned by Buchanan Hamilton, as quoted by Martin in Vol. II of *Eastern India*, who says "the last Hindu prince of consequence, of whom I find any traces was a Raja Indradyumna, who has left considerable traces in the western part of the district and it is said in the adjacent parts of Bihar, over both of which he is said to have been King, after the Muhammadans had obtained possession of Delhi. *Finding himself unable to contend with these ferocious invaders, Indradyumna retired with his army and family to Jagannath.* It is universally agreed that the temple there was founded by a prince of this name.....Whether or not Indradyumna was a person of the family of the Pála rajas or a person who on their fall had seized on Magadha, I cannot ascertain, but I think that the former is most probable.....I suspect that Indradyumna was the ancestor of Pratap Rudra who retired to the ancient dominions of Andhra and having collected the

powerful remnants of an overgrown empire *may have actually founded Jagannath.*" (Vol. II, pp. 23, 24.)

The traditional founder of the Jagannath temple is named *Indradyumna* whom Wilson regards as one of the Kings of Ellora, while *Purushottama-Māhatyam* makes him a prince of the Solar dynasty who reigned at Aranti in the country of Malawa. But tradition apart, history points that the temple of Jagannath was finished in 1198 (Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, Vol. II., p. 592) and Hunter also in his *Orissa* (Vol. I, p. 102) assigns the same date and names the second Indradyumna as the *rebuilder* of the temple in 1198 (Vol. I., p. 93). Stirling, another of the Orissa historians, also places the date of the temple in 1198, while Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra who differs from Hunter as to the founder, practically accepts the same date. If, therefore, the temple was built or re-built in 1198 as some accounts attribute the authorship to Indradyumna, it is quite possible that Buchanan Hamilton's tradition and theory may be correct and that the last King of the Pāla line after his defeat at the hands of the Muhammadans may have fled to Orissa which was at that time immune from the attacks of the Muhammadans, and there built the temple.

If therefore the Oriya priest from Puri can really find out the reputed treasure and build a temple at Jaynagar, it might be Orissa's paying back to Bihar the debt which she owes to her companion. As to whether he would be permitted to do so is, of course, more than what I can say, but the Archæological Department may notice the fact of digging by the Oriya Brahmin, and collect the sculptures (near and around Jaynagar) which clearly show the former existence of a powerful Hindu prince in the locality. [Probably the ancient name of Jaynagar was *Jayapura* which appears in an inscription of the twelfth century A.D. from Darbhanga, to be published shortly in this Journal.—

K. P. J.]

IV.—Copper-plates in Bhuvaneśvara Temples.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

Last October when I was in Orissa I heard from the priests at Bhuvaneśvara that there is a copper-plate deposited at the top of the Linga Rāja temple, and that it is well known to the man whose hereditary business is to get up to the top by the help of the hanging iron-chain and set up the temple flag. Everybody at Bhuvaneśvara speaks to the existence of the alleged copper-plate which is believed to have been deposited in the hole under the Āmalaka by the original builder of the temple.

Amongst the papers of the Society I found an extract sent by the Hon'ble Mr. LeMesurier in 1917 from Orissa which bears on the subject and runs as follows :—

A correspondent of the *Aśa* (Berhampore, Ganjam, 18th January, 1917) in an English article headed "Orissan Temples and Copper-plate Inscriptions" writes among other things to the following effect :—

"The construction of the top of a temple marks its finishing point, technically known as the Rothnomddo. It is performed with much ceremony, pomp and festivity. Then the structure is filled with paddy, precious stones, gold, silver and other valuables. To these also used to be added an inscribed copper-plate, giving the names and ancestry of the builder and architect with date and other necessary information. At any rate this seems to have been invariably the practice till about one hundred years back. Such copper-plates have been found in this portion of the superstructure of several old temples. So if the structure has been left intact in an old temple, it is sure to contain the copper-plate with the necessary information in regard to its construction. These valuable records if properly collected would, I think, furnish much accurate historical information and set at rest the existing difference of opinion in regard to certain famous temples of ancient Orissa. I think the buildings would not at all be damaged or profaned by the process of recovering records which will be lost to us in course of time."

The Temple Committee of Bhuvaneśvara have it in their power to render a service to history by taking out the copper-plate from the Linga-rāja for a short time and getting it deciphered. It will not only settle the question of the authorship (yet

unknown) of that gem of architecture, but will also shed light on the post-Gupta period of the history of Orissa. The object in depositing the copper-plate was to tell the people the history of the temple and its builder when that history is forgotten, and the Temple Committee will be fulfilling that pious object by bringing the record to light.

V.—Kālijai, the Goddess of the Chilka Lake.

By Rai Bahadur Monmohan Roy.

A rocky island in the Chilka Lake about eight miles south-west of Balugaon contains a temple of the goddess Kālijai, who is regarded as the tutelary deity of the lake and whose worship is much in-vogue among all classes of the people in the neighbourhood. The local boatmen and fishermen, both Telugu and Oriyā, are regarded as under her especial protection and are amongst her most ardent votaries. The goddess is believed to exercise miraculous powers, such as raising or lulling storms in order to sink or save boats containing people who have offended or propitiated her, as the case may be.

The Rajas of Parikud and Khallikot both ~~claim~~ that the first temple was constructed by their ancestors, but the present temple, on the site of an earlier temple which had fallen into ruins, owes its construction to the present Raja of Parikud. From her name it is clear that the goddess is now identified with Kālī. The image, however, is merely an irregular block of stone with a maximum height of 4 feet and a breadth of 3½ feet. The stone is smeared over with a mixture of oil and vermilion, which makes a sticky paste on which are plastered large numbers of bangles of glass or silver with a pice in the middle of each. Some cowries are similarly affixed to the stone.

No priest is attached to the temple, and the votaries who frequent it conduct their own worship, unless a Brāhman happens to be present, in which case he is asked to officiate. It is impossible for worshippers to go very frequently to the island, and even the Raja of Parikud goes thither only three or four times a year. The daily worship of the goddess is thus performed before a representative or substitute, namely a block of stone on an embankment of the lake close to the Raja

of Parikud's residence. This practice of worshipping a substitute is widespread in Orissa. Thus the god Jagannāth of Puri is represented by the minor god Madan Mohan on the occasion of the Chandan Jatrā which is performed in the Narendra tank ; and in Bhubaneshvar the principal god, Lingarāj, whose image is a phallic symbol, which is not capable of being moved, is represented by Chandra Sekhar on the occasion of the Asokāstami festival. People wishing for a boon, such as the birth of a son or recovery from disease, make votive offerings of sheep, goats and fowls. These animals are not sacrificed, but are marooned on the island. As the herbage dries up during the hot weather and the water in the lake at that season is undrinkable, the fate of these unfortunate animals can be better imagined than described. This inhuman practice has recently come to notice, and in consultation with the Raja of Parikud and the Mahants and Pandits of Puri, it has been arranged to remove the animals at frequent intervals to the main land and let them loose there after affixing to them some distinguishing mark to indicate the fact of their dedication.

In conclusion I venture to suggest that it would be highly convenient for Indian Epigraphists and students if important records like this are reproduced in the Annual Reports in which they are described.

VII.—Ferry Tolls in an Orissan Copper-plate.

A copper-plate measuring $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8''$ and provided with a ring by means of which it could be suspended was recently found at Manikpatna in the Puri District. It contains in Oriya the under-mentioned table of rates, but there is nothing to show the date when it was prepared. As the rates would be high even now, it probably refers to some old ferry across the Chilka Lake. This plate has been presented to the Patna Museum by Rai Bahadur Sakhi Chand, Superintendent of Police.

TABLE OF RATES.

				Rs.	a.	p.
For each person	0	0 9
For each palanquin with eight bearers, one <i>bahungi</i> man and one torch-bearer	0	4 0
One <i>bahungi</i> man with load	0	1 6
For each horse with rider	0	6 0
If the horse wades through water, (and) rider uses the boat	0	3 0
For each elephant with load	1	0 0
For each camel with the rider	0	10 0
If camel wades through water, the rider and others	0	4 0
If the elephant wades through water, its attendants using the boat	0	1 0
For each sheep and goat	0	1 0
Bullock cart with bullocks	0	3 0
Bullock and ass with load	0	2 0
" " " without load	0	1 6
For a load of earth	0	1 0

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[PART III.

LEADING ARTICLES

I.—Contributions of Bengal to Hindu Civilization.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri,
M.A., C.I.E.

The First Contribution.

Taming and Treatment of Elephants.

When the Vedic Aryans came to India they did not know the elephant, for this animal is not found in the north-western parts of the country. In the R̥g-Veda, which constitutes the most ancient literary record of the Aryans, the word "Hastin" occurs in five places only, in three of which Śāyaṇācārya interprets it to mean "हस्तयुक्ता ऋत्विजः पादयुक्ता ऋत्विजोश्च" "priests with hands." According to the same authority the word as used in the remaining two places means a big graminivorous animal, perhaps an enormous deer.

(1) महिषासो मायिनश्चित्रभानवो

गिरयो न स्वतवसो रघुष्यदः ।

मृगा इव हस्तिनः खादथा वना

मदाशयोष, तवीषौरयुरध्वं ।।

- (2) मरु उपाके तन्वं दधानो
 वि तत्ते चैत्यन्तस्य वपः ।
 नृगोन इक्षी तविषीसुषाणः
 सिंही न भीमः आशुघानि विभूत ॥

(1) O Marutas, you are great and learned. Your lustre is wonderful. You are self-sufficient like the mountains. You eat up the forests like the "Hastin" animals. Lend your strength to the rosy quarters of the globe.

(2) O Indra, when you appear with your splendour before the Sun, instead of being dimmed, it increases in brilliance. You become as ferocious as a lion when you are armed, even as the "Hastin" quells the power of others.

In these two places "Hastin" has been likened to, or has been supposed to be, a species of deer. This is significant. It shows that the Aryans at the time of the composition of these verses came into contact with the animal for the first time and thought that it belonged to the deer species. In the Otahiti island in Polynesia the natives knew swine only. When therefore Europeans brought into the country horses, dogs, sheep and other animals, they gave all these animals the appellation of swine, horses being called neighing swine, dogs barking swine, sheep bleating swine, and so on. Similarly the Vedic Aryans knew the deer, for they were skilled in hunting. When therefore they came to India and saw the elephant for the first time, they did not hesitate to call it the deer with a trunk.

The elephant is a native of Bengal, Burma, Borneo, Sumatra and other islands. It can be found up to Dehra Dun in Western India and in Mysore and Ceylon in Southern. Africa also abounds with elephants, but the African breed is small in size. From these facts it is practically certain that the Vedic Aryans knew little of elephants.

I have said that "Hastin" occurs twice in the Rg-Veda in the sense of an elephant. Even in these places it is to be doubted whether this is the real signification of the word. If instead of "deer with a hand", the animal had been described

as "trunked deer" all doubts would have been removed. This doubt is further strengthened by the fact that in Sanskrit there are many synonyms for "Hastin" such as "Mātāṅga", "Karin", "Gaja," "Dvipa", etc.; but none of these words are to be found in the Rg-Veda, in which even the word "Airāvata" finds no place. When the Vedic Ṛṣis knew not elephants that were black, how could they be expected to be familiar with those which were white?

But whether there is mention of elephants in the Rg-Veda or not, they are mentioned in the Taittiriya Samhitā. When treating of Āsvamedha, the question arose as to what particular animal should be sacrificed before a particular god and it was decided that the first eleven gods should receive the sacrifice of wild animals. According to some, the sacrifice of effigies of these animals is sufficient. According to others, wild animals in flesh and blood and not their effigies should be sacrificed. The names of the eleven gods and of the animals which should be sacrificed before them are as follows:—

King Indra should receive the sacrifice of the hog, and King Varuṇa, that of the antelope (कृष्णवार). The King Yama must be propitiated with the लव्य ऋग and the God Ṛṣabha with nilgai. The tiger, the king of the forest, is to receive the white deer गौर ऋग, while the king of men the monkey. The Batak bird should be sacrificed before the king of vultures, or the king of birds, and Nīlāṅga, the king of serpents, should receive the sacrifice of a worm (कृमि). Soma, the king of drugs, should be given a fawn (कुण्डल), while Sindhurāja is to receive the porpoise (शिशुमार), and Himavān the elephant.

In the Rg-Veda there is no god bearing the name Himavān. The name Himavanta occurs once in the tenth Maṇḍala meaning the mountain covered with ice. Himavān was afterwards raised to the dignity of a god, and the sacrifice of the elephant with which the Aryans became subsequently familiar enjoined in his honour. From these two facts it is evident that at the time, when the Taittiriya Samhitā was composed, the Aryans had made considerable progress in the country.

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa gives an explanation as to how Himavān who was not formerly a god became one afterwards. In this Purāṇa Prajāpati says:—"I have created the Himālaya for the production of Somalatā and other herbs necessary for the performance of sacrifices." This led Kālidāsa to say "यज्ञाङ्ग-योनिस्त्वमेवेष्ट्य यस्य", which means that divinity was subsequently conferred by Prajāpati upon Himālaya and that the latter's portion in yajñas was also allotted in a subsequent age.

By the sixth century B.C. the taming and domesticating of elephants became widely prevalent. Lord Buddha had an elephant; his brother Devadatta had also one. Buddha one day while trying his strength with an elephant, seized it by the trunk and threw it at some distance. The spot where the beast fell was turned into a well. The King Udayana had a huge elephant, called "Nalāgiri." Both he and Caṇḍa Pradyota had large elephant-stables. They also had elaborate contrivances for capturing wild elephants.

The capturing and taming of wild elephants, the training of these animals for war, their treatment, etc.—where did all these useful arts originate? This question admits of one answer only. It is Bengal that first subdued and tamed these huge beasts. The country which is bounded on the one side by the Himālaya and on two other sides by the Lauhitya and the Sea gave birth to what is called the "Hastividya," or the science about elephants. It was here that a great man flourished, who from his childhood associated with elephants, moving, walking living and eating with these beasts, nursing and treating them during their illness, serving them in every possible way, and, in a word, transforming himself into an elephant. He was, in turn, loved, served and fed by these animals and nursed by them when he was ill.

The name of Lomapāda, King of Aṅga, is familiar to the people of Bengal. He adopted Śāntā, the daughter of King Daśaratha. On one occasion he took a fancy to elephants and said, "As Indra in heaven rides an elephant, so I will have an elephant to ride." But there was one difficulty. He did not

know how to subdue the beast, and for this reason invited all the R̥sis to give him advice. The latter, after much deliberation, sent emissaries to all parts of the country in quest of a herd of elephants. These men arrived at a big *āsrama* which is stated to be "under the protection of the King of mountains and where the Lauhitya flows towards the sea." There they found a large number of elephants and with them a Muni. They were satisfied that the Muni was the protector of the herd. On coming back to their own country they reported to the king all they had seen. Then the king with his army arrived at the *āsrama*. But he did not meet with the Muni who had gone to a distant place on a mission for the benefit of elephants. The herd which was there was driven by the king to his own capital Campānagara. Here, at the suggestion of the R̥sis, a stable was built in which the beasts were put, and they were supplied with food. The Muni, when he returned to his *āsrama*, found that his elephants were all gone. He wept bitterly and, after having instituted a vigorous search which lasted for many days, came to Campānagara where he traced his animals in a stable. They had sores all over the body, and looked like skeletons, being affected with various diseases. He immediately brought a few leaves, roots of plants and other herbs, ground them into ointments and applied the same to the affected parts of the beasts. The latter were grateful for the kindness shown to them and served him in many ways. Both he and they were very glad to see each other after a long interval. The king heard this and, being desirous to know who he was, sent his men to him; but he did not speak a word. The R̥sis came next; he did not respond. The king then himself came, but still he maintained his silence. On being persistently entreated, however, he gave the following account of himself:—

"In the country which borders on the Himālaya and through which the Lauhitya flows towards the sea, there lived a Muni. He was my father, my mother being a Kareṇu or she-elephant. I live and move with elephants. They are my friends, relatives and companions. My name is Pālakāpya. I take care of

elephants and nourish and cherish them, hence my name is Pāla, and the suffix Kāpya denotes the gotra or family in which I was born. I am an expert in the treatment of elephants."

The king on hearing this asked him many questions about elephants, and he in reply explained to him the veterinary science relating to these animals. This science is called "Hastyāyurveda" or "Pālakāpya." This treatise is written in the form of ancient sūtras in prose and verse but the latter predominates. Modern sūtras consist of sentences formed by suffixes only. They have no verbs. The ancient sūtras however abounded with verbs and each chapter begins with the promise "वाक्यास्यामः;" "We will explain." The only difference between the Pālakāpya and the ancient sūtras consists in the fact that in the former the sūtras are written in the form of a dialogue between the King and the Muni. Bharata-Nāṭya-Śāstra, too, has been written in the form of a dialogue. There is no other ancient sūtra which is written in this form. It appears that there was an ancient sūtra work in prose, but that it was in a subsequent age transformed into the form of a Purāṇa, in dialogue and in verse, the ancient prose being imbedded in it as in the Bharata-Nāṭya-Śāstra.

Now, the Muni says "I was born in the Kāpya gotra." It appears however that the "Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadam-bakam" collected by Chenshall Rao, C.I.E., which contains towards the end the names of about 4,500 gotras, does not mention the Kāpya gotra. From this it is evident that it is not one of the gotras prevalent among the Aryans. The question arises, therefore, how could then Pālakāpya belong to the Kāpya gotra and how could he be regarded as a Brāhmaṇa? It may be said by way of explanation that as the Aśvalāyana, Baudhāyana and other sūtras do not mention the name of Kāpya as one of the Munis who founded a gotra, it is to be supposed that Pālakāpya did not belong to any of the gotras recognized by the Aryans. The Kāpya gotra seems to have been prevalent only in Bengal. Pālakāpya was an inhabitant of Bengal. He was born and educated in a country watered by the Lauhitya, or the

Brahmaputra, between the Himālaya and the Sea. Although, therefore, his treatise was written and published in Campānagara, the capital of Aṅga, he himself was a Bengali. From a consideration of these facts we are driven to the conclusion that it was in Bengal that such a huge beast as the elephant was first trained, domesticated and utilized in the service of mankind and that it was here that the mode of its treatment was discovered. A close study of Pālakāpya will warrant the supposition that it is a translation from some other language and that it does not always follow the rules of Sanskrit Grammar. The antiquity of the work it is not now possible to ascertain. Kālidāsa calls it an ancient Sūtra. In the sixth canto of Raghuvamśa, Sunandā alluding to the Rājā of Aṅga says, "we learn from an ancient tradition that the Sūtrakārs themselves train the elephants of the king; hence it is that he enjoys on earth the prosperity of Indra."

In Kauṭilya's Artha-Śāstra there is a chapter headed "Hastipracāra", in which we find mention of elephant physicians. Kauṭilya says that if an elephant while going from one place to another is suddenly taken ill or disabled or if *muda* flows from its temples, it is the duty of the physician to treat it. From this the inference is irresistible that the science of the treatment of elephants had been in existence before Kauṭilya's time. The form in which the sūtras in the Pālakāpya are written also shows the antiquity of the work. Its sūtras were composed at a time, identical with what Max Müller calls the sūtra period. According to Bühler the sūtras of Vasiṣṭha and Gautama were anterior to those composed by Āpastamba and Baudhāyana in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. Pālakāpya seems to belong to this age.

Indian scholars fix the sūtra period at an earlier age still. It is however unnecessary to enter into a discussion on this subject. It is sufficient to observe here that if in the fifth or sixth century B.C. Bengal was so far advanced in the science of the treatment of elephants, it reflects no small credit on our country.

*The Second Contribution.***Variety of Religious Opinions.**

I have hinted in many places that Jainism, Buddhism, Ajivakism and all the religions which received from the Buddhists the appellation of "Tairthikias" or the Heretical Systems, were founded upon the customs, usages, morals and religious opinions prevalent in ancient times in Bengal and Magadha and among the people known as the Chera. There are many reasons for supposing that this is so. All these religions had their origin in Eastern India, in Bengal and Magadha and among the Cheras, that is beyond the limits of the countries with which the Aryans were closely connected. All of them inculcate the doctrine of indifference. The religion of the Vedic Aryans is a religion pre-eminently of the householder. The Ṛg-Veda does not teach indifference. The other Vedas mostly deal with rites and ceremonies which also constitute the religion of the householder. The Sūtras also treat of the same religion, one chapter of them being distinctly called "Grhya-Sūtras." The Sūtras divide the life of a Brāhmaṇa into four stages, the last being that of a Bhikṣu. But even upon the Bhikṣu indifference is not especially enjoined. All that is said is that the Bhikṣu should live by begging. But the religions of which mention has been made are all unanimous in preaching renunciation. They all inculcate the duty of forsaking home, which is full of misery, and enjoin a course of life that shall free mankind from the bondage of birth, old age and death. In achieving this goal, one has to engage in the contemplation of "Who I am, whence I came, and why I came." Some say that as a result of this contemplation, the soul exists, but it becomes *केवल* (absolute and unconnected), and is divorced from the world, arriving at a stage beyond the reach of birth, old age and death. Others say that it loses at this stage its self-consciousness (*अहंकार*) and becomes universal. It then perceives equality in all beings and becomes the seat of supreme compassion. These doctrines are not to be found in the Vedas, nor in the Brāhmaṇas nor in the Sūtras. They appertain to the

Darsana and Yoga systems and are the products of profound thinking.

Even on a superficial comparison of these religions with the customs and the religious practices of the Aryans, we find there is no harmony between them. The Aryans enjoin personal cleanliness and insist on wearing clean clothes and taking daily baths. The Jains think we should remain naked, and must neither bathe nor rub dirt or filth out of the body. Mahāvīra bore what was called the burden of filth. Many Jain ascetics were proud to assume the title *Maladhārin* in or the holder of filth. The Aryans put on a head-dress and wore slippers and the sacred thread. The Jains were bareheaded and barefooted, and managed with a single *dhoti* and *chaddar*. The Aryans always shaved, but the followers of these religions neither shaved, nor cut their hair, nor pared their nails. The Aryans, when they cut the hair, kept a tuft in the middle of the head. The Buddhists kept no such tuft, but made a clean cut. The Aryans ate twice, once in the day and once in the night. The Buddhists ate before twelve o'clock, and failing to do so on any particular day, they had to remain without food till the next day. In the night they could not take any food except milk or any other liquid food. The Aryans used to lie down on bedsteads, but the Buddhists flung themselves on the bare ground. The Aryans read and wrote Sanskrit, while the followers of these religions did their reading and writing in the respective languages of their own country.

Whence did Buddhists, Jains and the followers of the other persuasions derive these novelties? They could not have picked them up from the Aryans, for these novelties were opposed to the Aryan usages. They could not have imbibed them from the north, for there is the eternal barrier, the *Himālaya*. It could not have been possible for them to have had close connexion with people living on the north of the *Himālayas*. Neither could these novelties have travelled from the south, for there is absolutely no evidence to show that these people had even any connexion with that region. On the other hand it is more consistent with

probability to suppose that there could be no such connexion, the Vindhya range standing as a barrier. The conclusion therefore is irresistible that all these customs and usages must have been derived from the East where we find considerable traces of them still existing.

Mahāvira, the last of the Jain Tirthankars, left his home in his thirtieth year, and, after living for a few days in the Jain temple of Vaisālī, remained *incognito* for a period of twelve years. During this time he travelled to the eastern parts of the country and acquired wisdom. After an absence of twelve years he returned to Vaisālī. His predecessor Pārsvanātha was born in Benares, and after leaving his home in his thirtieth year, travelled in many parts of the country and particularly in the East. In the last part of his life, he lived in the Sametāgiri, or Pareshnath hill, where the majority of his twenty-two predecessors had also lived and died.

All these religions owe their origin to the Sāṃkhya doctrines. Following these doctrines, the Jains wanted to become Kevalas. The Buddhists say that the Jains out-sāṃkhyaed the Sāṃkhya. These Sāṃkhya doctrines do not belong to the Aryans; they had their origin in the East. Manu and others as well as some of the later Upaniṣads having approved of these doctrines, Śāṅkara attempted to refute them, as he himself distinctly said. According to Śāṅkara, the Sāṃkhya doctrines should not be accepted by the learned. He does not admit that they are to be found in the Upaniṣads. He explains away the Sāṃkhya element in them. Kapila, the author of Sāṃkhya, lived in the eastern part of the country and so did Pañcasikha. In the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata, in the verses beginning with अत्राप्युदाहरन्तो-ममितिहासं पुरातनं, there is a mention of Pañcasikha going to the court of Janaka and imparting instruction to him. I have said in many places that the Sāṃkhya system originated in the East and hence I desist from dwelling on that point any longer.

The Third Contribution.

Silk.

The third service of ancient Bengal, in advancing the civilization of the world, consisted in the manufacture of silk.

Europeans brought silkworms from China and after repeated attempts made during many centuries succeeded in building their industry. It is their impression that China was the birthplace of silk. The Chinese themselves also make the same boast. They say that in 2640 B.C. one of their queens introduced the cultivation of the mulberry plant into China. There has been, in that country, an elaborate literature on the subject of silk industry from very ancient times. The Chinese, however, never taught the industry to foreigners, but kept its secrets to themselves as their Upaniṣad or hidden science. The Japanese, with considerable difficulty, learnt from Korea the manufacture of silk in the third century A.D. Shortly after this a Chinese princess commenced its manufacture in India. In the first or second century A.D. China carried on by land an extensive silk trade with Europe. Many suppose that in India the Śāka kings of the Punjab put gold coins into extensive circulation in consequence of the silk trade. Europe commenced her silk industry long after this.

But we learn from the Artha-Sāstra of Kauṭilya that the manufacture of silk was extensively carried on in Bengal in the third or fourth century B.C. The finest silk cloths were called Patroṇā, wool of leaves. These Patroṇās used to be manufactured in three places:—Magadha, Paundra and Suvarṇakudya. The worms were reared on Nāgavṛkṣa, Likuca, Vakula, and Vaṭa or banyan or other trees. The Nāgavṛkṣa worms produced yellow silk, while those of Likuca and Vakula wheat-coloured and white stuffs respectively. The banyan-tree-worms spun silk resembling butter in colour. Of all the varieties, the finest was that manufactured in Suvarṇakudya.

The account given above has been mostly translated from Artha-Sāstra. It is to be found towards the end of the chapter which gives a list of the finest things which the Royal Treasury should contain. The chapter is entitled कोषप्रवेश्यरत्नसूची. The word “रत्न” here does not mean jewels and diamonds alone. It means what constitutes the excellence of every description of property and includes “अमर” (aloe-wood).

“सुवर्ण” (sandalwood), leather, jute-made pieces, silk cloths and cotton piece-goods. In the portion of the work translated above mention is made of Magadha, Paundra and Suvarṇakudya as the places where silk was produced. Magadha is identical with South Bihar and Paundra is North Bengal. The question is, where is Suvarṇakudya? The ancient interpreters say that Suvarṇakudya is situated near Kāmarūpa. But the silk manufactured in the neighbourhood of Kāmarūpa is produced from the castor plants. It would appear therefore that the surmise of the Tīkākāras is not correct. The name Suvarṇakudya was, I think, subsequently changed to Karṇa-Suvarṇa which includes Murshidabad and Rajmahal. The soil here being red like gold, the country was called Karṇa-Suvarṇa, Kirāṇ-Suvarṇa or Suvarṇa Kudya. Silk is still manufactured here, the stuff that is produced being excellent. Nāgavṛkṣa or Nāgakēsar trees grow here in abundance. Likuca means Mādār tree (well known in Bengal) which rears and supports the worms. Vakula and banyan trees also do the same and they are well known.

From the manner in which Kauṭilya mentions the silk piece goods of China, it would seem that he gives preference to the Bengal-made things. The Artha-Śāstra does not furnish evidence to show that the manufacture of silk was introduced into Bengal from China. The Bengal silk being independent of mulberry plants, there is no reason to suppose that Bengal borrowed the art from China. To put the matter clearly, the manufacture of silk was carried on both in Bengal and China, though it must be confessed that the requisitioning of the mulberry trees for this purpose spread from China to different parts of the world. Kauṭilya does not say that the manufacture of silk was carried on in any other part of India except Magadha and Bengal. He mentions the names of Magadha, Paundra and Suvarṇakudya only, of which the last two are situated in Bengal. After Kauṭilya's time silk was manufactured in various parts of India. It appears from a stone inscription discovered in Mandasor and set up in A.D. 476 that a number of merchants from Saurāṣṭra came there and started silk business and that

they built by subscription a large temple in honour of the Sun-god.

The facts which we have gathered from the Artha-Śāstra reflect great credit upon Bengal, if the Bengalis commenced the manufacture of silk before any other nation in the world. If, however, it be supposed that the Chinese were the first in the field, still it must be said to the credit of the Bengalis that they began the manufacture quite independently and without learning anything from the Chinese. For, as I have said, they did not, like the Chinese, utilize the mulberry plant for this purpose. They manufactured silk from plants which grow in abundance without any human effort. The silk manufactured in China is white. It has to be dyed again; but the Bengal silk did not require to be coloured, the different colours being produced by the utilization of different plants. It would be still more creditable, if this special process was her own.

The Fourth Contribution.

Linen.

The fourth glory of Bengal is cloth made of bark. Primitive people used to wear leaves. Even now in some of the tributary mahals in the jungles of Orissa, people wear leaves. Next they wore barks. They softened the barks by beating and wrapped them round their bodies like cloth and also used them as chud-ders over their shoulders. There is a grand stūpa on the Sanchi hills. It is surrounded by a railing of stone with huge gates at intervals. Each gate rests on two pillars. These pillars again are ornamented with sculptures. Among them are engravings of many bark-clad sages. From the manner in which they put on the bark, we can get an idea of how people lived by wearing bark in those days. After that the next step was to discard the bark, to extract the fibres out of it, to spin them into yarn and then to weave them into cloth. They used to spin yarn from the fibres of jute flax "dhanche," "atasi," etc. These yarns are now used in making ropes and gunny bags. In those days good cloths were made of this yarn and sometimes these cloths were exceptionally fine. The cloth manufactured from bark was

called Kṣauma, fine Kṣauma being known as Dukūla. As Kṣauma was considered sacred, it was a favourite with the people.

According to the Artha-Śāstra of Kauṭilya, this cloth was woven only in Bengal. The Bengal Dukūla was "pure, white in colour and looked very decent and soothing." The Dukūla of Pauṇḍra was darkish, but "bright like a gem." The Dukūla of Suvarṇakudya "glittered like the sun and was as brilliant as a jewel." At the end of the chapter in which Kauṭilya deals with these things he says "In this I have dealt with the Kṣauma of Kāśī and Pauṇḍra." From this we can infer that the "bark-linen" of Bengal was the best of its kind and that Dukūla was made only in Bengal. For this reason I have included it in the list of the productions of which Bengal may be proud.

I have refrained from any mention of cotton cloth, because from Cāṇakya we can see that it was not a monopoly of Bengal. There were other places, e.g. Madhurā, Aparānta, Kaliṅga, Kāśī, Vatsa and Mahiṣa which produced excellent cotton cloth. Madhura means the Pāṇḍya territory and Mahiṣa was on the south of the Narbudda and Aparānta was in the present Bombay Presidency. But long after Cāṇakya, the cotton-linen became also a distinctive glory of Bengal. A piece of Dacca muslin spread on the grass and wetted by the dew of the night was perfectly indistinguishable. A piece of this muslin could easily be passed through a ring. The weavers rose very early in the morning and went to the cotton fields with small sticks of bamboo. As soon as a bud opened, the cotton was carefully wrapped round this stick. From this cotton a very fine yarn was made, which was ultimately woven into muslin.

When Akbar conquered Bengal he agreed to take only Rs. 5,00,000 as the revenue from the Subadar; but on condition that the Subadar was to furnish all the Malda silk and Dacca muslin that would be required in the royal household in Delhi.

The Fifth Contribution.

Theatre.

The fifth glory of ancient Bengal consisted in its theatres, which were called "Prekṣā Gṛha" or "Pekhā Ghara."

Many European scholars maintain it as their opinion that there were no theatres in India in ancient times. That they were a novelty subsequently imported into this country from Greece. This is not strictly correct. But we need not quarrel with them. For what we are concerned with is only to point out what constituted our glory in the past.

We learn from the Sāstras that once upon a time there was a deadly contest between the Gods and Asuras. Indra, coming out victorious, caused a flag to be hoisted. The Gods assembled under it and made themselves merry. While doing so they suddenly began a mimic representation of the battle in which they had been engaged a short while ago, and finding that it was an amusing pastime, resolved to repeat it whenever it should be necessary to raise their flag. The Asuras protested and said "We shall not allow this. It is intended to lower us." They attempted to break up the performance which was going on, when Indra chased them with a bamboo. While the Asuras were being repeatedly struck down with the bamboo, its butt-end was bruised and it was called the "Jarjara". From that time forward the "Jarjara" became a theatrical symbol. Hence, in building a theatre-house it was necessary first of all to fix the Jarjara on the ground, and before the commencement of a play, it had to be worshipped. The six different divisions of the "Jarjara" used to be wrapped up in six different pieces of cloth. In these parts or divisions six of the celebrated Gods were supposed to reside. These Gods too had to be worshipped.

Theatre-houses were constructed in three different ways. Those intended for the Gods were 108 cubits long. They were narrow at the two ends and wide in the middle and were called "Tānas". Those meant for Kings were four-sided. They were 64 cubits long and 32 cubits broad. The stages of the ordinary gentry were in the form of an equilateral triangle, each side measuring 32 cubits. Blind, lame

or crooked men or those who were ugly or awkward were not allowed access to a place where a theatre-house was being built. Such persons could not even be wanted for their labour. Beggars and ascetics were also rigorously excluded. In building a theatre-house the Jarjara had to be fixed in the centre. Half of the house was intended for the audience and the remaining half for the actors. Some of the stages with their audience halls were built two-storied, presenting a spectacle which cannot even now be met with in many countries in Europe. In these stages the scenes of the earth were represented on the ground floor and those of the heaven on the first floor.

In the portion of a theatre-house which was intended for the audience the arrangement and distribution of seats was as follows :—

The Brāhmaṇas were accommodated in the front where the pillars were all white. The Kṣattriyas were seated behind the Brāhmaṇas; here the pillars were red. The space lying behind the Kṣattriyas was divided half and half between Vais̥yas and Śūdras, the columns being black and yellow. Each of the rows into which the seats were distributed was one cubit higher than that which stood in its immediate front. This was the plan in which the gallery was constructed. In the first floor, too, where the house was two-storied, the distribution of seats was made in the same manner. The green room and the music-hall stood just behind the stage. Behind these was the recreation room and behind this again was the place of worship.

The walls of the theatre-house were decorated with sceneries of houses, gardens, recreation rooms, mountains, river banks, etc., painted on them in glowing colours, but they contained no curtain paintings moveable at pleasure as in a modern theatre. The Jarjara was worshipped on the stage where also the Nāṇḍi was read. There were two doorways on the two sides of the stage, through which the actors entered.

The actors were formerly Brāhmaṇas. But having on several occasions lampooned the R̥ṣis, they incurred the displeasure of

the latter and became Śūdras. The Artha-Śāstra of Cāpakya mentions them only as Śūdras.

Bharata Muni gives us some account of theatres as they existed in this country in ancient times. He says there were many schools of dramaturgy and each school had its sūtra and each sūtra had its Bhāṣya or commentary, Vārtika, Nirukta, Saṃgraha and its Kārikā. These collected together formed the Bharata-Nāṭya Śāstra which was compiled probably in 200 B.C. For in this work we find simultaneous mention of the three tribes known as the Śāka, Yavana and Palhava. Nöldke, the celebrated German antiquarian, is of opinion that any work containing the names of these tribes together must have been written between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200. It must be said however that in the Bharata-Nāṭya-Śāstra the word "Pahlava" occurs in its ancient form which is "Parthav." In the Azarbaijan hills, lying on the south of the Caspian sea, a powerful tribe called Parthav or Pārada flourished between 250 B.C. and A.D. 222. Situated as they were between India on the one side and the Roman territory on the other, they often attempted to extend their dominions at the expense of both. They were formerly called "Pathrav," but in their declining days received from the Indians the appellation of "Pahlava." In the Purāṇas they are mentioned as "Pārada." If therefore the Bharata-Śāstra was written in 200 B.C. it must be supposed that many dramatic schools had existed even before that date. In Pāṇini we find mention of two Nāṭya-Sūtras, one of which was composed by Śilāli, the other by Kṛṣāśva. From the drama of Bhāṣa we learn that Vatsarāja Udayana boasted that the Śūtrakāra Bharata had been his ancestor.

The methods of dramatic representation, varying as they did with the tastes and natural characteristics of different peoples, were four in number :—Avanti, Decanese, Pāñcālī and Oḍramagadhī. The people of the Deccan liked dancing and music during a performance. They also loved to see the "acting" provided it was clever, sweet and entertaining.

The methods peculiar to the eastern parts of India was Oḍramagadhī. Bengal stood at the head of the countries in

which it prevailed. For it was from Bengal that Malach, Molla Barshak, Brahmattar, Bhārgava, Mārgava, Prāgjyotiṣa, Pulinda, Videha, Tāmralipta and other countries derived their dramatic pravṛtti (taste). The peculiarity of this method consisted in the fact that it gave preference to satires and small dramas, dialogues and sanskrit recitation. The Bengalis had a special liking for the "acting" of men and disliked that of females. Eastern Bengal showed a partiality for benedictions and auspicious sounds. Now a word about this Bengali dislike for dancing and music in ancient times. It is with no small surprise that I learn from Babu Amṛta Lal Bose, the premier playwright and actor of Bengal, that the Bengalis have still retained their national characteristic. Even now they are averse to dancing and music which however have been retained in the programme solely to please the Marwaris.

It reflects no small glory upon Bengal that 200 years before Christ she could boast of a method of dramatic representation, which was her own.

II.—The Story of a Cotton Printed Fabric from Orissa.

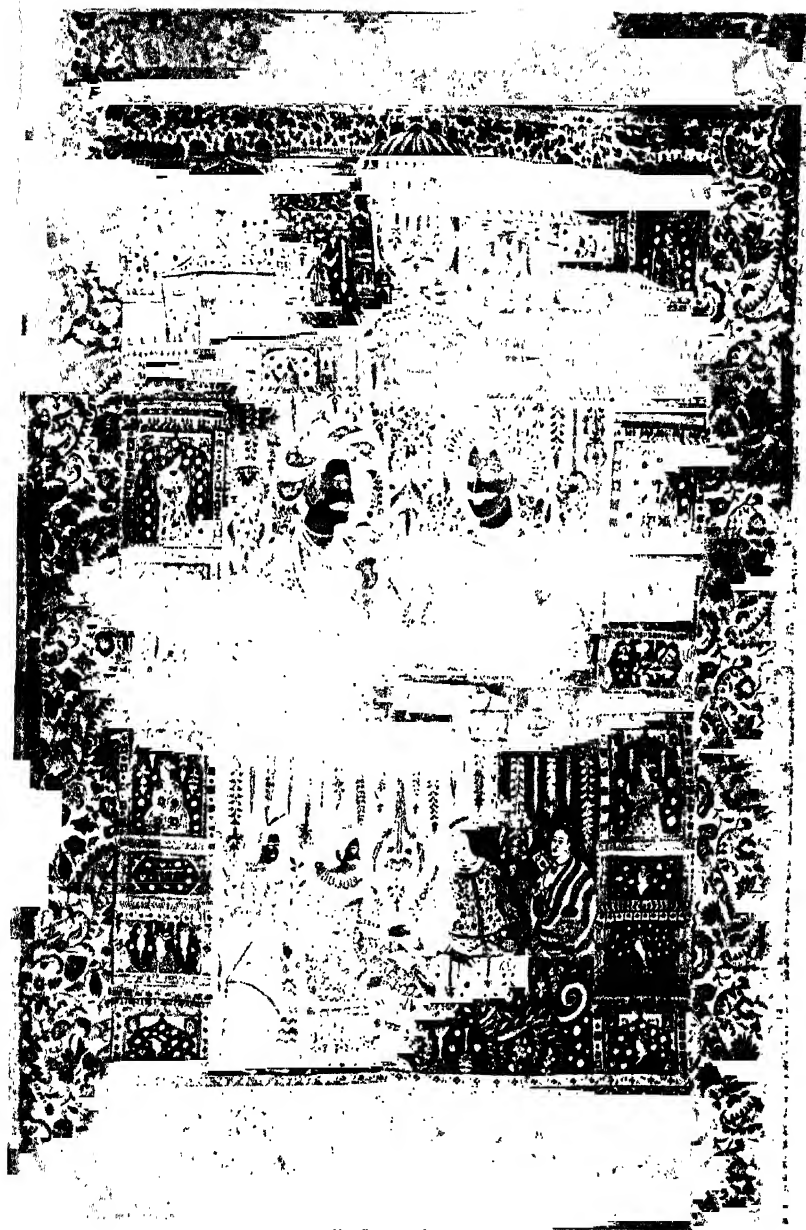
By O. C. Gangoly,

What has hitherto passed as “a piece of ancient Chinese calico” offers in the female types depicted so close a parallel to Orissan figures so familiar to us through old ancient Orissan paintings and wall cartoons, that the inference is almost irresistible that the piece of printed cotton here illustrated [Plate I] may have originally come from some part of Orissa. The fabric is supposed to have come from China and was originally reproduced in the *Kokka*, No. 115, Plate VI. And whether it is Orissan or not, there is absolutely no doubt that it is a piece of Indian cloth and the fact that it now hails from China gives it a quite unique interest. From the edict of Aśoka at Dhauli we get a glimpse of the kingdom of Kalinga, of which ancient Orissa was a part. It was an extensive, populous and civilized kingdom before the conquest of Asoka. That frequent sea voyages were made to countries outside India from the ports of Kalinga is now a recognized fact in Indian history. It is highly probable if not absolutely certain, that a section of the inhabitants of ancient Kalinga sent out a colony to Java where Indians have ever since come to be called the “Klings” [i.e. Kalingaites]. As late as the eighth century we have evidence of an intercourse of Orissa with China. This is afforded by the Japanese edition of the Chinese Tripitaka which is a translation of a portion of the Buddhist Buddhavatamsaka Sutra made by a Chinese monk named Prajñā on the basis of a manuscript sent as a present to the Chinese Emperor Te Tsung by the King of Ucha [Odra] in A. D. 795. The name of this King in the letter of presentation has been read as Subhakarā Kesari [No. 89 in Mr. Buniyu Nanjio's Catalogue; Watters *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, page 196; Puri District Gazetteer, 1908, page

26]. On the basis of this evidence, it may be possible to suppose that the printed fabric in question may have travelled to China either by the inland or the maritime route. At present the chief centres of production of printed cloths and wax-dyed palampores are at Masulipatam, Kuruppur, Ponneri, Kalahasti, Saidapet, and Sikkanyakanpet [near Kumbakonam]. There is reason to believe that the traditions of this craft in Southern India have been derived from ancient Kalinga where cloth used to be manufactured in such large quantities that Kalinga became the word for cloth in old Tamil. In minor details of the architecture represented and in the general spirit of the design the fabric in question has many interesting coincidences with a piece of modern painted cotton from Sikkanyakanpet [reproduced as Fig. 4 in the account of *The Victoria Technical Institute, Madras, 1909*]. So that it is possible that our printed fabric from China originated either in Orissa or some part of Southern India. My reasons for suggesting that the piece of cloth came from Orissa are:—(1) that the female figures represented are unmistakably Orissan in type, rather than Southern Indian and this can be easily demonstrated by comparison with figures in old Orissan paintings; (2) some of the architectural details appear to be specially characteristic of Orissa; these are the towers and *sikhara*s of the *Vimanas* which closely reproduce the towers of many Orissan temples, particularly the towers placed over the *Kirtimukhas* on the tri-foiled arches, which are characteristically Gaudian or at least Northern Indian types. The principal objection to identify the piece as Orissan is in the type of the male figures represented which rather recall the dress and headgear of the Mahrattas who occupied Orissa from A.D. 1742. If the old textile craft of Kalinga be supposed to have survived to the time of the Mahratta occupation, it is hardly possible that the craft was actually practised during the misrule, anarchy and violence which followed the tyrannical occupation of the country by the Mahrattas. It is unlikely that after 1742 any direct intercourse either by sea or land could have taken place between India and China. On the other hand, we



COTTON PRINTED FABRIC.



J. B. O. R. S., 1919.

COTTON PRINTED FABRIC.

know that during the seventeenth century the great trading and shipping centre of Coromandel coast was Masulipatam and it appears on the testimony of Hutton [*Account of the Trade of Metchlepatam*," Haklyut Society Publication V, xii.] that at this place "ships of burden were constantly employed on voyages to Arracan, Pegu, Tanassery, Malacca and the Maldivé islands" but the trade from this centre was probably confined to the places round the Bay of Bengal. If the fabric we are discussing be a product of Masulipatam or of any Southern Indian cotton centres then it may have been carried to China through the mercantile shipping of the Coromandel coast.

The architectural details preclude any date being assigned to the piece earlier than the twelfth century.¹ During the seventeenth century (A.D. 1674 to 1749) the Mahratta Rajas of Tanjore were generous patrons of the cotton decorators, the descendants of whom have still a colony at Kodali Karuppur in the Trichinopoly District, twenty miles from Kumbakonam. And a printed cotton actually worn by Raja Sivaji, the last Mahratta prince of Tanjore, is still preserved in the School of Arts collection, Madras. If the male figures pictured in the piece are taken to represent Mahrattas it may be assigned to end of the seventeenth century when the craft of cotton printing was in a flourishing condition, the chief centre of the industry being Masulipatam which probably still continued the older traditions of ancient Kalinga.

The records of the factories of the East India Company referred to by Mr. Hadaway, the distinguished Principal of the Government School of Arts, Madras [*Cotton Painting and Printing*, Madras, 1917] afford very interesting information as to the reputation that the industry had acquired in foreign countries: "In the records of 1634-36 an interesting account is given of a white wollen cloth which was sent to India, to be dyed,

¹ A Japanese writer on the basis of its colour scheme ascribes it to a time at the end of the Gen period (1280-1367 A. D.) and the beginning of the Mei period (1368-1661 A. D.) I am indebted to Mr. R. Kimura, Lecturer, Calcutta University, for the reference:

by His Majesty King Charles I. The original cloth having been lost, the factor suggests another to be stayned after the manner of fine paintings of Mesulipitam." The records also refer to trade in painted cotton with Persia. The possibilities are therefore equal that the painted piece of cotton we are discussing was produced at Masulipatam about the middle of the seventeenth century. But if we compare our fabric with an example now in the South Kensington Museum, London, attributed to Masulipatam (seventeenth century) we find it is so different in its pattern, design and technique [vide illustration II] that it is difficult to ascribe our specimen to Masulipatam. Excepting the conventional festoons hanging from the arches the two pieces have no similarity to suggest a common place of origin. The only point of contact between the two pieces lies in the representation of a secular scene; the South Kensington specimen probably commemorates the visit of some Europeans to an Indian court, probably the Muhammadan Court of Golconda or the Nizam. The Southern Indian patterns, chiefly from Kalahasti, have invariably religious subjects for their motifs and are used as covers for processional cars and as canopies for images. The cottons from Masulipatam are chiefly used for prayer mats and bed-covers and are commonly referred to as "palampores" [*pilang-posh* ? = bed-covers]. The industry at one time commanding an international trade is now rapidly declining and we all owe to Mr. Hadaway a great debt in preserving in his able monograph, referred to above, an account of the craft with representative illustration of characteristic patterns used by craftsmen.

To return to our illustration, one of the many unique features of this ancient cloth "picture" is the representation of various trees, animals and birds. The cocoanut tree suggests the locality of the scene in which the tree must have been very common. Of the small figures depicted in the niches, three figures rather similar in dress and gesture, with a sword in hand, probably represent royal retainers, or perhaps, types from contemporary police force. Of two religious mendicants depicted with

elaborate matted locks and begging wallets, the most important features are the *vaishanarite* caste marks on their body rather illegible in the reproduction. Of other types represented, the one on the left side of the Ganesha probably pictures a peasant, and the one on the right, the type of the middle class *bhadralogue* (gentlemen) of the time. The latter's *dhoti* reaching up to the ankle requires particular notice in contrast with the *ṇyāyamās* worn by the retainers. All the male figures have head-dresses of some kind or other. Of the principal male figures pictured, three types are differentiated. The figure on the extreme right seated on a quaint chair, with a female figure on his lap, is probably a prince, he wears a sort of a cap which is quite distinct from the turbans of the other male figures. The central figure with sword in hand, obviously, is some high officer of the state, probably the head of the army, referred to in the inscriptions, as the *rāhinī pati*; the two figures on either side with a lotus and a nose-gay are courtiers. The three figures wear shoes of a very peculiar pattern which have no resemblance to those worn by the Moguls or the Mahrattas. The "head of the army" certainly wears close fitting black coverings on both legs which recall stockings or braces. The figure on the extreme left, from the similarity of his turban, may be taken to be another official, probably the minister of the prince, and wears tunic and ornaments similar to the prince himself. The various patterns of *sāris* worn by the female figures are worthy of notice, as also the fact that all of them, of varying complexion, wear a sort of bodice which cover the greater portion of the arms. The data offered by the peculiarities of the dress given to the figures ought to be sufficient to identify the locality of the scene. But the present state of our knowledge is not sufficient to enable us to interpret the information conveyed to us by the painted piece of cloth. The dresses are not identical with the dresses we associate with the Mahrattas, though they have some resemblance to them. They probably represent the fashion of dressing at one time current among Hindus in the parts of the eastern coast between the Mahanadi and the Krishna which must be

taken as the locality of the scene depicted, and the date of the cloth may be roughly indicated as between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century which fits in the chronology of the Eastern Gānga Kings of Orissa. The painted cloth has preserved for us a unique mirror of a phase of the life of the time, a picture of which is not available from any other source. For it is a characteristic feature of Indian antiquities that the ancient monumental records invariably ignore the secular *vyāvahāric* life of ancient India such as the dress, habits and physical environment of the people. And from this point of view this piece of painted cotton is a quite unique historical document.

III.—Rajgir Jain Inscription.

By Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L.,

It is admitted on all hands that Rājagriha (Rājgīr) is one of the oldest cities in India and has received attention as a place of great antiquarian interest. The five hills, two of which Vaibhāra and Vipula, still retain their old names, form a girdle like the walls of a town and are crowned with small Jaina temples.

The present inscription is from one of those temples on Vipula hill built some six centuries ago. Many of the earlier temples were ruined during the political struggles and disorder in the country and the existing temples on these hills were all later on restored.

The inscription in question is engraved on two stones which are now lying in the Svetāmbara Panchāyati Jaina temple at Bihar. The temple, of which this is a panegyric, being desolate or destroyed, these stones, for some reason or other, were removed to Bihar, more than a century ago, but no notice of them was taken till now. Both the stones are of a hard jet-black kind and are of almost the same size, one measuring 2 feet 10 inches and the other 2 feet 8 inches in length, and both, 10 inches in breadth. The engraved letters are about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length. The letters of the first stone are a bit bigger in size than those in the second. The first stone contains, besides 16 lines of matter, an emblem of a lotus with 20 petals inscribed on the left-hand corner. The second stone has 17 lines, but it is damaged in the middle towards the top and the end.

The inscription is a Prasasti or eulogy of a temple built on Vipula hill and dedicated to Pārśvanātha. It is dated the sixth day of Ashāḍha in the Vikrama year 1412 corresponding to A.D. 1355. The date has been put in symbolical words and figures. The characters belong to the usual Devanāgarī

alphabet of the Jaina type. In respect of orthography, there is nothing to call for any special attention. In the dedicatory portion, recording the erection of the temple, the author has shown great erudition and has used metres in the composition of verses. There are in addition several prose passages scattered here and there in the text.

The inscription refers to Sultan Firoz Shah Toghlak, the Emperor who reigned from A.D. 1351 to A.D. 1388. In the year 1354 the Sultan raided the province of Bengal and the stones were inscribed in the following years.¹ another important reference is found therein concerning the political history of Bihar. The inscription records the régime of Malik Vayâ in Bihar as representative of the Emperor assisted by Nasiruddin. We find mention of Ilyas Khaji, known as Haji Ilyas, but better known in history as Samruddin, governing Bengal at the time (A.D. 1342-1357.) I have not yet been able to get hold of any account of Malik Vayâ or Nasiruddin in any of the available histories of Bengal, and so these names may be of some interest to students of history. In Bihar town I was informed of various traditions concerning Malik Vayâ but I could not collect any systematic account either of the man or his time. It is related that the brave Malik Vayâ died as a "Shaheed," having been killed by non-Muhammadans, that his body without head was seen on horseback coming from fort Rohtas and that he was buried on the small hill near the town of Bihar known as Qilla (fort) where a tablet with inscription in verse was placed in his memory which was removed by some executive officer about half a century ago.

For the Jaina students the inscription gives a regular list of the heads of the Khartara Gachchha, one of the divisions of Śvetambara Church, beginning with Udyatana Suri' and

¹ Text-books describe the following facts relating to the movement of the Sultan in Bengal:—"Three years (A.D. 1354) after his accession, he made an attempt to recover Bengal, and overran the whole province, but was not able to reduce his enemy until the rains setting in compelled him to retreat." Elphinstone's *History of India*, 6th edition, p. 402.

² See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, p. 248, No. 38

ending with Jina Chandra Sūri ² during whose spiritual headship the temple was erected. We further obtain information of the genealogy of the dedicator of the temple. He is described as a descendant of the minister Daliya. This Daliya is said to be one of the foremost ministers of King Bharata, the eldest son of the first Tirthankara Rishabha Deva. From another inscription which I found in the temple at Pawapuri (Bihar) it is clear that Mahatīyanas (Matlens) and those described as belonging to the family of the minister Daliya were identical. They followed the Jaina religion. These Mahatīyanas abounded in the province in those days, a few families of them are still existing in Bihar; and they did their best to preserve their sacred places during the long period of Muhammadan sovereignty when at times various sacred temples of the Hindus were polluted and demolished by the Musalmāns. It is also interesting to note in this inscription as in several other Jaina inscriptions of different dates from other parts of India, that unlike their orthodox Hindu brethren the Jainas were all along treated with sympathy and kindness and received help from the Muhammadan Government on account of their peaceful and loyal character.

² See Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 249, No. 13.

[Text.]

(FIRST S TONE.)

- (1) Symbol ॥ ओं नमः श्रीपार्श्वनाथाय ॥ अयेऽश्विपुलाभलामरमिरिस्थे य-
स्थितिस्त्रीकृतिः पञ्चश्रेणिरमाभिजामभुनगाधौशस्फटाब्धस्थितिः । पादा-
सीनद्विस्थितिः शुभफलश्रीकोत्तिपुण्योद्गमः श्रीसंघाय ददातु वांक्षितफ-
- (2) लं श्रीपार्श्वकल्पद्रुमः ॥ १ यत्र श्रीमुनिस्तुवृतस्य सुविभोगंन वृतं केवलं
सम्प्राजां [ज] रामलक्षण[जरा] नवर्दिभूमौभुजां । जज्ञे चक्रिबला-
च्युतप्रतिहरिश्चौशालिनां संभवः प्रापुः श्रेणिकभूधवादि-
- (3) भविनो वोराच जेनौ रमां ॥२ यत्राभयकुमारश्रीशालिधन्यादिमा घनाः
। सर्वाथैखिद्विषभोगसुजो जाता दिधापि हि ॥३ यत्र श्रीविपुलाभिधोवनि
धरो वंभारनामापि च श्रीनेन्द्रविह्वारभूषणधरौ पूर्वाप-
- (4) राशालिधौ । अयो लोकयुगेऽपि निश्चिन्तितो लभ्यं ब्रुवाते नृणां तीर्थं
राजगृहाभिधानमिह तत्कैः केन संस्तूयते ॥ ४ तत्र च संसारापारपारावा
रपरपारप्रापणप्रवणमहत्तमतीर्थं । श्रीराजगृहम्-
- (5) ह्यतीर्थं । गजेंद्राकारमहापोतप्रकारश्रीविपुनगिरिविपलचलाधीते ।
सकलमहोपालक्षकच नामाणिक्यनरोत्तिमं श्रीपिंजरिचरणसरोले ।
सुरचरणश्रीसाहिपेरोजे महोमनुशासति । [नदीय-]
- (6) गियोगान्मगधेषु मलिकवधोनाममंडलेष्वरममये । तद्दीपसेवकमह्ययासदुर-
होनसाहाय्येन । यो दायनिर्गुणखनिर्गुणिरङ्गभाजां पुंमौक्विकाबलि-
रलंकृत्यते सुराजां । वक्षः श्रुती अपि शिरः
- (7) सुतरां भुतारः सोयं विभाति सुवि मंत्रिदलीयवंशः ॥५ वंशेसुत्र पवि-
त्रधीः सहजपालाख्यः सुमुखः सतां जज्ञेनन्यसमानसहृणमणीशृंगारि-
तांगः-(पु?) रा । तत्सनुस्तु जनस्तुतस्त्रिहृणपालेति प्रतीतोभव-
- (8) ज्ञातस्तस्य कुले सुधांशुधवले राहाभिधानो धनी ॥ ६ तस्या[त्मा] जीजनि
च ठक्कुरमंडनाख्यः सद्धर्मकर्मविधिप्रिलजनेषु सुख्यः । निःसीमशील-
कमलादिगुणालिधाम जज्ञे गृहेत्य गृहिणो धिरदेवि नाम
- (9) ॥७ पुत्रास्तयोः समभवन् सुवने विचित्राः पंचात्र वं[त] तिष्ठतः सुगुणैः
पवित्राः । तत्रादिमाख्य इमे सहदेवकामदेवाभिधानमहाराज इति
प्रतीताः ॥८ सुयः पुनर्जयति संप्रति वरुकराजः श्रीमा-

- (10) न सुबुद्धिबलप्राधान्यदेवराजः । यास्यां जडाधिकतया चनपंकपूर्वदेशेपि धर्मरथधुर्यपदं प्रपिदे ॥ ६ प्रथममनघमाया वक्कुराजस्य जाया समजनि रतनोति स्फोतिसन्नीतिरीतिः । प्रभवति पट्टराजः सङ्ग- .
- (11) णश्रीसमाजः सुत इत इह सुखस्तत्परश्चोटराख्यः ॥ १० द्वितीया च प्रिया भाति बीधीरिति विधिप्रिया । धनसिंहादयश्चास्याः सुता बहुरमाश्रिताः ॥ ११ अजनि च दयितादा देवराजस्य राज्ञी मुखम-
- (12) निमयतारापारश्रुंगारसारा । स भवति तनुजातो धर्मसिंहीत्र ध्रुवस्तदनु च गुह्यराजः सत्कलाकैलिवर्यः ॥ १२ अपरमथ कलत्रं पद्मिनी तस्य गेहे तत उरुगुणजातः धोमराजो गजातः । प्रथम उदितपद्मः पद्म-
- (13) सिंही द्वितीयस्तदपरघटसिंहः पुत्रिका चाच्छरीति ॥ १३ ॥ इतश्च ॥ श्रीवह्ममानजिनशासनमूलकंदः पुण्यात्मनां ससुपदश्रितमुत्तमभंदः । सिंहांतसूत्ररचको मयभृत् सुधर्मनामाजनि प्रथमकोत्र युग-
- (14) प्रधानः ॥ १४ तस्यान्वये समभवद्दशपूर्विवचस्वामी मनोभवमहोघर- मेदवचः । यस्मात्परं प्रवचने प्रससार वचशाखा सुपात्रसुमनःस- फलप्रशाखा ॥ १५ तस्यामहर्निशमतीव विकासकलां चांते कु-
- (15) ने दिमलसर्वकलाविज्ञासः । उद्यो (द्वयो?) तनो गुरुरभादिजुघो यदी- ये पट्टेजनिष्ठ सुमुनिगणिवह्ममानः ॥ १६ तदनु भुवनाश्रितख्यातावदा- तगुणोत्तरः सुचरखरमाभूरिः सूरिर्बभूव जिनेश्वरः । खरतर इ-
- (16) ति ख्यातिं यस्माद्वाप गणोप्ययं परिमलकलां श्रीवं.....(उद्गोरि- व?) इगण्योवनौ ॥ १७ ततः श्रीजिनचंद्राख्यो बभूव मुनिपुंगवः । संवेग- रंगशालां यश्चकार च बभार च ॥ १८ स्तुत्वा मंत्रपदाक्षरेरवगितः श्री- [पा-]

(SECOND STONE.)

- (17) रवेचिंतामणिं].....ताकारिणं । स्थानेनन्त-
सुखोऽयं विवरणं चक्रे नवांग्यां यकैः.....तीभयदेवसूरिगुरवस्तु तः
परं जज्ञिरे ॥ १६.....
- (18) शांभनो वल्लभो.....प्रियः । यद्येयगुणगौरवं
श्रुतिपुटेन सौधोपमं निपीय शिरसोधुनापि कुर्वते न कम्तां डवं ॥ २०
तत्पदे जिहदत्तसूरिरभवदोगौत्रचूडामणिमिथ्या (ध्या ?)
- (19) तनिबद्धदर्शनं.....अंविक्तया न्यदेशि सुगुहः क्षेत्रे च
सर्वोत्तमः सेव्यः प्रययवतां सतां सुचरखज्ञानश्रिया सत्तमः २१ ततः परं
श्रीजिनचंद्रसरिर्बभूव निःसंगगुणास्तभरिः ।
- (20) चिंतामणिर्भालतले यदीयं ध्यास वसादिव भाग्यलक्ष्म्याः ॥ २२ पक्षे
लक्ष्यगते सुनाधनमपि प्रेत्यापि दुःसाधनं दृष्टांतद्विधितबंधंधुरमपि
प्रक्षोण्यदृष्टांतकं । वादेवादि गतप्रमाणमपि यैर्बाक्यं-
- (21) प्रमाणस्थितं ते वामोऽप्रवरपुंगवा जिनपतिप्रख्या बभूवुस्ततः ॥ २३ अथ
जिनेऽप्रवरस्त्रियतोऽप्रवरा दिनकरा इव गोभरभास्वराः । भुवि विबोधित-
स्त्वमलाकराः समुदिता वियति-स्थितिसुं दताः ॥ २४ जिनप्र-
- (22) बोधा हतमोहबोधा अने विरेचुर्जनितप्रबोधाः । ततः पदे प्रययपदेऽसीये
मययच्छ्रय्यां यतिधर्मधुर्याः ॥ २५ निरुंधानो गोभिः प्रकृतिजडधीनां
विलसितं भमभ्रयच्छ्योतीरसदृशकलाकेलि-
- (23) विकलः । उदीतस्तपदे प्रतिहृततमः कुग्रहमतिर्नवीनोऽसौ चंद्रो जगति
जिनचंद्रो यतिपतिः ॥ २६ प्राक्त्यं पंचमारे दधति विधिपथग्रीविलास-
प्रकारे धर्माधारे सुसार विपुलगिरिवरे मानतुंगे विद्धा-
- (24) रं । कृत्वा संस्थापनां ओप्रथमजिनपतेर्येन सौवैद्यशोभिस्त्रिचं चक्रे
जगत्वां जिनकुशलगुहस्तुपदेसावशोभि ॥ २७ बाल्येऽपि यच्च गच्छनायक-
कक्षिकांताकोक्षौ विलोक्य सरसा हृदि शारदापि । सौभाग्य-
- (25) तः सरभसं विललास सोयं जातस्ततो मुनिपतिर्जिनपद्मसूरिः ॥ २८
दृष्टापदसुविशिष्ट] निजान्यशास्त्रयाख्यानसम्यगवधाननिधानबुद्धिः । जज्ञे
ततो बु क्तिकाकलनासमानज्ञानक्रिया-
- (26) निधिविनलवियुगप्रधनः ॥ २९ तस्यासन विजयते समसरिवधैः
बन्धनद्वगंगिगणरंजकपादचर्यैः । ओजैर्नशासनविकासनभरिधामा

कामापनोदनमना जिनचन्द्रनामा ॥ ३० तत्कोपदेश-

- (27) वशतः प्रभुपाश्वर्ननाथप्रासादमुत्तमम[चो]क[रत]..... । श्रीमद्विहार-
पुरवस्थितिवच्छरानः श्रीबिह्वे सुमतिबोदरदेवराजः ॥ ३१ महेन
गुरुणा चात्र वच्छरानः सनान्ववः । प्रतिष्ठा कारयामास मंडनान्वय-
(28) मंडनः ॥ ३२ श्रीनिचन्द्रसूरीन्द्रा येषां संयमदायकाः । प्रास्वध्या-
पकास्तु श्रीजिनसंघिष[ती]रवराः ॥ ३३ कर्तारोच प्रतिष्ठायास्ते उपा-
ध्यायपुंगवाः श्रीमंतो भुवनहिताभिधाना गुरुप्रासनात् ॥ ३४ न-
(29) याचन्द्रपयोनिधिभूमिने व्रजति विक्रान्तभृदनेहसि । बहुलवर्षदिने
शुचिमासगे महामचोकरदेवमय[सु]घोः ॥ ३५ श्रीपाश्वर्ननाथजिननाथ-
सनाथमध्यः प्रासाद एव कलसध्वजमंडितो—
(30) ध्वः । निर्मापकोस्तु गुरवोच कृतप्रतिष्ठा नंदं तु संघसहिता भुवि
सुप्रतिष्ठाः ॥ ३६ श्रीमद्भिर्भुवनहिताभिधेकवर्धैः प्रशस्तिरेवात्र । कृत्वा
विविचित्रता किञ्चिता श्रीकीर्तिरिव मूर्त्ता ॥ ३७ उल्कीर्णा च भुवर्णा
ठक्कुरमा-
(31) रुद्रांगजेन पुण्यार्थं । वैज्ञानिकमुद्रावकरीरेण वीधानिधानेन ॥ ३८ इति
विक्रमसंवत् १४१२ आषाढवदि ६ दिने । श्रीखरतरगच्छशृंगारसुगुरु-
श्रीजिनसंघसुरिपटालंकारश्रीजिनेन्द्रसूरीणासुपदे-
(32) शेन । श्रीमंत्रिषंशमंडन ठ० मंडननंदनाभ्यां । श्रीभुवनहितीपाध्यायानां
पं० हरिप्रभगणि । मोदमूर्त्तिगणि । हर्षमूर्त्तिगणि । पुण्यध्यान-
गणिसहितानां पूर्व देशविहारश्रीमहातीर्थयात्रासंस्त्र-
(33) यादिमहाप्रभावनया । सकलश्रीविधिसंघसमानंदनाभ्यां । ठ० वच्छरान ।
ठ० देवराजसुद्रावकाभ्यां कारि.....स्य । श्रीपाश्वर्ननाथप्रासादस्य
प्रशस्तिः ॥ शुभं भवतु श्री[सं]घस्य ॥ छ ॥ ह

TRANSLATION.

[FIRST STONE].

1 Om, salutation to Lord Pārśvanātha. May Śrī Pārś-
 vanātha like a Kalpa Tree (said to satisfy all desires) which has
 taken its permanent root on the superior and vast mountain
 Sumeru [in case of P. (whose temple) permanently lies on the
 holy hill of Vipula] the mountain of the immortals, which
 appears beautiful with its lovely branches of leaves (in case
 P. appearing beautiful with the expanded hood of the
 Lord of serpents) at the root of which is seated Indra
 (in case of P. at whose feet is seated Indra) which
 bears excellent fruits and flowers (in case of P. bestower
 of the fruits of welfare and blossoms of prosperity and
 2 fame) grant the fruit of desire to the Jaina Community. (1)

Where (in Rājagṛiha) the venerable sage Suvrata was
 born, took initiation and attained omniscience and the em-
 perors Jaya, Rāma, Lakṣhmaṇa and Jarāsandha, who were
 Chakravartins, Baladeva, Vāsudeva and Prativāsudeva respec-
 tively and other lords of earth flourished, and where Śreṇika
 and other Kings received the wealth of Jaina teachings from
 3 Māhavīra. (2)

Where (in Rājagṛiha) Abhaya Kumāra, Śali, Dhanya
 and many others attained both material and spiritual end
 of all their desires. (3)

Where (in Rājagṛiha) the holy hills of Vipula and
 4 Vaibhara, adorned with Jaina temples lying extended in the
 East and West announce to the people that welfare in the
 two worlds is surely obtained from this place ; who do not
 speak highly of such a place of pilgrimage known by the
 name of Rājagṛiha ? (4)

There in the holy city of Rājagṛiha, the best of
 5 the sacred places, which helped the people to cross this limit-
 less ocean of the world, while Sultan Śrī Peroz Sāha
 (Emperor Firoz Shah Tughlak) the protector of the good,
 with the lotus-like feet, tinged brown by the shoots of rays,

emanating from the jewels of the turbans of all the Kings, was ruling the world from the vast peak of the holy mountain of Vipula, shaped like a great ship in the form of the lord of elephants and while by his command *Malika Faya* was the Governor in Magadha, with the help of his servant *Nasaddurdin* (Nasiruddin) the dynasty of the minister Daliya flourished best in the world—the dynasty, the successive persons of which were all mines of virtues like a string of pearls, adorned the chest, ears and head of good kings, who recognized and respected the meritorious. (5)

In olden times, in that dynasty was born *Sahaja Pála* of pure intellect, the foremost of the good and whose person was bedecked with jewels of uncommon good virtues. His son highly spoken of by the people became known by the name of *Tihuna Pála* in whose family which was as pure as the moon was born the wealthy *Râhâ*. (6)

A son was born to him named *Thâkura Maṇḍana*, the best of all men, versed in the rules of religious practices and receptacle of all the innumerable virtues and of conduct pure as lotus. He had a wife named *Thiradēvi* in his house. (7)

Five sons were born to them, all famous in the world, fathers and children and sanctified by virtues. Of them the first three were respectively known by the names of *Sahadēva*, *Kâmadeva* and *Mâharāja*. (8)

The fourth was the prosperous *Bachchharāja* and the fifth and youngest was the illustrious and intelligent *Devarāja*, both of whom earned the title of "the driver of the Chariot of Religion" even in the eastern country which is full of deep mire by reason of the excessive water there (ignorance of the people) and so difficult to drive. (9)

The first wife of *Bachchharāja* was *Ratani* who was unpossessed of any deceit and observed all good principles and customs. Of her two sons were born, the first son was *Paharāja*, in whom good qualities and prosperity united and the second went by the name of *Udharka*. (10)

His second wife was the beloved *Biddhī* favoured of the creator. *Dhanasimha* and others were her sons—all blessed with a large fortune. (11)

The first wife of *Devarāja* was *Rājī*, adorned with the jewels of virtues and whose essence was boundless love of a high order. *Dharmasimha* was the first son born of her body and after him *Gunaarāja*—both proficient in all the fine arts. (12)

He (*Devarāja*) had a second wife named *Pudminī* in his house. The first son born of her was *Khemarāja*—the repository of all good qualities, the second *Padmasimha* favoured of fortune, the third *Gadasimha* and lastly the daughter named *Acheḥharī*. (13)

Sudharmā, the leader of *Gaṇa*, the first head of the Jaina church of the present age, the root of the tree of the prospering Jaina world of *Vardhamāna*, was born, who showed the virtuous the step to salvation and who was the author of *Siddhānta Sūtras* (religious texts). (14)

In his family was born *Vajra Srāmin* versed in ten *Pūrvas* the thunderbolt for splitting the hill of Cupid from whom spreads the *Vajra-Sakhā*—the fructiferous branch adorned with the flowers of good men. (15)

In the *Chandrakula* of that line, which was always enlightened, was born the learned preceptor *Udyōtana* in whom (the culture of) all the pure and refined arts reached their culmination; (and) in whose place was born the good sage *Gaṇi Vardhamāna*. (16)

After him succeeded *Jineśvara Suri*, the savant who was indefatigable and renowned in the world and possessed of pure virtues and the knowledge of good manners and loveliness.

From whom the *Gaṇa*.....became famous as *Kharatara* in this world. (17)

Then came the preceptor *Śrī Jina Chandra* (I) the foremost of all sages who was author of *Samvega Rangaśāla* and maintained self-restraint. (18)

Having worshipped, with words of mantra, *Śrī Pā*.

SECOND STONE.

17 *rsva Chintāmaṇi*.....*Abhayadeva Sūri* flourished after, him,
who was author of the commentaries known as *Navāṅgī*, the
source of endless pleasure. (19)

18 (Then flourished) *Jina Vallabha* who does not even
now shake his head drinking, like nectar, of the excellence of
his virtues by the vessel of ears? (20)

19 In his place flourished the savant *Jinadatta*, the most
exalted of the sages, who was recommended to the people blinded
by the darkness of ignorance, by *Ambikā*, as the best of all the
preceptors in this land and worshipped even by the virtuous and
the greatest of the good by reason of the wealth of knowledge
of right conduct. (21)

20 After him flourished *Jina Chandra Sūri* (II) who had
given up all gold by the virtue of want of attachment; on
whose forehead the jewel *Chintāmaṇi* resided as if by reason of the
forehead being the abode of the goddess of fortune. (22)

21 After him flourished *Jina Pati* the best of the orators,
who meeting antipathy in argument established an easily
accomplishable thing to be difficult of accomplishment, the
well illustrated to be devoid of illustration and that to which
the adversary could cite no authority based on sound testimony.
(23)

After him flourished *Jineśvara Sūri*, the chief of the sages,
who like the sun, resplendant with the store of knowledge of
words (in the case of the sun—brilliant with the mass of rays)
blew open the lotus beds of the good people (in case of the sun—
blew open the beds of good lotuses) and who became famous (in
case of the sun—risen high up) and was lovely by reason of his
observing the best self-restraint (in the case of the sun—beautiful
by reason of his stay in the sky). (24)

22 Then in his meritorious seat flourished *Jina Prabōdha*
amongst the people, who killed the combatant of ignorance and
caused the enlightenment (of the people) and who was the fore-
most of the observers of self-restraint and whose conduct was as
pure as a jewel. (25)

23 After him, in this world, arose like the new moon, *Jina Chandra (III)* the lord of sages who, by teachings checked the wantonness of the naturally ignorant, and who always took pleasure in the full enlightenment separated from ignorance, and who destroyed the ignorance and wicked nature of the people (in case of the moon—which causes the ocean to swell up by its beams, revels in the full resplendour got rid of darkness and which destroys darkness and the evil influence of the ill stars). (26)

In his place shone the preceptor *Jina Kuśala* who caused wonder to the people with his fame in this world by establishing the image of the First Lord of the Jinas in the high and lofty temple on the best hill of Vipula, the receptacle of
24 virtue and all essence, shining even in this fifth *Āra* with the splendour of all the religious injunctions of “Vidhipatha”. (27)

After him was *Jina Padma Sūri*, the lord of sages in whose breast even the enamoured goddess of learning was fortunate enough to share brilliantly in his childhood, seeing the sport of the presiding goddess of the lord of *Gaṇi* in him. (28)

25 After him flourished *Jina Labdhi* the chief of the sage who was the successful repository of the perfect understanding of the sense of his best *Sāstras* established by the refutation of other's *Sāstras* and was the ocean of knowledge and duties which is rare in the people of the age of Kali. (29)

26 In his place flourished *Jina Chandra (IV)* bent on subjugating Cupid; the vast receptacle of the elucidation of the teachings of Jainism whose amiable manners pleased all the best observers and who was the best of all the savants. (30)

By his advice *Bachchharāja*, a resident of the city of *Srī Bihārapura* and his intelligent brother *Devarāja*, caused the
27 palace of Lord *Pārśvanātha* to be erected for bringing about prosperity. (31)

Here *Bachchharāja*, the ornament of the race of *Maṇḍana*, along with his friends and relatives caused the dedication to be made. (32)

28 The ceremony of dedication was performed by the best of the teachers named *Bhuranakita* by order of his preceptor, who

was a pupil of the savant Jina Chandra and whose teacher in respect of Śāstras was Jina Labdhi, the lord of sages. (33 & 34)

This scholar held the ceremony on the sixth day from the new moon in the month of Āshāḍha in the Vikrama era of 1412. (35)

May the erectors of this palace, in the interior of which shines the image of Lord *Pārśvanātha*, the god of Jains and which is adorned with *kalasa* ornaments and flags at the top of its dome, and the renowned preceptors be blessed in this world along with the Jaina Sangha (community). (36)

Getting this laudatory verse of wonderful metre composed by the venerable Bhuvanahita superior by reason of his purificatory bath, it was put in writing appearing as it were like the goddess of fame incarnate. (37)

And this good composition was engraved for merit by the son of *Thakkura Mālhaṅga* named Bidhā the great *Śrāvaka* and artist. (38)

Thus, in the Vikrama Samvat 1412 on the sixth day of the new moon of Āshāḍha, ends the panegyric poem of the temple of Pārśvanātha caused to be erected by the two good *Śrāvakas* *Bachchharāja* and *Devarāja*, the two sons of *Thakkura Maṇḍana* the ornament of the race of the minister with the great merit of pilgrimage earned in the course of wanderings in the eastern country of the teacher *Bhuvanahita* accompanied by *Pang* (*Panyasa*) *Hariprabha Gaṇi*, *Modamūrti Gaṇi*, *Harshamūrti Gaṇi*, and *Puṇyapradhāna Gaṇi* by the advice of *Jina Chandra Sūri* the ornament in the seat of *Jina Labdhi* the preceptor and decoration of *Kharatara Gachchha*.

May the Jaina Sangha be prosperous.....Chha.

IV.—Translation of Maharajah Kalyan Singh's Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh.

II.

By Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Husain Khan.

Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan Ali Jah.

The author has heard from trustworthy men that Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan, son of Meer Razi Khan, son of Imtiaz Khan of Persian origin was an Imperial Deewan at Patna. His father Meer Razi Khan was one of the King's Mansabdars. He possessed a *jagir* in Bengal, where he passed his life comfortably. Nawab Mahabat Jang, owing to the nobility of his birth, had Meer Kasim Khan married to Fatima Begum, daughter of Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan. He gave a large amount of money as well as valuables as her dowry. He also allowed him Rs. 200 per mensem from his treasury. During the regimes of Mahabat Jang and Nawab Serajuddaula, Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan did not enjoy a very high social position. Like other ordinary men, he was one of the courtiers of the Nawab, but was highly talented and qualified and was proficient in astrology and mathematics. From the very beginning his career looked promising. Feelings between Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan and Meeran were however strained, and Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan therefore could not show any favour to Meer Kasim in the beginning of his rule. He did not try much for the improvement of his son-in-law's position and honour. But the very fact of his being his Excellency's son-in-law was sufficient to get him the governorship of Rangpur and Purneah. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan appropriated a box of valuable jewellery belonging to Lutfunnissa, wife of Serajuddaula, at the time of his going in pursuit of him. By this means his financial position was

improved and he kept some cavalry and infantry with him with a view to maintain the dignity of his position. After the death of Meeran he used to go to his father-in-law very often. So marked and conspicuous were his services that Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan felt it his duty to entrust him with higher power and raise his social status. With a view to settle certain questions Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan had once to send Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan to the English at Calcutta. As Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan was, comparatively speaking, wiser and more prudent than his relative he fully impressed it on the minds of the English that he too was their friend. The English considered Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan to be possessed of higher administrative powers than not only Saddiq Ali Khan but also Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan having performed the work for which he was sent, came back to Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan. As there was no other man in the family of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan better fitted than Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan for responsible work, Meer Kasim was very often entrusted with missions and used to go to the English at Kasimbazar on behalf of his father-in-law. As he discharged the duties entrusted to him with great tact and ability, he was much respected both by the civil and military officers. But the increase of the military expenditure coupled with the extravagance of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan brought financial difficulties, and the laxity of supervision on his part gave room to misappropriations and defalcations which at times assumed huge proportions. The pay of the military fell in arrears and the English were also not paid their annual grant, and the total debt amounted to 3 crores and 40 lakhs of rupees. The soldiers waited for three years, and when they saw that their dues could not be realized, they all assembled before the palace and began to abuse the Nawab and would not allow him to take his food and drink. This continued for four or five days. When this news reached the English at the Kasimbazar factory they communicated it to the authorities at Calcutta and asked Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan to interfere. At the request of the

English, Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan interfered and from his own pocket paid 5 or 6 lakhs of rupees to the officers who had caused this commotion and asked them to leave the palace. Thus it was that the disturbance which might have assumed a much more threatening aspect was ended mainly through the influence of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan. But the habitual indolence and dissipation of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan were such that neither Meer Mohammad Kasim nor the soldiers could be paid from the State treasury. The English repeatedly asked Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan to pay the soldiers and to repay the amount spent by Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan. They told him point blank that Meer Mohammad Kasim had advanced the money at their request and they were therefore in honour bound to see that his money was paid off. Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan paid no attention to this remonstrance. In the meantime Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan had to go to Calcutta on some business. Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan did not know what to do under the circumstances. He knew that it was not advisable to allow Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan to go to Calcutta and yet he had no reasonable excuse to prevent him from going there. At last he gave him permission to go. On reaching Calcutta, Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan saw Mr. Vansittart Nasir-ul-mulk, Shumshudaula Bahadur and the other members of the Council, and after the exchange of the usual greetings delivered to them the message of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan. He pointed out to the Council that Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan was utterly incapable and that his habits were such that it was impossible for him to carry on the administration of the country. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan took this opportunity of dwelling, incidentally as it were, on the friendship he entertained towards the Company, the unwillingness of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan to pay up the dues of the Company and of the military as well as the advances he had made to him at the request of the English. The earnestness and pathos with which he spoke, made a profound impression on

the English, and they all, especially Nawab Shumshuddaula Bahadur, who was the ablest, felt convinced that he would be a great improvement on Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan as a Subedar, nay that he was the ablest of his relatives in matters of administration.

Nawab Shumshuddaula Bahadur had heard much against Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan, and he knew him to be incapable and totally unfit for the honourable office he held. But he was in a fix as to what to do under the circumstances, inasmuch as he felt that the task that lay before him was not of ordinary importance. He was pleased with Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan and proposed to appoint him the Prime Minister of the State and make him act as a Deputy of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan, who was to receive a fixed, regular allowance from him (Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan). He put his proposal before the other Members of the Council and sought their advice. Some Members, who were in favour of Shumshuddaula Bahadur, accepted the proposal, while Mr. Amyatt, who was next in rank to Shumshuddaula Bahadur, together with two or three other members opposed it. Mr. Ellis, Major Carnac and Mr. Johnson also differed and openly criticized the measure in the Council. The discussions made in the Council were however submitted home. But as Shumshuddaula Bahadur was supported by the majority, it was declared that Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan be appointed to act as a Naib (Deputy). Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan being pleased with the decision at once started for Murshidabad and saw Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan the next day after his arrival there. Nawab Shumshuddaula Bahadur, some other officers and Mr. Warren Hastings, the then senior officer at Kasimbazar who had gone to Calcutta at the time on being summoned there by the Governor, also left for Murshidabad with some English troops and encamped at Muradabagh. The next morning Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan started to see the Governor and having crossed the Bhagirathi reached

Muradabagh in the afternoon. Nawab Shumshuddaula Bahadur after the usual exchange of civilities informed the Nawab of the resolution passed in the Council. Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan was much annoyed at this. He pleaded not guilty, and said that as he had firmly kept all the promises made by him after Sirajuddaula's defeat, he was not prepared to make any departure from that which had been agreed upon. He was much displeased with Shumshuddaula Bahadur and left the palace without further discussion. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan was going to Shumshuddaula Bahadur when he met Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan on his way. Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan asked Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan not to go to Shumshuddaula Bahadur. In spite of the warning he received from Meer Jafar, he went straight to Shumshuddaula Bahadur and paid him a visit in his own camp. Shumshuddaula Bahadur related to him all that had passed between him and Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan. On hearing all this Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan said that all this meant evil prognostications to him as Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan was sure to have him killed. He said that they (the English) should now firmly stand by him, specially as it was not Meer Kasim alone who seemed to stand in need of their help. Nawab Shumshuddaula Bahadur replied that he could do nothing. Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan said that when he (the Governor) was powerless in the matter, he himself must be expected to be in a worse condition. As it was dinner time Nawab Shumshuddaula Bahadur requested Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan to wait till he had finished his meal. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan in a state of utter confusion was sitting with his head bent upon his knees and did not know what to do. But he did not lose heart and ever believed in the kindness of God who always helps his creatures in times of difficulty. When Nawab Shumshuddaula Bahadur had finished his dinner, Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan went to him again and informed him of the perplexity he was

in. He said that if the agreement proposed was not kept, it would mean his death. Meer Jafar was enraged at the bargain. On hearing all this Nawab Shumshuddaula Bahadur began to consider the matter in consultation with Etimaduddaula Mr. Hastings and other officials. After much discussion it was finally decided that they should carry the proposal through anyhow. They satisfied Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan and asked him to be present at Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan's palace the next day. They would themselves go to the palace at that very time. Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan in a state of suspense returned to his home and made arrangements for his safety as best as he could. He rose early the next morning and after dressing armed himself well and came out to the Dewankhana. The soldiers and officers and other employees of Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan, who were still there only on account of the promises made by Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan, came to his house and took him on an elephant to the Dar-ul-Imara of Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan. From Muradabagh the English, with their officers and army and cannons came to the Dar-ul-Imara of Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan and cautiously stood round the Dar-ul-Imara. Nawab Shumshuddaula Bahadur with his officers and Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan went inside the Dewankhana of Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan. On the motion of the English, Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan sent word to Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan who was inside his Mahal at the time, that he should either pay up the soldiers or should make over his rich *Mutasadees* to him so that he may realize from them at the point of bayonet the revenue misappropriated by them and pay up the salary of the soldiers and the dues of the English. This discussion went on till the afternoon, when Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan sent one of his confidential servants to say that he was ready to leave the Kingdom to him (Meer Kasim); that he intended to go to *Baitullah*, and that Meer Kasim may do whatever he liked and that he should pay the English and the army in the

way he thought proper. He said that if the English accepted his proposal they should manage for his voyage so that he with his family and children may go to Calcutta with the English. Nawab Shumshuddaula Bahadur informed Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan that he might go to Calcutta with him. Innumerable barges and country boats were brought over to the Dar-ul-Imara. Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan took all the valuables, jewellery, gold mohurs, silver and gold utensils and other valuable and fancy articles from the inside of his palace and such things from the outside as he could get, had boats laden with these, took the employees of the Mahal, e.g. Bano Begum and her family, some male personal attendants, some trustworthy soldiers and confidential servants and started for Calcutta in company with an Englishman. On the 10th Rabil Awal 1074 Hijrah in the Dar-ul-Imara Shumshuddaula Bahadur and other English officials of rank installed Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan on the *Masnad* of the Governorship of Bengal. He became known as "Nasir-ul-mulk Imtyaz-ud-daula Nawab Ali Jah Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan Bahadur Nusrat Jung". The rule of Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan was proclaimed in the city by beat of drum. The *rueses* (gentry) of Bengal of all classes and rank presented him with *nazars* and welcomed him as Nawab. In a week or two Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan made arrangements for payments by instalments to the soldiers and to the Company. Nawab Shumshuddaula Bahadur and other English officials returned to Calcutta with the British army and Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan devoted himself to general administration and chiefly to the finances with special reference to the defalcation made in the time of his predecessors. He paid equal attention to the army and the treasury. In the treasury he appointed as clerks some of the old *Mutasadees* of Mahabat Jang's time and as Nazirs some of his own trustworthy attendants. He showed great favour to his cousin Abu Ali Khan and conferred the title of Moizuddaula on his uncle Turab Ali Khan.

He appointed Ali Ibrahim Khan of Shaikhpurah one of the Maliks of Subah Behar. He appointed the brothers of Mohammad Zair Hosain Khan his personal attendants and entrusted to him the work of distributing the pay of the soldiers and of looking after some of his household affairs. He appointed Sita Ram the famous Mutasaddi and accountant of the late Mahabat Jang an auditor of the Dewani and an accountant in the department of the treasury from which pensions and allowances were paid. He confirmed his old Munshi and conferred upon him the title of Hafiz Israr Khan. He appointed Khwaja Gurgeen Khan, brother of Khwaja Madar, a daroga of artillery, and asked him to get English-made cannon and to employ sepoy regiments. The said Khwaja became such a great favourite of the Nawab that others began to envy his position. The Nawab took him into his confidence and his words had therefore great weight with him.

Shaikh Syed Ali, an inhabitant of Lucknow, was given the post of Bakhshi in the military department, and after his death his son Mohammad Ali and his nephews Farhat Ali and Farakat Ali were also appointed bakhshis. Mirza Shuunshuddin, who was a great humourist, was appointed to the post of *Turkhanee*.

On finding the treasury empty Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan felt much embarrassed. He did not know how he would be able to meet the excessive demands. He had to pay off the soldiers; he had to pay the dues of the Company; and with a depleted treasury he felt himself at his wit's end, specially because of his having taken the entire responsibility upon himself. He commenced the settlement of the Pargannahs of Bengal and in lieu of their dues, made over the district of Burdwan to the English and pawned some of his jewels with the members of the Council. Having arranged for paying off the Company, he devoted his attention to paying the soldiers who were in arrears. He detected the misappropriations made by the Mutasaddis and after deducting the amounts thus misappropriated he paid the balance from the treasury. Some were sent to the Pargannahs with payment orders to the local officials; while to some he

held out promises to pay with the least possible delay. This humane treatment was looked upon by the soldiers of the Nizamat as a God-sent blessing, which they had never received in the time of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan and which proved to be the real cause of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan's popularity. He made a budget of his income and expenditure and regulated his expenses accordingly.

He dispensed with luxuries and effected economy in every branch. He realized large sums from Chinni Lall and Munni Lall, the Mutasaddis of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan. It is said that he went so far as to recover forcibly money from some of the relatives and dependants of Nawab Mahabat Jang and Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan as well as from those public women who had been lavishly paid by Meeran and Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan, and credited the amounts thus realized in the state treasury. But Sakat Singh, the famous Mutasaddi of Mahabat Jang, made a list of his valuables, jewellery and cash, and submitted it to Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan. Meer Mohammad Kasim was much pleased at this, gave the man a portion of his property, and took the rest himself and raised his position. In this manner Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan improved the finances. He kept those soldiers in his service whom he considered fit and dispensed with the services of the incapable after prying up their salaries.

He now turned his attention to the refractory Zamindars. The first thing that he did in this direction was to march against Asad Khan, son of Badiuzzama. Asad Khan was a Zamindar of Birbhum and as one of the biggest Zamindars of the time in the province of Bengal also possessed an army. Mohammad Kasim defeated him, took a decent amount from him, increased the revenue of his state, and brought him to submission.

For the present the author leaves Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan engaged in his administration of Bengal and turns his attention to the affairs of Azimabad (Patna).

When the Viceroyalty of Bengal passed into the hands of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan, Major Carnac Khan Bahadur and

other British military officers, Maharajah Ram Narain, the Naib of the Bihar Province, Raja Ram Ballabh, the Mutasaddi of Siddiq Ali Khan deceased, and Maharajah Shitab Rae, the Dewan of the province of Bihar, began to advance towards the vicinity of Kayiamapur with their own armies, as well as with the armed retainers of some of the *raees* (gentry) of Azimabad (Patna) whose names the author does not recollect, with a view to oppose the combined armies of King Ali Gauhar (Shah Alam), the French Monsieur Law, and Kamgar Khan, Zamindar of Tirhut. Thus they all marched and encamped near the appointed place, when the combined forces of the King also appeared. Fighting commenced the next morning. Kamgar Khan was the first to run away from the battlefield, harassed by British artillery fire. He was followed by the King and his army. The forces of Monsieur Law also fled at last, but the French general stood firm by his cannon. When Major Carnac and other English officials saw the brave general standing at his post, they rode up to him, praised him for his admirable courage, took him into their camp, and entertained him.

Maharajah Shitab Rae, who was a sincere well-wisher of the English, then proposed that peace be concluded with the King, which was readily accepted by Rajah Ram Narain, Major Carnac and the other English officials. The English made Maharajah Shitab Rae their representative and sent him as such to the royal camp with a view to open negotiations with His Majesty. Maharajah Shitab Rae proceeded to the royal camp, and had the honour of obtaining an audience of His Majesty. He spoke with so much force and eloquence and managed the business so tactfully, that the King accepted the terms proposed by him, and handed over to him a *firman*, sealed with the royal seal, consenting to the proposals regarding the treaty. The Maharajah returned to the English camp with the royal *firman*. The English were much pleased with the Maharajah for the dexterous manner in which he had settled such a delicate question, which they considered no other Indian was capable of doing.

then. The same day the King removed his camp nearer to where the English lay. Kamgar Khan was not pleased with the news and went away to his own country. The next morning Major Carnac Khan Bahadur together with the British officials, Maharajah Ram Narain, Maharajah Ram Ballabh, Maharajah Shitab Rae Bahadur and a small retinue started for the purpose of seeing the Emperor. They were allowed to enter the royal camp and on being favoured with an audience presented *nazar*. At the request of Maharajah Shitab Rae the Emperor mounted an elephant, and in company with Major Carnac Khan Bahadur and other English military officers of high rank, started for a garden near Gaya. The Maharajah and other high officials took leave of the King and repaired to their camps. The next day the King in full state, accompanied by the Maharajah and the English with their armies, started for Azimabad and reached there by continued marches. The King and his officials were accommodated in the royal fort, where His Majesty was presented with *nazars* suited to the dignity of his exalted position. The imperial forces encamped near the tank of Meethapur. The British army and its officers accommodated themselves in their own camps at Bankipore, Maharajah Shitab Rae and Maharajah Rama Narain went to their respective residences, while Maharajah Raj Ballabh and the army of Siddiq Ali Khan remained outside the city near Bagh Jafar Khan. The next day the English officials, Maharajah Shitab Rae, Maharajah Ram Narain, Maharajah Raj Ballabh Singh and other gentry of Azimabad assembled and went to the royal fort. They got the audience of the Emperor and presented *nazars*. They requested His Majesty to ascend the ancestral throne, raised the royal umbrella over his head and in honour of the accession presented him with *nazars* for the second time. The royal accession was proclaimed by beat of drum in all the streets of Azimabad. The public were overjoyed to hear the pleasant news, which was an indication of the restoration of peace and order. It was a master-stroke of the policy of Maharajah Shitab Rae Bahadur, which in fact placed the British rule in India on a firm basis and restored

peace to the inhabitants of Bengal. As soon as Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan heard of the treaty that was made with the Emperor and of his accession to the royal throne, he started for the Subah of Bihar, through the hilly regions of Birbhum and Kharagpur. After several marches he arrived at Azimabad with a large army and encamped to the east of Bagh Jafar Khan.

Maharajah Ram Narain and Maharajah Raj Ballabh went to him with their forces. The next day Major Carnac Bahadur and other English officials went to see him and informed him of the treaty and the accession and induced him to acknowledge the King. Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan replied that they should first call Maharajah Shitab Rae Bahadur, who was the real moving spirit, and that he would reply to them after he had a talk with the Maharajah. Major Carnac Khan Bahadur therefore sent for the Maharajah Bahadur. Maharajah Shitab Rae Bahadur having put on his armour took his retinue with him and forthwith went to the English in the camp at Bagh Jafar Khan. With them he went before Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan and taking the Nawab's position into consideration he presented him a valuable *Peshkabz*. Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan too owing to his previous acquaintance with the Maharajah stood up in his honour, embraced him, accepted the *peshkabz* presented by him, and asked him to take his seat. He first expressed his great appreciation of the tact and ability with which the Maharajah had managed the whole business, and then asked him to relate to him all that had transpired in connexion with the matter. With such remarkable eloquence did the Maharajah expound the whole matter that the Nawab was immensely pleased with him. But Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan either through fear or out of mere vainglory did not consent to go to the King's fort. Maharajah Shitab Rae, however, whispered something in his ears and after a little consideration he expressed his willingness to meet the Emperor in the Factory of the English. The English and Maharajah Shitab Rae then took leave of the Nawab and went to the English Factory. They decorated the Factory very tastefully and spread

a golden *masnad* on a wooden dais, which was reserved for the Emperor. After taking His Majesty to their Factory the English asked him to take a seat on the *masnad*, while they all remained standing before him bareheaded and with folded arms. Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan mounted an elephant and proceeded to the Factory with great pomp and splendour. When he came near the Factory he dismounted. The English went forward to receive him and conducted him to His Majesty in a manner suited to his dignity. The Nawab was well versed in the etiquette of a Royal court. He made obeisance to His Majesty, and presented him with 1,001 gold mohurs, suits for his special use, and valuable jewellery placed on trays. In return the Emperor honoured the Nawab with a *khilat* of seven pieces, a garland of pearls, a *sarpech* (a piece of cloth tied round the head), an embroidered *choga* set with stones, a crest with ostrich plume, a sword with a shield, a *jhalardar paliki*, an elephant and horse and drum. The Nawab again presented *nazar* to the Emperor in token of gratitude for the high honour done to him, and after paying his loyal respects to His Majesty, retired into another room. The Nawab then called Major Carnac, Mr. Macomber, the senior officer of Azimabad, and other English officials. Negotiations regarding revenue and other affairs of the provinces of Bengal were opened through Maharajah Shitab Rae, who was the recognized agent of both the parties, and after a good deal of discussion it was settled that 24 lakhs of rupces should be annually paid to the Emperor in the shape of a present to His Majesty.

After the settlement of this business, Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan took leave of the Emperor and repaired to his camp. The Emperor also proceeded to the fort. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan also requested the Emperor to dismiss Mir Hedayat Ali Khan, father of Gholam Husain Khan, from his army as being the sole cause of the disturbance that had taken place and to direct him to go to his *jagirs*. On his arrival at the fort the Emperor dismissed Meer Hedayat Ali Khan, who had to make his way towards his *jagirs* at Husainabad.

The English officers, Maharajah Ram Narain and other persons of high rank and position used to pay their respects to the Emperor and the Nawab so long as the former remained in the fort of Azimabad. The sum which Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan had promised to pay to the Emperor was, at the instance of the English, paid to His Majesty through Maharajah Shitab Rae.

At the time when the Emperor was engaged in the province of Bihar, Nawab Muhammad Raza Quli Khan, afterwards known as Muniruddaula, was sent as a representative to Ahmad Shah Abdali. In the meantime Shujauddaula, Najeebuddaula, Ahmad Khan Bangash and other Afghans invited Ahmad Shah to come and oppose the Mahrattas who had appeared on the scene with a large and powerful army with the sole aim of setting up Biswas Rao Chief of Poona on the throne of Hindustan and in response to this invitation Ahmad Shah arrived in Delhi from Kandahar. It took Ahmad Shah nine months to crush the Mahrattas. After defeating the Mahrattas Ahmad Shah plundered some of the Indian cities and took large sums of money from Shujauddaula and the Afghans, whom he also directed, at the instance of Muhammad Raza Quli Khan Muniruddaula, to remain firm and loyal to the crown. Ahmad Shah then left Hindustan for his country.

After the departure of Ahmad Shah, Najeebuddaula placed Sultan Jeewan Bakht, the eldest son of Shah Alam, on the throne at Shahjahanabad as a deputy of his father and issued coins in the name of Shah Alam. Shujauddaula, Ahmad Khan Bangash and other Afghan Chiefs also issued coins in the name of the Emperor, had his name read out from the pulpits along with the *Khutbas* (written sermons), submitted loyal addresses of congratulations to him at Azimabad, with large and valuable presents and invited him to come to Hindustan. The Emperor offered his thanksgivings to the Almighty and proceeded from Azimabad towards the provinces governed by Shujauddaula either in the end of the month of Shawwal, or in the beginning of that of Zeekad 1170 Hijrah. Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan

and the English officials after making suitable presents to His Majesty, gave him a most loyal send-off. One of the English officials, accompanied by Maharajah Shitab Rae a small detachment of troops, went with the Emperor to a distance of three or four manzils. They then returned to Azimabad, and the Emperor proceeded onwards, till after crossing Karamnasa, he met the forces of Shujauddaula which had been posted there with a view to receive him with full military honours and give him a right loyal reception. Shujauddaula himself made due obeisance to His Majesty, presented him with *Nazars* and valuable jewellery, etc., and took him towards his Subah (province).

In the beginning of the rule of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan, Maharajah Shitab Rae had given pledge to Colonel Clive Sabitjang Bahadur, the founder of the British Empire in India, Mr. Amyatt, Captain Knox, Major Carnac Khan Bahadur and other English officials, that he would be firm in his attachment to the Company and the English had also promised to stand constantly by him. This was the mutual understanding between the English and Maharajah Shitab Rae, and it was on this understanding that the Maharajah endeavoured to settle matters with the Emperor. The tactful manner in which he concluded the peace, the vigour which characterized his action in installing the Emperor at the instance of the English, the discrimination with which he settled the affairs of Bengal, and the tact with which he finally disposed of the business of the King and conducted His Majesty from Azimabad to the province governed by Shujauddaula, made a profound impression on the English. Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan, who watched all these proceedings and saw many things for himself, also entertained a very high opinion of Maharajah Shitab Rae. He thought that if he could gain the Maharajah to his side and make him his friend and supporter, he would be of great service to him in his political and administrative work. With this object in view, His Highness one day spoke to Major Carnac Khan Bahadur that he had never seen Maharajah Shitab Rae since

his meeting him in the Imperial Darbar and that he would be very pleased to see him again. Major Carnac replied that he would see Maharajah Shitab Rae and arrange the matter. Major Carnac then took leave of the Nawab and went straight to the Maharajah. The Maharajah received Major Carnac most courteously, and in the course of conversation Major Carnac asked the Maharajah to see the Nawab. The Maharajah thought over the matter and hesitated. He frankly told Major Carnac that he had no faith in the Nawab, that he considered His Highness to be wanting in firmness and fidelity. In the Maharajah's opinion the Nawab was vainglorious and selfish in the extreme, consequently there was every probability of his turning against the English as soon as he got full power and saw his authority well established. The Maharajah was pledged to the English, and he could not therefore look to the interests of any one whose interests were not identical with theirs. It was therefore that he did not like to see the Nawab. But Major Carnac persisted and explained to the Maharajah the desirability of seeing the Nawab, chiefly because of his being in favour with most of the English officials who were bound to support his cause. Maharajah Shitab Rae, however, yielded, and consented at last, though rather reluctantly.

The Major then went home. The next day Maharajah Shitab Rae Bahadur mounted an elephant and with his retinue and attendants went to Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan. He got down at the gate, went inside on foot accompanied by some of his chosen attendants, and made his obeisance to the Nawab. The Nawab stood up to receive him and gave him a seat near his *Masnad*. After enquiring after the Maharaja's health, the Nawab complained to him of his not having seen him for a long time. The Maharajah gave a suitable reply, and apologized to His Highness for his inability to call on him. After some friendly conversation, the Nawab asked all his attendants to retire. The Maharajah also made his men retire from the place. When the Nawab and the

Maharajah were alone, the Nawab sought the help and friendship of the Maharajah. He said "Oh Maharajah! I look upon you as a staunch friend of mine and regard you more than I would my elder brother. I highly appreciate your statesmanship, your political foresight, your wisdom, your sagacity and your military genius. I have a great regard for your high character and nobility of soul. I count upon you and entertain friendly feelings towards you; and if you promise to be my constant companion and to be firm in your attachment to me, I pledge on oath and on my honour to be your sincere wellwisher, and to make you my deputy in the administration of the province of Bengal." The Maharajah, who was one of the most experienced men of his age, a keen observer of human nature and a shrewd man of business, replied "I am much obliged to your Highness for the good and kindly feelings you entertain towards me, for the hearty and enthusiastic reception you have given me, and for the hopes of prospects and the promise of help you have been kind enough to hold out to me. Your Highness must also believe that I am your sincere wellwisher. But I am afraid I do not find myself equal to the task your Highness has been kind enough to impose upon me. However, I shall think over the matter in my calmer moments and give a decisive answer when I have the honour of calling next on your Highness." The Nawab was much delighted to hear all this and after presenting *atar* and *pan* to the Maharajah bade him good-bye. The Maharajah came home, and after taking his meal sent for his attendants and related to them all that had happened at the Nawab's. They were unanimously of opinion that he should accept the proposals of the Nawab, inasmuch as his promotion to the post of deputy to the Nazim of Bengal would enhance his dignity and raise his social position considerably. The Maharajah kept silent and did not say anything one way or the other. In the afternoon he went to Major Creek. At Major Creek's he also found three more of his English friends. He related to them all that had happened at the Nawab's and sought their advice in the matter. They

congratulated him and advised him to accept the proposals made by the Nawab, as that would raise his social status and give them an assurance that their position would be safe and their interests well protected. But at the same time he should communicate to the Council at Calcutta over his signature all that the Nawab proposed to him, as it will be to his advantage if his appointment was made in consultation with the English at Calcutta and the members of the Council. They then asked him to see the Nawab, tell him that he had accepted his proposals, and then again inform them of all that he said in reply. The Maharajah said in reply, that he in reality would not wish to serve the Nawab and did not like his company. But they persisted and requested the Maharajah to see the Nawab, after which they would consider the matter. The Maharajah first kept quiet, then talked on other subjects, and at last took leave of them and came home.

At home and in his leisure hours, Maharajah Shitab Rae deliberated over the matter, and at last came to the conclusion that it would be much safe to avoid the company of the Nawab. But having regard for the advice given him by Major Creek, and his other English friends, on the fourth day he mounted an elephant and in full State proceeded towards the camp of Meer Muhammad Qasim Khan. Meer Muhammad Qasim Khan received him most cordially and enthusiastically, and seated him nearer to himself than on the previous occasion. The Nawab then ordered his men to retire from the place, and when he and the Maharajah were alone, asked the Maharajah most courteously to favour him with his definite opinion, and give him a decisive answer. The Maharajah who was adept in court business, replied that he would feel much obliged if His Highness would condescend to excuse him from taking upon himself the great responsibility with which he was to be entrusted, for even without the proposed honour he would remain equally firm and faithful to His Highness. He added that as he was most anxious to visit his native place, and see his family, whom he had left in the up-country, and whom he had not seen

for four years, he would deem it a special favour if he would be granted four months' leave to go and see his family after which he would again pay his respects to His Highness, and most gladly carry out all his instructions and orders.

The Nawab heard all this with great attention but pressed the Maharajah to accept his proposals. When the Maharajah saw that the Nawab would not yield, he asked his permission to speak out the truth without any mental reservation. The Maharajah said that as he had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the East India Company through some of the English officials, it would be proper and desirable, both in the interests of His Highness and himself, to get him into His Highness' service after consulting the English. This address of the Maharajah made an impression on the Nawab and he consented to appoint the Maharajah after getting a written permission from the English. The Nawab therefore wanted to write to the English in consultation with the Maharajah. But the Maharajah asked His Highness' permission to go home and to pay again his respects to His Highness after four or five days, when he would write in His Highness' presence. The Nawab consented. *Itar* and *pan* were then presented to the Maharajah who took leave of the Nawab, and went home. The friends and relatives of the Maharajah all approved of the idea of his accepting the service of the Nawab, but the Maharajah doubted very much the soundness of the arrangements. He had no trust or confidence in the Nawab. He considered him unprincipled, faithless and treacherous, and did not wish to have anything to do with him. In the meantime, Maharajah Ram Narayan heard of the incident and came to Maharajah Shitab Rae who gave him a hearty reception.

Maharajah Ram Narayan also advised Maharajah Shitab Rae to accept the service of the Nawab. But the Maharajah remained firm in his opinion. The fact is that he had no faith in the Nawab, who he thought was a dangerous man, sadly wanting in the firmness of character. The Maharajah told Ram Narayan point blank that he would not on any account

accept service under any one else except under the East India Company. Ram Narayan expressed his entire agreement with the Maharajah, and highly appreciated his foresighted policy and sound judgment. Maharajah Ram Narayan then asked the Maharajah as to what he would do, now that the matter had so far advanced. The Maharajah replied that he would first see Major Creek Khan Bahadur and his other English friends, inform them of what had happened, and then quietly sit at home and never see the Nawab again. Ram Narayan then took leave of the Maharajah and went home. The next morning Maharajah Shitab Rae called upon Major Creek where he met his other English friends also. He related to them all that had transpired and sought their advice. Major Creek and others said that they would be able to give definite opinion in the matter, after they had seen the letter of the Nawab to the Company. The Maharajah then came home. But soon after he was told that the Nawab was much annoyed with him on account of Maharajah Ram Narayan's coming to him. The fact is that the Nawab hated Maharajah Ram Narayan and bore grudge against him, and therefore felt much offended on hearing that he had seen Maharajah Shitab Rae. Under these circumstances the Nawab himself did not send for Maharajah Shitab Rae, with the result that there was no further meeting between them. This state of affairs greatly delighted the Maharajah who felt quite relieved. The Maharajah subsequently related all these facts to Major Creek, and his other English friends, who were unanimous in their commendation of his tact, foresight and sagacity.

V.—The Social Organization of the Pabri Bhuiyas.

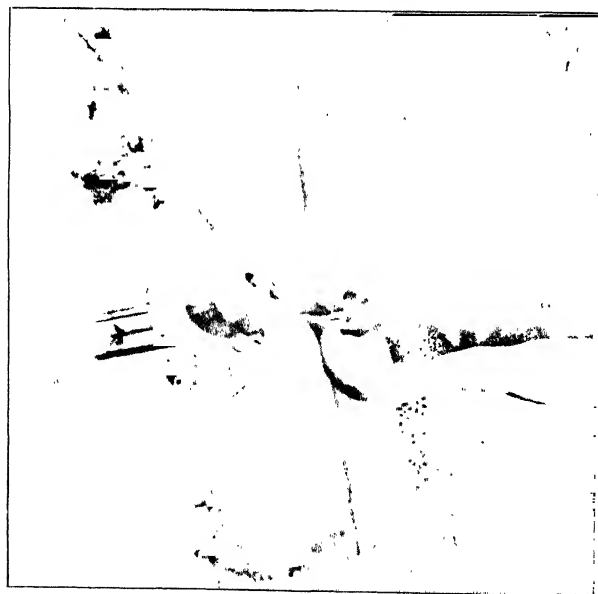
By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

The Pabri Bhūiyās are not divided into clans, sub-tribes, or castes. There is no trace amongst them of any totemic organization. The unit of their social organization is the village consisting of families supposed to be descended from a common ancestor and all regarded as “kutumbs” or agnates. In almost every village, however, one or more families of marriage-relations called “Bandhus” have settled.

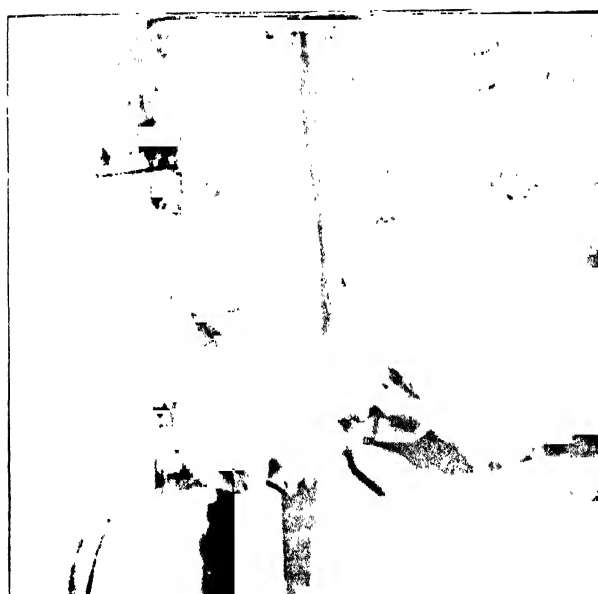
For every village there is a secular headman called the Nāek and a sacerdotal headman called the Dihuri. The rest of the villagers are called Parjās. The *Dihuri* is said to belong to the elder branch and the *Nāek* to a younger branch of the original village-family. The Dihuri is allotted some land called “Dihuri” land in the village to enable him to meet the expenses of the public *pūjas* performed for the benefit of the villagers. The Dihuri, besides having charge of the public worship of the gods, is along with the *Nāek* the leader of the villagers in all social, socio-religious and socio-political matters. The Nāek is the guide and representative of the villagers in their relations with the authorities and with the outside world generally.

These posts are both hereditary. Within a fortnight after the death of a Dihuri, the villagers assemble at the darbār, or village meeting-ground, and hand over a new bamboo basket to his eldest son, and each villager presents him with a leaf-cup filled with unhusked rice. The new Dihuri now bathes

Succession to Dihuriship.



L. A. PABRI BHUTYA.
(*Front view*).



II. PROFILE OF THE PABRI BHUTYA.
(*Fig. I*).

himself and husks the rice which he offers along with some *pālo* and frankincense to *Gāi-srī* the tutelary deity of the village. He then boils some *āruā* rice into *jāu* which he eats alone. Henceforth he is the recognized Dihuri of the village. There is no bar to a bachelor being appointed a Dihuri.

When a Dihuri dies without a male issue, the adult males of the village assemble at the *darbār* and a new Election of a successor to a sonless Dihuri. Dihuri is elected by the following method. The *darbār*-ground is cleaned with cowdung and water. Every villager present brings a handful of unhusked rice. All this rice is taken and husked by an elderly man of the village after he has bathed and has washed the basket and winnowing-fan to be used in husking the rice. The rice thus husked is now placed before the assembled villagers. Any one of them who desires to do so, takes up some grains of rice in the joined palms of his hands and drops them on the ground naming some villager whom he considers suitable for the post. The grains so dropped are called *pūnji*s and the *pūnji*s dropped by different men are all dropped close to one another. All the *pūnji*s thus placed on the ground are then covered over with a new earthen vessel. The villagers then disperse. Next morning, the villagers after bathing themselves assemble there to ascertain which *pūnji* has remained entirely separate from others so that not a grain has got mixed up with the *pūnji*s on any side of it. The man in whose name such a *pūnji* was dropped is declared to be the elected Dihuri. Some elderly man now hands over the basket containing rice and flowers to the Dihuri thus elected, and says, "From to-day you become our Dihuri." He takes the basket home and keeps it suspended in a *sika* so that none else may touch it.

The *Nāek* and the Dihuri preside over the panchāyat or assembly of village elders by which ordinary offences and disputes are decided, and the *Nāek* and the Dihuri pass orders and sentences in accordance with ancient tribal custom. Formerly, it is said, a murderer caught in the act might be killed while engaged in the murder;

The Village Panchayat and the judicial functions of the Dihuri and the Nāek.

otherwise he might be given a severe beating which might cause any injury short of death; and a man proved to have stolen another's goods was punished by making him remain seated for three days with his legs buried in holes made in the ground. A husband catching his wife and her paramour in the act of adultery was entitled to cut down both of them with his axe. But if they succeeded in separating and going a few steps apart they had to be handed over to the authorities for punishment. In such a case the woman is made over to the adulterer if he is not a *kutumb* of the woman's father; otherwise she is made over to her parents. An erring female is not punished unless she has gone wrong with a man of another caste, in which case she is excommunicated. Disputes about partition or inheritance of property are decided according to customary tribal law by the village panchāyat under the guidance of the *Nāek* and the *Dihuri*. When important questions arise which they cannot decide, or when their decision is not accepted, the matter may be referred to the Panchāyat of the Bār, to convene which, however, the disputing party has to provide a costly feast.

The orthodox methods employed by a Pabri Panchāyat in deciding disputes or finding out a culprit where there is no evidence are the use of oaths and ordeals. Oaths are taken by touching the earth and saying,—“May I be one with the earth (*māṭiba*)—(i.e. die and rot in the earth)—if my statement (or my claim, as the case may be) is not true or correct”; by placing the hands on the head of one's son and saying, “May my line (*banṣa*) be extinct if my statement (or my claim, as the case may be) is not correct”; or by invoking the gods by name and saying, “If I am guilty, may I be destroyed by you, ye gods!”. A more elaborate method is the following:—A portion of the *darbār* or open space in front of the *Mandā-ghar* of the village is cleaned with cowdung and water, and on the spot thus cleaned some *benuā-māṭi* or earth from an anthill (representing the Earth), a tiger's skin, and a twig of the *kunu* plant are placed,

The village Dihuri now invokes *Dharam-Deotā* or the Supreme God, and offers *āruā* rice to Him. The deponent then touches the ground and says,—“If I be guilty, may my line be extinct or my chest (*chhātī*) burst open.”

One or other of three different modes of ordeal are employed to find out the truth or otherwise of an accusation made against a man or a woman of being a *Pāngni* or sorcerer or witch. These are the cowdung (*Gobar-hāri*) test; the iron test, and the ladder (*Bāro-ādḡā*) test. The *Gobar-hāri* test is as follows:—A coin is placed in a vessel full of boiling hot cowdung. The person accused of being a *Pāngni* is asked to dip his right hand into the boiling cowdung and take out the coin. If the hand remains uninjured in the process, the accused is declared innocent. If the hand is burnt or scalded the person is declared to be a *Pāngni*. In the *iron* test, the accused person has to take up a pound's weight of red-hot iron three times on his right hand. If the hand is not scalded the person is declared innocent; otherwise he is held guilty. The *Bāro-ādḡā* test is the following:—A ladder of twelve rungs is set up and on the ground below the ladder a small circle (*maṇḍal*) is inscribed. Inside the circle the Dihuri makes offerings of *āruā* rice to *Dharam Deotā*. The accused gets up on the topmost rung of the ladder on which a cup of milk, a mango twig, and some *āruā* rice have been placed. The accused is required to drop these one after another into the circle. If these all fall inside the circle, the accused is declared innocent. If anything—even a single grain of rice—falls outside the circle he is declared guilty. The punishment for a *Pāngni* is expulsion from the village.

When a Pabri of the village is found guilty of having killed either intentionally, or through neglect, or by accident, a cow, calf, or ox, or of having kept a non-Pabri female, the Nāek and the Dihuri pass the sentence of excommunication on him and fix the quantity of rice, goats, fowls, salt and other requisites of a feast which must be supplied for the Panchāyat of the *Bār* organization (to be presently described),

Other functions of the Dihuri and the Nāek.

when they first meet, for the purpose of restoring him to the community ; and they also inform the offender that he has to pay a fine of twelve rupees to the *Bār* to be spent as follows :— One rupee each to be paid to the Bhāṇḍārī, and the Pābri Behārā of the *Bār*, a rupee or half a rupee to be paid to the Dhōbā Behārā, and the balance to meet the expenses of a second feast when the Panchāyat break up. When hunting expeditions (*Pārdhi*) are contemplated by the villagers—as is usually done between the months of Chait and Jaiṣṭha (March to May)—the Dihuri fixes the date and notifies it to the villagers. On the appointed day he performs a *pūjā* of the village gods in the morning. Then the Dihuri leads the people to the forests. Arriving at a cross-road on the borders of the village, the hunters offer *āruā* rice, *māruā*, molasses and *frankincense* to *Gāi-srī* and also take a vow of offering her a fowl, if deer or *sambhar* or wild bear or other game is bagged. They also throw handfuls of rice upwards towards the sky for Dharam-Deotā (the Sun-god or the Supreme God) and downwards for Bāsuki-mātā or Basu-mati (the Earth-goddess). The party return home in the evening.

The Dihuri and the Nāek also allot to different men of the village the duties they have to perform when the Rājā or his officials or other important personages visit the village ; they select persons who are to carry burdens or palanquins, etc., for such visitors ; and collect contributions in money or in kind for supplying provisions to honoured guests of the village and to meet other public expenses. The Dihuri and the Nāek have also a general supervision over the bachelors' dormitory although, within the dormitory itself, two of the older boys act as leaders, decide upon the order in which they will visit different *kūtūmb* villages to dance with the maidens of such villages, punish the younger boys for neglect of their duties, such as cleaning the dormitory, bringing fuel from the jungle, obeying their elders, attending to the village guests and fagging for the elder boys of the village by running their errands and shampooing their legs, and so forth. When any member of the dormitory goes wrong with a *kūtūmb* (agnatic) girl, he is expelled from the

dormitory. In many villages there still exist common dormitories for the maidens of the village. The elder girls instruct the younger girls in the different styles of dancing. The girls weave mats for the bachelors' dormitory as well as for their own. As the girls supply the mats on which the boys sleep in their dormitories, so the boys in their turn supply fuel for the girls' dormitory. Logs of wood are kept burning the whole night during the cold months.

When owing to some common tribal grievance against the authorities a general rising of the tribe is decided upon at a meeting of the leaders convened by some prominent Bhūiyā leader, such as the Garh Nāek of Kuīra or the Sāont of Kolāiposh, and by way of a secret signal or message sesamun seeds are sent round to the headmen of the different Bhūiyā villages indicating the number of combatants each village has to supply, it is the Dihuri and the Nāek who are to decide which of the young men must go to fight; and out they go with alacrity armed with their bows, arrows, and axes under the leadership of their Nāek.

Thus the Pabri village community is bound together not only by a bond of blood-relationship and common worship of the village deities, but it is also an economic, social and quasi-political organization.

Superimposed on this village organization is the larger organization of the Bār. The villages of the Pabri Parganā are grouped for socio-political purposes into several *Bārs*, each "bār" consisting of from three to twelve or more villages. Thus, villages Kunu, Kundra and Derura form what is called a *Tin-Khaṇḍa Bār*; villages Siligura, Bhutra, Losi, Batanga, Keusara, Simna and Remta form a *Sāt-khaṇḍa Bār* known as the *Parbat-khaṇḍa Bār*; villages Nawagaon, Kalakudar, Talbahala, Raikura and Barsawa form a *Pāñch-khaṇḍa Bār* known as the *Dodkōn-Bār*; villages Usgura, Phuljhar, Soso, Palamunḍā, Laghirā, Giniā, and a few others together form a Bār known as the *Battish-padā-bār*. For purposes of social

government, the elders of the different villages constituting the Bār meet in *Bār-Panchāyats*. The objects for which the Panchāyats of a Bār now ordinarily meet are to take back into the community a man who was excommunicated by his village Panchāyat either for having kept a female of a tribe or caste other than Bhūiyā or Goūr, or for having killed a cow, calf, or ox,—and to divide the property of a heirless Pābri of the Bār; and to incorporate into the Pābri community a man of the Goūr caste or a non-Pābri Bhūiyā of a class at whose hands Pābri Bhūiyās may drink water when such Goūr or Bhūiyā has kept a Pābri female.

Every Bār has the following public servants : A Pābri male of one of the villages of the Bār is appointed **Public functionaries of the Bār and their functions.** its *Bhāṇḍāri* or barber who is required to shave a social offender when he is ceremonially taken back to the community or to shave a non-Pābri when the Panchāyat of the Bār ceremonially incorporates him into the Pābri community. The *Bhāṇḍāri* also acts as a messenger to notify the date of a meeting of the Panchāyat of the Bār and to summon the people to attend it. Another Pābri of one of the villages of the Bār is appointed as the *Behārā* of the Bār. His duty is to perform the purifactory rite of sprinkling from a wooden *mān* or measure a little cowdung diluted in cow's urine on the head of a social offender when he is taken back into the community or on the head of non-Pābris who are taken into the Pābri community. Besides this Bhūiyā *Behārā*, a *Dhobā* or man of the washerman caste living in some village of the Bār is also appointed as the *Dhobā Behārā* of the Bār. His duty is to wash the clothes of a person or family when they are taken back or incorporated into the Pābri community, and also the clothes of a family when they undergo ceremonial purification after a death or birth in the village. Ordinarily a Pābri family wash their own clothes; and at birth, death or marriage and also on ordinary occasions, the functions of a barber are performed by a fellow tribesman living in the village. For their services on each occasion, the

Bhāṇḍāri is given a cloth or a rupee in cash, the Bhūiyā Behārā gets a rupee or so and the Dhobā Behārā gets from eight annas to a rupee.

The method of convening a meeting of the Panchāyāt of the **Procedure of** Bār and the procedure followed by the **the Bār Pan-** chāyat are as follows :—When the social out-
chayat. caste informs the Dihuri and Nāek of his village that he has collected the amount necessary for restoration to the community, the Dihuri and Nāek summons the Bhāṇḍāri of the Bār and, through him, sends a message to the different villages of the Bār that such and such a date has been fixed for the *udhrā*, or ceremonial restoration of such and such an outcaste to the community. Sometimes men of some neighbouring Bārs are also invited. On the evening preceding the appointed day, as many Pābris as possible assemble at the village of the outcaste. On their arrival, the women of the village come with jugs of water and wash their feet. The guests each present one or two pice to the women. A feast is provided for the assembled guests at the cost of the outcaste. Next morning when the Panchāyat is assembled the Bhāṇḍāri shaves the outcaste and pares his nails, and the Bhūiyā Behārā of the Bār by way of purification sprinkles a little cow's urine mixed with a little cowdung on his head. The same mixture will also be sprinkled over his huts. The man thus restored to the community takes a bath and, by way of a token of his restoration to caste, touches the heap of boiled rice which is presently served to the assembled men of the Bār, with whom he then sits down to dinner. When they have finished their meal, they go to some stream or pool to bathe. People from adjoining villages return home the same evening, others go back next morning. The same method of purification is adopted to purify and incorporate into the Pābri community a Goūr female who has been kept by a Pābri man, or a man of the Goūr caste who has kept a Pābri female.

The Bār Panchāyat is invited in the same manner to a village where a Pābri Bhūiyā has died without any son or nephew or

brother or other male heir. The assembled elders of the Bār divide the deceased's property into halves, one half of which is made over to his widow and daughters (if any), and the other half is taken by the Panchāyat who sell all the effects except rice; and the rice, if any, and the sale proceeds of the other property go to provide a feast for them.

Besides these social functions, the Bār Panchāyat also assemble to devise means for the redress of any public grievance of the Bār or of the tribe, and take such measures as may be decided upon at such meeting.

A religious bond is supplied to the Bārs by the common worship of *Pāṭs*. A *Pāṭ* is generally some prominent hill or mountain in the neighbourhood, or, rather, the spirit of such hill or mountain, which is regarded as the tutelary deity of the Bār in the same way as its *Gāi-srī* is the presiding deity of a village. Thus the *Bāro-khaṇḍa Bār* including villages *Tāsārā*, *Kēosārā*, *Bhutrā*, *Rāotā*, *Simua*, *Barābhūi*, *Julu*, *Fuljhar*, etc., worship *Bhairi-Pāṭ*. Among other *pāṭs* may be mentioned *Khāṇḍā-pāṭ*, *Jaṭea Paṭ*, *Belmarā-Pāṭ*, *Jāori-Pāṭ* and many others. The name *Pāṭ* is not however confined to mountains alone. The *Brāhmaṇi* river, or rather its spirit, is worshipped under the name of *Brāhmaṇi Pāṭ*. For purposes of worship *Pāṭs* are represented by stones.

Such are the general features of the social organization of the Bhūiyās of the Pābri Parganā. The **Kuirā** Bhūiyās of Kuirā Parganā follow exactly the same customs and methods in their village organization and village administration. But instead of different Bārs, the whole of the parganā consisting of twenty-nine villages form a single Bār, of which the Garh-Næk of Kuirā is the leader and *Simesvari Pāṭ* the presiding deity.

The more advanced Hinduized Bhūiyās of the lowlands who call themselves Pānch-saiā Bhūiyās and also **Bhūiyas of the lowlands.** *Khāṇḍit* (Swordsmen) Bhūiyās (because they form the militia of the state and have the

sword for their *Santak* or emblem) ¹ have a larger social and socio-political organization, although their village organization agrees on all points with that of the Pābris and the Kuirā Bhūiyās except in the nomenclature of the village headmen. Bhūiyās of the lowlands call their village priest the “ Kālo ” ; and as for the secular headman of a village, the name “ Nāek ” is still retained in some villages and has been changed for “ Ganzhu ” in others. Some of these Hinduized Bhūiyā families have also borrowed from the Hindus such titles, or *Sangyās*, as Sāhu, Phōt-kār, Stuko, Majhi, Ohdār, Behārā, Gartia and Pradhān. These titles however do not indicate any special function in the tribal organization. With their broadened outlook on society, these Hinduized Bhūiyās of the lowlands have come to organize a larger tribal association formed of most of the Hinduized Bhūiyās not only of the Bonāi State but also of the adjoining states of Gāngpur, Bāmra, Kēojhar, etc. Once in two or three years the elders of the tribe all meet in panchāyat at the invitation of some important personage of the tribe. Such a tribal panchāyat of the Pāch-sai-gharia Bhūiyās is known as a *Gaddi*. Information is sent to the headmen of different parganās and villages of the day and place appointed for the meeting. Those who can afford to meet the expenses also invite other sections of the Bhūiyās. Such are the Dasgharia, Pāchāsī Gharia and the Panara-sāi Bhūiyās (mostly found in Gāngpur State), the Kāṭiari Bhūiyās of Kēojhar, Sāontia Bhūiyās of Bonāi and Kēojhar, etc.

The Pāch-saiā-gharia Bhūiyās divide the Bhūiyās into three main sections. They call themselves the Pāch-saiā Bhūiyās ; the unmixed Non-Hinduized Bhūiyās such as the Pābris of Bonāi and Keojhar,—the Hākē, Dākē, Merhā-tāri, Naksia, Rāutāri, etc.,—as Deś-Bhūiyās or Bathua Bhūiyās ; and the mixed Bhūiyās such as the Rājkuṇi, etc., as Birdiās.

¹ The Bhūiyās of the Kuira Paragana have also the sword (Khanda) for their emblem and also call themselves Khandāits. The Pābri Bhūiyās have for their emblem the *bakīnga* or carrying load as they have to supply load-carriers to the Rājā when required.

At a Gāddi meeting, matters of common interest to the tribe are discussed, and complaints of grave social offences committed by any member of the Pāch-sai-ghariās are heard, discussed and decided and social outcastes are restored to caste. No one in particular presides at the meeting, but all meet as equals, although the most intelligent amongst the elderly men take the lead in the discussions. On the day when the Bhūiyās from different parts of the country assemble, those of each separate locality, such as Bonāi Bhūiyās, are accommodated in separate *khāndās* (literally, compartments or enclosures) to cook and eat their meals. The provisions are supplied by the man who convenes the meeting. When the discussions are finished and it is decided (as is always done at such *Gāddi* meetings) to take back into the tribe one or more persons who had been outcasted for some social offence, such as killing a bullock through negligence or otherwise, a grand feast is given at the cost of such person or persons to all the assembled Bhūiyās. A big dinner for all the Pāch-sai-ghariā Bhūiyās is made ready, the cooking being done not at different *khāndās* as heretofore but at one big *khāndā* or spot called the *Mahā-khānda* (or great *khāndā*). The other sections of the Bhūiyās are provided with rations which they cook each in their own separate *khāndā*. When the dinner for the Pāch-sai-ghariās is ready, the convener of the assembly requests them to sit down to dinner. The eldest of the Sāonts (social heads of certain *parganās*), Nāeks and Kālos are seated side by side. When all have taken their seats and dinner is served to them, the eldest Sāont, Nāek and Kālō, first eat a morsel or two and then some one asks them, "Have you begun?" On their answering in the affirmative, others begin eating. The person restored to the tribe dines with the rest as a token of his restoration.

Although all the Pābri Bhūiyās of Pābri *Parganā*, Kuīrā *Parganā*¹ and Kēojhar do not yet meet in such associations

¹ It is worth noticing that the more or less Hinduized portion of the Bhūiyās of Kuīrā *Parganā* now disown the name of Pābri and call themselves "Panch Saia Des", Bhūiyās in imitation of the Panch Saia Gharīa Bhūiyās. The addition of the word "Des" shows that they really belong to the Pābri section of Bhūiyās, the name "Des Bhūiyā" being applied by the Pāch Sai Gharīas to the Pābri.

for social purposes as the Pāch-sai-ghariās do in their *Gaddis*, for the last twenty years or so they have begun to associate together in a common religious festival once in the year in the month of September or October and already at such meetings of the elders of all the Pābri villages certain topics of social interest have begun to be informally considered. In fact, this religious festival of the Pābris is of great social interest as it helps in bringing together not only all the Bhūiyās of Pābri Parganā but also other sections of the Bhūiyās as well as other castes, high and low, of the Bonāi State. Even the Hindu Rājā of the Bonāi State takes a prominent part in this festival which is known as the festival of the deity Kont Kuāri. The name Kont Kuāri is applied to a roundish fragment of some old metal object which was dug up by some cultivator and taken charge of by the Pābri Dihuri of village Jolo near the Khandādhār waterfall about sixteen miles from Bonāigarh. The Dihuri keeps the so-called image in some secret spot during the whole of the year and brings it out only on the occasion of this festival which has come to be a tribal festival of the Pābris and a territorial festival for all the castes and tribes of the Bonāi State. Pābri Bhūiyās even from Kēojhar may be seen attending the festival. As I had the opportunity of witnessing the festival and accompanying the procession, I shall proceed to give an account of this interesting religious festival.

On some day after the eighth day of the new moon (*Kṛiṣṇā-ṣṭamī*) and before the following new moon (*amābasyā*) day the Dihuri of village Jolo comes to the Rājā's *garh* at Bonāi when the Rājā takes out from his Bhāṇḍār (store-room) one earthen vessel filled with unhusked rice of a whitish colour, seven pieces of turmeric, and a little vermilion, and hands these over to the Dihuri. With these the Dihuri returns home. On the following Mahālayā, or new moon day, the Dihuri goes to the hiding-place of the image, and after making the customary offerings (including the rice, turmeric and vermilion received from the Rājā), carries the image in a small bamboo box to his own house at Jolo, where the headmen of several Pābri villages

assemble. The next day after bathing the image in water, and making offerings of *āruā* rice, fowls, molasses, etc., to the deity, the Dihuri of Jolo carries the image or symbol of Kontu Kuāri in the bamboo-box in procession accompanied by the headmen of different Pābri Bhūiyā villages and followed by a band of musicians with their drums and pipes and flutes. That afternoon on their arrival at village Haldikudar—a Pāch-sai-ghariā Bhūiyā village—the Bhūiyā Gāotia or headmen of the village anoints the image with turmeric paste and offers sacrifices to it. Then the image is taken to the house of every other villager who may wish to make sacrifices and offerings to the deity. Thence the party proceed to village Khūtḡāo and halt that night at the house of the Jagirdār or landlord of that place known under the title of the Mahāpātra who is a Hinduized Gond. The bamboo-box containing the image of Kontu Kuāri is hung up inside the house.

Next morning the Gond Mahāpātra sacrifices a goat to Kontu Kuāri. From his house the image is taken by the Dihuri of Jolo to other houses in village Khūtḡāo, and at every house where it is taken either a goat or a fowl is sacrificed to the deity and other offerings are made. As the deity may not spend more than one night at any one village, the party proceed that day to village Bichnāpoit where they halt for the night at the public house known as *derā-ghar*. Next morning the deity is taken first to the house of the Nāek of the village who is a Gond and thence to other houses of the village where the presence of the deity is sought. At every house either a goat or one or more fowls are sacrificed to the deity and other offerings are made. Thence the party proceed to village Pūigāo and there they halt for the night at the public *derā-ghar*.

Next morning the deity is taken first to the house of the Gond headman (Nāek) of the village and then to the other houses of which the owners request the Dihuri to take it, and receives sacrifices and offerings at each such house. Towards evening they cross the river Brāhmanī and reach village Jokaikela

where they halt for the night at the house of the Kālo or village priest who is a Pāch-sa -ghariā Bhūiyā.

Next morning, after sacrifices are offered at the Kālō's house, the deity is taken to other houses in the village where offerings and sacrifices are made to the deity. In the evening the party proceed to village Jōmkāi and halt at the *Maṇḍa-ghar* for the night. Next morning after pūjā offerings and sacrifices are made to Konto Kuāri at the house of the Gāontīā or headman of the village who is a man of the Kolitā caste, the image is taken to the house of different villagers who offer sacrifices to the deity. Thence the party proceed to village Obodiyā, and if the *ashtāmi tithi* (eighth day of the moon) has already begun they proceed straight on towards the Rājā's palace at Bonāigarh. If however the eighth day of the moon falls on the next day, they halt for the night at Obodiyā in the compound of the Rājā's *Khāmār* or threshing floor where next morning a goat is sacrificed to the deity and then the image is taken to different houses in the village and at each such house sacrifices and offerings are made to the deity. Thence at sunset the party start in procession and at about nine in the evening reach village Kontmel about a mile from Bonāigarh. By the roadside at village Kontmel an earthen altar has been prepared for sacrifices to the deity, and a canopy has been set up and lamps kept burning and carpets spread under it and seats placed for the Rājā and members of his family as also for other respectable visitors.

On the party arriving there, the Rājā and his party receive them. The Dihuri of Jolo comes up to the Rājā with the image; salutes him, and questions him about the health and welfare, first of himself, then of his *Rāṇī*, then of his children, then of his servants, then of his elephants, then of his horses, and last of all about the welfare of the land (*Prithvi* or Earth). The Rājā answers "yes" to every question; and then in his turn asks the Dihuri about the welfare of himself and his children and then of the Pābris generally, and to every question the Dihuri replies in the affirmative. Then the Dihuri

places the image on a new cloth which the Rājā has in his hands for the purpose. The Rājā then places it on a small silver throne which he keeps in readiness to receive the deity. While the Dihuri hands over the image to the Rājā, he addresses the Rājā, saying "Here is your deity (Deota); we kept it in the hills. Examine and see if the image is broken or intact." The Rājā says, "It is all right", and hands it over to the Amāt, a man of the Sudh caste who officiates as the priest of some of the Rājā's family deities. The Sudh priest or Amāt puts down the image on the mud-altar prepared for the purpose where the Amāt worships the deity with offerings supplied by the Rājā, and sacrifices two goats supplied by the Rājā, both reddish grey in colour and both with horns equal in size and both of the same height. The two goats are made to stand side by side and both are slain with the same stroke of the sword dealt at their joined necks by the practised hand of the Barik. After these offerings and sacrifices from the Rājā's place, a number of fowls and goats brought by men of surrounding villages are offered to the deity and offerings of pumpkins, muṛki (pyramid shaped cakes made of fried rice or lawa and molasses) and sweets are brought by the people and offered to the deity by the Amāt. Everyone bringing the offerings and sacrifices does so to receive some desired boon from the deity, and it is asserted that the boons mentally prayed for at the time by the persons who bring the offerings are generally granted. The image is next taken to a cross-road at Konjuli, a basti or quarter of the town of Bonāi; and there again several persons of different castes bring offerings and sacrifices which are offered to the deity by the Amāt. The image is then carried in procession successively to the house of a man of the Surī (liquor seller) caste and that of a man of the Kāsārī (brazier) caste, where special offerings are made to the deity. Then the image is taken successively to the seats of the deities Nilji and Kumārī where sacrifices are offered. Finally the image is ceremonially installed in a shed prepared for the purpose in the Rājā's palace compound where sacrifices are again offered.

The following morning, which is the ninth day of the moon, after sacrifices of a sheep and a goat, the deity is carried by the Rājā himself into the inner apartments of his palace, where the members of his family make offerings of sweetmeats to Konto Kuāri ; and finally on an inner veranda of the palace the Amāt bathes the image in liquor and makes offerings of rice, sweets, etc., and sacrifices one or more buffaloes, one or more sheep and sixteen or more goats to the deity. After being taken to the Rājā's Chhatra-gambhirā room (in which state umbrellas are kept) the image is taken first to the houses of the different kinsmen of the Rājā and then to those of other residents of Bonāigarh and finally to the Amāt's house. At every house where the image is taken sacrifices or offerings are made to the deity. The Amāt now hands over the image to the Dihuri of Jolo who in his turn carries it from house to house in Bāhargarh, a quarter of Bonāigarh, just beyond the immediate vicinity of the palace. Finally it is taken to the bank of the Brāhmaṇī where the Rājā's behārā of the untouchable Pān caste hands over to the Dihuri a goat and a fowl which the latter sacrifices to the deity, and the Pān Behārā who by reason of his being an untouchable is not allowed to touch the image or even offer flour or rice to the deity with his own hands, offers from some distance seven cakes called *neem chukli* made of rice-flour and pounded leaves of the *neem* tree. This privilege is allowed to the Pān Behārā as it is said that an ancestor of this Pān first discovered the image.

Now the Dihuri of Jolo places the image in the bamboo box and accompanied by the whole body of Pabri headmen crosses over to the other side of the Brāhmaṇī where they pass the rest of the night at the house of a certain man of the Keōṭ caste. Such is the rigidity of custom with this people that even if in any year the day dawns by the time they reach the Keōṭ's house, the party must lie down in the house for a short while to keep up the practice which has now acquired the force of an inviolable rite. On getting up, the men bathe themselves, and bathe the deity, and the Dihuri

makes offerings of rice, flowers, etc., and when available a goat is sacrificed. Then the Dihuri takes the deity in procession from house to house where sacrifices and offerings are made. Thence the party proceed successively to villages Nalai, Tank-jura and Brāhmaṇ-gāo, Amātpati, Kurda, Bhugru, Godrua, Dhuri, Kolaiposh, Joribāhā, Konta Kudar and finally on the Kojāgar Purnimā day to Jolo. At every village the image is taken round and offerings and sacrifices are made to the deity at different houses.

Arrived at Jolo, the image is kept suspended on a tree in the jungle. Almost all the adult Pābri Bhūiyās of the nearly sixty villages of Pābri Parganā assemble at Jolo on the Kojāgar Purnimā day with goats or fowls and rice and other offerings. In the course of the day the deity is taken in procession to the Dihuri's house and placed in the āngan which has been cleaned with cowdung and water. There the offerings and sacrifices brought by all the Pābri Bhūiyās of the country are offered by the Dihuri to the goddess. The rice and the meat are then cooked and the people are treated to a hearty feast. They then all disperse. Finally the Dihuri and another member of his family take the image to its hiding-place which is kept secret even from the other members of the Dihuri's family. The reason assigned for taking one member of the family in the Dihuri's confidence is that in the event of the Dihuri's death the other man may know where to find the image. Like the Amāt at Bonāi, the Dihuri of Jolo collects a decent sum (about twenty to thirty rupees) as fees paid to him for the pūjā at the different houses where the image is taken during the journey to Bonāigarh and back. Part of this is spent in the feast to the assembled Pābri Bhūiyās on the Kojāgar Purnimā day and part in drink while the assembled Pābris wait on the bank of the Brāhmaṇi opposite Bonāigarh to take back the image of Konto Kuāri from Bonāi to Jolo.

This annual tribal gathering although originating in a mere accident, namely, the discovery of a peculiarly shaped piece of metal, bids fair to develop in time into a great socio-

political congress of the tribe. Here by way of a digression, it may be noted that the Konto Kuāri festival would seem to throw an interesting sidelight on the social history of ancient India. The participation of the Hindu Rājā of the Bonāi State in the worship of Konto Kuāri, the goddess of the ~~semi-savage~~ Pābris, and some other usages of the Rāj family, such as the worship of the deities Āndhāri and Kuāri, the tutelary deities of the Kuirā Bhūiyās in temples built near the Rājā's palace and the employment by the Rājā of a family priest of the low caste of Sūdhās to worship these aboriginal deities, and of a Keōt to worship the clay image of a Keōt spirit at every marriage and *upanayan* (investiture with the sacred thread) in the Rāj family, and the sacrifice of goats and buffaloes offered by the Rājā near his palace to the spirit of an ancient Kōl hero, Mahā-bīrā, all this would seem to give us an insight into the political methods by which the ancient Aryan immigrants into India could conciliate the overwhelming masses of non-Aryan population and bring them under subjection, and impose their Aryan culture on them, although in this process of the Aryanization of the aboriginals the simple and sublime religion of the ancient Aryans was leavened by admixture with the animistic religion of the indigenous population, and gave rise to the heterogeneous pantheon of Hindu gods and goddesses that now constitutes Popular Hinduism—an amalgam of the religion of the Aryans and that of the non-Aryans.

VI.—Weaver Castes and Sub-Castes in Ranchi.

By Rai Sahib Chuni Lal Ray, B.A.

Of the several weaver castes in the district of Ranchi, Chiks are the most numerous, as many as 28,937 having been enumerated at the Census of 1911. They are to be found chiefly in the area to the west of the old Sambalpur Road (the road that runs through Ranchi, Karrā, Basiā and Kōlebirā), weavers in the Mūṇḍā country to the east belonging mostly to the Pāṇṛ or Peṇṛāi caste (total number in 1911, 14,700). Muhammadan Jolahas, numbering 22,882 in 1911, are most numerous in Ranchi, Māṇḍar, Kuṛu and Loharḍagā thanas; they, as well as the other weaver castes, Tatwās, Kaṭiyās, Koshtās and Dāses claim to be immigrants from more civilized districts in Upper India or Orissa, while Chiks and Pāṇṛs have no tradition of having come from outside.

The Chiks are divided into several sub-castes, of whom the first place is assigned by common consent to what are called Semhaṭuārs (from a village Semhātu in Basiā thana close to Kamḍerā) or Doisāwārs (from pargana Doisā) or Sonpuriās (from pargana Sonpur). It is this sub-caste chiefly that calls itself by the name of Baṛāik; and Pāṭ Bhuinhar and Bhuinhar Baṛāik are other names which this sub-caste has taken unto itself. Baṛāiks were, it is said, soldiers and palace-guards in the good old days when they and the Koṅkopāṭ Mūṇḍās were the only people who inhabited Nagpur; it was only long afterwards, after the country had been flooded with Kols who came from Hardinagar through Piprāpāli and Rohiḍās, and under the stress of adverse circumstances, that Baṛāiks had to take to the degraded profession of the weaver. The following account narrated by Purān Rām Baṛāik and Khedu Rām Baṛāik of Beṛo

seeks to explain why Barāiks had to turn weavers, and gives also the history of the first discovery of diamonds in the Nagpur Raja's country: —

“In the days of the great king Bairisāl, a poor Orāon went with his *kumni* (bamboo fishtrap) to catch fish, but wherever he wanted to set his *kumni* the owner of the land came forward and protested. The poor man was therefore compelled to get into the bed of the Koel river, and he got no better place than a *gārḥā* (a pool, place considerably deeper than the rest of the bed of the river) in the river within the boundary of mauza Biyārko. The catch there was a most disappointing one, for, instead of fish, there were only a number of stones that stuck to the *kumni*. The poor Orāon in disgust threw all these stones away, except one which was particularly big and bright, and which he exchanged for some tobacco that a cunning Baniā, who knew the stone to be a real diamond, gave him. The Baniā took the diamond to the Mahārājā and offered to sell it. The Mahārājā enquired of the Baniā how he had got the diamond. The Baniā would not tell the truth, until the Mahārājā ordered a pit to be dug and the Baniā to be buried alive therein. When at last the real fact was given out, the Mahārājā sent for the Orāon with the *kumni*; when the Mahārājā learnt from the Orāon that he had thrown away the stones all about Biyārko, the Mahārājā directed that every inch of land in that mauza was to be searched and he went with his whole retinue to supervise personally the work of the search party.

“The Mahārājā and his men searched and searched, but without success, till one day the village god Chintāmon appeared to him in a dream and advised the Mahārājā to get himself into the *gārḥā* in the river whence the Orāon had his haul of diamonds. The Mahārājā acted accordingly, and his men watched in eager expectation. For days, however, the Mahārājā would not come out; and at last his men gave him up for lost, concluding that he must have been eaten up by the fish in the *gārḥā*. The Barāiks and Konkopāṭs then had a conference for the future administration of the country and decided that now that the Nāgbansi Rājās, whom they had placed on the throne, had ceased

to be, they would divide the country in equal shares between Barāiks and Konkopāt Mūndās.

"In the meanwhile, on the evening of the seventh day from the commencement of the search, when there was no one waiting near the *gāṛhā* except the Mahārājā's syce, a Ghāsi by caste, who had not given up hope yet, the Mahārājā came out, a *hirā* (diamond) in one hand and a *hiri* in the other.¹ He was very thirsty and called out to his men for a glass of water. The syce came up with folded hands and, shaking with fear, represented that there was no one present of a caste from whom the Mahārājā could take water. But the Mahārājā was very thirsty, and gave peremptory orders to the syce to bring water, adding at the same time that from that day everyone would take water from the syce. The syce brought some water which he gave the thirsty Mahārājā to drink. He got for this service valued presents and the name of Sāhni; and the Sāhnis, originally Ghāsis, but a '*jalāchārāniya*' caste² now, are his descendants. The Mahārājā sent the Sāhni to call the Barāiks and Konkopāts. The Konkopāts came, but the Barāiks would not believe the Sāhni's assertion about the re-appearance of the Mahārājā and refused to stir. The Mahārājā got extremely annoyed with the Barāiks, and on return to his capital issued orders for the destruction of all Barāiks. Most of the Barāiks were killed, but some saved themselves by taking refuge with people of other castes. The majority sought shelter with weavers, and these men took to the profession of weaving, so that their identity might not be discovered. Another Barāik had saved himself by taking refuge with an Ahir. This one alone came forward when at last the Mahārājā relented, and to him and his descendants, henceforth known as Ahir Pāik Barāiks, was continued the privilege, up to then enjoyed by all Barāiks, of receiving *pān* (betel) and

¹ Tradition in Chhota Nagpur ascribes sex to diamonds and draws a distinction between *hirās* or male diamonds and *hiris* or female diamonds.

² A caste, from members of which Brahmans and other high caste men would accept drinking water. Ghāsis are very low down in the scale, and their touch would cause pollution, the acceptance of drinking water from them being altogether out of the question.

pagri (headdress) from the Mahārājā's hand on the day of the Dasserā (*pān* and *pagri* are given by the Mahārājā first to the god Chintāmon, then to the Mahārājā's *guru* and *purohit*, then to the Kuār and other Nāgbañsis present, and next to the Ahir Paik Barāik)."

If the Semhatuār Chiks of thana Bero—and this is true also of those of thanas Māndār, Lāpung, Karrā, Basiā, Gumlā, etc.—are content with telling the above or similar stories about their taking to weaving only to save their skin, and with calling themselves Barāiks, their relatives to the east, in thanas Ranchi, Angārā, and Silli go a step further; for they would not on any account call themselves Chiks, and would not easily admit that they, or any of their relatives, are, or ever were, weavers, or had anything to do with weavers. One Manohar Barāik of mohalla Konkā in Ranchi town got into some prominence in recent times, having served for many years as an orderly peon to the Deputy Commissioner; and many a Barāik whom I asked if he was not really a Chik, retorted by the remark that he was related to Manohar Jamādār, and who in all Nagpur did not know that Manohar was a Barāik, not a Chik? But Rāmdhan Barāik of Jablā, whom I saw selling at the Silli *hāt* cloth which he admitted to be his own weaving, mentioned that Bhūsan Barāik and Etwā Barāik, chaukidars of Silli and Jablā, were his relatives; and, on examining these two chaukidars, it appeared that they were both related to Manohar Jamādār of Ranchi, Bhūsan being a *mouserā* cousin of Manohar's wife. Similarly, at the Tāimārā *hāt* (on the Bundu road, 19 miles from Ranchi) I saw one Pendō Musammāt of Alāundi (near Jiki in thana Khunti) selling cloth woven by her people, and she testified to her relative Debrā Barāik of Alāundi having married a granddaughter of Manohar Jamādār. The Chik Barāiks of Bero also spoke of Manohar being their relative, just as relationship with Manohar is claimed by Barāiks in Angārā and Silli; and relationship with Malār Singh and Jagdeo Singh of Chānd-siladon (on the Karra-Khunti road, midway between Karrā and Khunti) was claimed both by men in Silli who protested that they had nothing to do with weavers and by Puran Barāik of

Bharno, thana Sisai, whose son Mähli I saw employed in the act of weaving. It is clear, therefore, that these Barāiks of Silli, Angārā and Ranchi are one and the same sub-caste with the Chik Barāiks of Bero, Māndār, Lāpung, Karrā, Sisai, etc. ; although it is not impossible that the Barāiks of the eastern thanas, who count among their number a pretty large proportion of well-to-do men, will in course of time cease to have anything to do with the Chik Barāiks of the west and induce such of their own section as are weavers still to give up that pursuit and take to agriculture. The more well-to-do among these eastern Barāiks have taken the surname of Gonjhus (e.g. Sahdeo Gonjhu and Antu Gonjhu of Silli, Netā Gonjhu of Jāru and Mahādeo Gonjhu of Khaphāberā, all in thana Silli), some call themselves Kārjis, while at least two families (those of Malār Singh of Chandsiladon, referred to above, and of Suklāl Singh of Boreā, a village four miles north of Ranchi on the road to Kuchu, who was for some time a muharir in the Settlement Department) have assumed the Rajput surname Singh. There are no other sub-castes of Chiks living with them in the eastern thanas ; and if only such of their own number as are still weavers can be made to take to some other profession, the very keen attempt of these eastern Barāiks to come forward as a higher caste will very likely be crowned with success, and their claim may possibly be recognized at some future census (just as that of Māhisyas in Bengal has been recognized recently).

West of the Ranchi-Karrā-Basiā road the Semhatuār Chiks live in close proximity with other sub-castes of Chiks. I did not make very detailed enquiries regarding sub-castes in the Sadr and Gumla Subdivisions ; but there was at least one sub-caste besides Semhatuārs which came to my notice. Members of this sub-caste call themselves Chhotgonhṛis (the smaller trunk), the other sub-caste being described as Bargonhṛis (the bigger trunk). These Chhotgonhṛis are to be found in the following villages among others :—

Thana Lohardagā:—Dāñṛu, Chitri Dāñṛu, Patlo, Murki
Torār, Jamgāin, Kundo, Ghātgaḡiā and Dumri.

Thana Sisai:—Bhurso, Amaliā, Khaitā and Mahādeo Chigri.

Thana Gumlā:—Toto.

Thana Basiā:—Kumhari, Arāharā and Semhātu. (Bargonhṛis are, however, the predominant sub-caste in this last named village, which is in a manner the headquarters of the Bargonhṛis.)

Thana Kolebirā:—Sasiā.

Some of the Bargonhṛis of Bharno, thana Sisai, spoke to me of a sub-caste called Sasiārs, named after pargana Sasiā in thana Kolebirā. But whether these Sasiārs are different from, or are the same as, the Chhotgonhṛis referred to above (it will be seen that Sasiā in thana Kolebirā is one of the places where the Chhotgonhṛis are to be found) is more than I can tell; I had no opportunity for making the detailed enquiry which the solution of this question required, having been taken away from touring duties soon after I heard of the Sasiārs.

In the Simdega Subdivision and in the adjoining thanas of the Gumla Subdivision, there are at least three sub castes. Of Bargonhṛis, identified by their relationship with Sāmu Rai of Semhātu and Puran of Bharno (names mentioned by many of the undoubted Semhātuār Bargonhṛis of Beṛo and Sisai thanas) there were representatives at

Thana Raidi:—Silam and Dumartoli.

Thana Palkot:—Dombābirā and Paḍripani.

Pargana Biru, Thanas Kochedegā and Kurdeg:—Palidi, Kaerberā, Pāre Palidi, Nānesera, Rengāri, Konpālā, Galeserā, Dumardi near Sawāi and Rengārbahār.

Of the sub-caste next in the social scale, usually described as Majhalturis (or intermediates), who sometimes in villages in which there are no Semhātuārs call themselves Bargonhṛis, there are representatives at

Thana Basiā:—Tetartoli and Tetrā.

Thana Palkot:—Damkāṛā and Sijāng.

Pargana Biru (Thanas Kochedegā and Kurdeg)—Biru, Kochedegā, Koronjo, Sawāy, Sikriāḍanr (near Sogrā),

Tukupāni, Bāsen, Rigri (near Sawāy), Pakerdān, Tokedubā, Birkerā, Hetmā Hungir (near Kinkel), Konḍrā and Sursāng.

Then there are the Chhotgonhri at Kumbābirā (near Lachrāgarh) and Barasloyā in Thana Bāno and at Pakerdān, Sawāy, Bagdegā, Karanjor (near Bagdegā), Konjobā Thesutoli, Bānābirā and Longāpāni in thana Kochedegā.

I could not be quite sure if these were the only sub-castes in Simdegā. On the one hand, I heard of Gandās who were said to be drummers as well as weavers. Ugar and Bechan, Chhotgonhri of Sawāy, had been described by the Majhaturis of that village as Gandās, and the Bagdegā men had been returned in the census enumeration book as Gandās. But when questioned by me, Ugar and Bechan repudiated kinship with the Gandās who, they said, were a much lower caste; while about the Bagdegā men, the Police Sub-Inspector reported, in reply to a reference, that they were Chiks and had been entered as Gandās through a mistake. Gandās are numerous in the adjoining Orissa States and in Sambalpur (as many as 124,058 and 87,717, respectively, having been returned at the last census); but within the limits of Ranchi District I did not come across a single individual who would call himself a Gandā. One Pahlād of Rengāki, near Tālecrā in Gangpur, who called himself a Gandā, said, however, that he had relatives in Ranchi District, and of these he mentioned Jaknā of Rengarbahār near Samserā and Sudrām of Bagdegā. In Bagdegā there are Chhotgonhri Chiks, and if it could be proved that they were related to Sudrām, mentioned by the Gangpur man, it could be established beyond doubt that the so-called Gandās of Gangpur and the Chhotgonhri Chiks of Biru are one and the same sub-caste. (It has been assumed in some of the following paragraphs that the identity of the Chhotgonhri Chiks of Simdegā with the Gandās has been established.)

If there are the suspected Gandās at the bottom of the scale, I could not be sure also about the position of some men, Mādhō Chik and others of Sansewāy, who called themselves

Bargonhris. Mahli of Kaerberā, who is undoubtedly a Semhatuār Bargonhrī, knows Mādho and he told me that Mādho was a Majhalturi; this was confirmed also by Mādho's nephew Sembhuā, who said that he and Mādho were Majhalturis and that Doisāwars were a higher sub-caste. But on the other hand, Sukrā, brother of Ahlād of Sawāi, who is unquestionably a Majhalturi, said that Mādho was of a higher caste than himself. I had at first been led to think that there were two grades of Majhalturis, so that there were really four sub-castes in Simdegā [(1) the Bargonhris; (2) the higher Majhalturis represented by Mādho, etc.; (3) the lower Majhalturis represented by Sukrā, Ahlād and others, and (4) the Chhotgonhris *alias* Gandās]; but subsequently I found that this conclusion was untenable, for Raghu of Kochedegā was mentioned as a relative both by Mādho and by Sukrā. (But is there more than one Raghu in Kochedegā?) Other relatives mentioned by Mādho were Lohrā of Paharsarā, Jodhan of Kochedegā and Ganes of Pithrā; I could not meet them and I cannot say whether they call themselves Majhalturis or Bargonhris.

How the Chhotgonhris of Lohardagā and Sisai stand in relation to the several sub-castes in Simdegā is another point about which I could not come to any definite conclusion. But I am inclined to think that these Chhotgonhris are the same as the Majhalturis of the south. The Chhotgonhris of Simdegā are regarded almost as untouchables by the Bargonhris as well as by the Majhalturis of that side. This is not the case with the Chhotgonhris of Lohardagā and Sisai previously mentioned who receive from the Bargonhris very much the same treatment as in Simdegā the Majhalturis get from the Bargonhris. The Simdegā Majhalturis I had met were mostly from the southern portion of that subdivision, and the northernmost relatives that they knew of were those in south Basiā or south Pālkot or south Gumlā. It is quite possible that if these relatives in the north could be questioned, they could speak of other relatives further north in Sisai and Ghagrā and Lohardagā, who might turn out to be the same as the Chhotgonhris of

that side. One of the Majhalturis in Simḍegā subdivision told me that his caste was occasionally described as Sasiār ; and, as suggested in a previous paragraph, it is just possible that the Chhotḡonhṛis of Lohardagā and Sisai are identical with Sasiārs. It will be assumed in all references in the following paragraphs that the Chhotḡonhṛis of Lohardagā and Sisai, the Sasiārs, and the Majhalturis of Simḍegā are identical with one another.

The worship of the spirits of deceased ancestors, supposed to have their habitation near the family hearth, is practised by almost all the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes in Chhota Nagpur ; and the same practice is observed also by the Chiks. Other principal objects of worship, both with the Semhatuār Bargonhṛis and with the Majhalturis (I have no very definite information on this point regarding the Chhotḡonhṛis of Sisai and Lohardagā or the Chhotḡonhṛis of Simḍegā), are Barpāhāri, or the great hill, and Surajdeotā, or the sun-god ; while Devi or Chandi, and the village-gods also receive occasional offerings. Surajdeotā, who must be worshipped in the *āṅan* (courtyard) has to be propitiated by a white animal ; it is a white fowl with the Majhalturis, but a white goat with Bargonhṛis who, though they have no scruple about eating fowls themselves, have imbibed sufficient Hinduism to consider them unclean food for their gods. To Barpāhāri a goat alone is sacred, and this must be grey or black ; the animal must be sacrificed on open *ṭahr* land. Barpāhāri is worshipped only at rare intervals—say once in three, four, five, or even ten years—and at marriages. Surajdeotā and Mātāpitā (the deceased ancestors) are worshipped oftener, at the Nawā or new rice ceremony and at Phaguā or spring festival of each year. Devi is worshipped ordinarily once a year, but there is no hard and fast rule ; any season of the year would do, the only condition necessary being that the *pujā* must be on a Tuesday or on a Saturday. No priests are required for the worship of Mātāpitā, Barpāhāri, Surajdeotā or Chandi. Worship of the village-gods is performed by the Pāhan who gets a contribution from each family on this account.

The Bargonh̄ris of Ber̄o say that they require the services of Brāhmans at their marriages and *srādh̄s*, and that Chunū Pāthak of Kudārko is their Purohit. It is doubtful if the Bargonh̄ris further south are very particular in this respect, and the Majhalturis do not certainly employ Brāhmans.

Although the different sub-castes of Chiks do not ordinarily intermarry, Jaināth Barāik of Bharno (a Semhatuār) and the Majhalturi in Sim̄degā who spoke about Sasiārs said that *balkatti* marriages,¹ had taken place between Semhatuārs and Sasiārs at Semhātu and had been accepted as legal by both communities. Budhrām Chaukidar of Bhurso (thana Sisai) a Chhotgonh̄ri of the Lohardagā side also spoke of an ordinary marriage between the daughter of a Chhotgonh̄ri of village Sasīa and a Bargonh̄ri of village Barasloyā (thana Bano) ; he could not, however, give me the names of the parties. This was taken objection to by the Chhotgonh̄ris, and there was a caste meecing to discuss it, held in the house of *Tuiyā of Sasiā on the occasion of Tuiyā's brother's *srādh̄* in April 1910. What was the upshot of this conference, Budhrām could not say ; apparently the Sasiārs agreed to overlook the irregularity, for if outcasting had been decided upon, the decision would have been more widely notified, and Bulhan would not have been left in ignorance of it. It would be interesting, however, to know how the Semhatuārs dealt with the Barasloyā man who had married a Chhotgonh̄ri girl otherwise than by the *balkatti* form of marriage.

The following are the names of the exogamous divisions among Chiks that came to my notice :—

Semhatuārs.	Majhalturis.	Chhotgonh̄ris of Sim̄degā.
Dhānguñri.	Argar.	Argar.
Gaharwar,	Chānd.	Bāgh.
Ghia.	Dipakbana.	Chānd.
Harin.	Goāl.	Dhāndhi

¹ A *balkatti* marriage is a marriage by capture.

Semhatnars.	Majhalturis.	Chhotgonhries of Simdega.
Karhiari.	Indwār.	Gardiā.
Kasauti.	Kachhuā.	Joipuriā.
Katri.	Lohā.	Kuldip
Kcorā.	Mahānandi.	Mahānandi.
Mahānandi.	Mudn.	Sasiā.
Newār,	Muluā.	Tānrā.
Nowrang,	Topwār.	
Pahlia.		
Sonmani.		
Surmā,		
Tājan Boro.		
Tājan Chhoto,		

Mahānandi, it will be seen, is common to all three groups; Argar and Chānd are common to Majhalturis and Chhotgonhries of Simdega

About Pānr̥s or Penr̥ais (shown in the census tables as Pān or Panikā), my enquiries were made chiefly in thanas Tamār, Sonāhātu, Bundu and in the eastern portion of Ranchi thana. But I made casual enquiries in Khunti and Karrā also, which went to indicate that there is but one endogamous group of Penr̥ais in the Ranchi district, if the Singuā Pāns and the Panikā Dāses referred to below, be left out of consideration. There are a few Pānr̥s in thanas Māṇḍar and Bero (in villages Diggiā, Kenābhiṭṭā, Nehalu, Jehanabad and Bachhau near Opā) some of whom I met; these are related to Penr̥ais near about Ranchi and belong to the same endogamous group. The majority of Pānr̥s live in the Mūṇḍā country; and with many of them Mūṇḍāri is the mother-tongue. They are generally a landless class and have a very low position in society. They have no objection to eating beef and pork, and are generally regarded as untouchables; and a barber who would agree to serve a Pānr̥ would lose caste. Some of the more

well-to-do Pāñṛ have, however, assumed the name of Sawāsi; and Chāmu Sawāsi and Gonjhu Sawāsi of Gamhariā (thana Tamār, midway between Enṛki and Rābo) gave me the following list of villages where their *kulūms* Sawāsis, and not Pāñṛ, were to be found:

Thana Tamār.—Paṛāsi, Upar Paṛāsi, Toṛang (near Paṛāsi), Ulilor and Sārjamdi.

Thana Sonābātu.—Jamudāg and Sarcād (near Jamudāg).

Thana Bundu.—Bundu Mājhitola, Arādi and Edalhātu.

But a day or two later I came across one Sohan of Pañḍrāñi who was related to Chāmu and Gonjhu and also to Golām Kārji of Sārjamdi, mentioned by Chāmu and Gonghu as a relative; and he said that Pāñṛ and Sawāsi are identical terms. I got the same evidence from many others, showing clearly that Sawāsis are no more different from Pāñṛ than Pāt Barāiks or Bhuinhar Barāiks are from Semhatuār Chiks.

Sawāsi Pāñṛ are, however, not the only weaver caste in Tamār. There are also scattered among them a few men calling themselves Singuā or Patkumiā Pān-Tāntis and also some Āswine Tāntis, known locally as Tasriyā Tāntis. The Pān-Tāntis claim to have a decent position in their own country (pargaua Pātkum in Mānbhum and Singhbhum district), where barbers would shave them and even Brāhmanū would work for them, provided they are rich enough; and in the Mānbhum district at least, they have had their claim sufficiently recognized to have succeeded in getting themselves enumerated at the census as Tāntis.¹ But in Tamār so great is the prejudice against weavers generally that a barber in village Sosodi who serves Singuā Pāns has been outbasted. Singuā Pāns would not take beef or pork, but they have no objection to fowls or to rice-beer. They would take water from Mundās but not rice or other *kachi* food as the Pāñṛ do. Another point of difference with the Tamariā Pāñṛ which the Singuā Pāns draw attention to, is the shape of the shuttle

¹ No more than 741 persons were recorded in Mānbhum as Pāns at the last census, although one comes across, in almost every village in the southern half of the district, weavers admitting themselves to be Pān-Tāntis. Sivasuddhis Tānti or Sivasafu Tānti is another name for Pān-Tānti in Mānbhum.

used in weaving. Both use long shuttles made of wood, and shaped like canoes ; but in the shuttle of the Tamariā Pāñṛ, the axle of the spool is at right angles to the length of the shuttle, the same as in the Muhammadan Jolāhā's shuttle ; while in the Pān-Tānti's shuttle the spool is placed longitudinally, fixed to a spike projecting from one end of the shuttle, there being a small iron ring at the other end through which the yarn released from the spool passes. The number of Singuā Pāns in Ranchi district is very limited, and I could get only the names of

Jagāi, Satu and Gopāl of Sārjamḍi, thana Tamār.

Dubrāj of Birdi, thana Tamār.

Shām of Bichāhātu, thana Bundu, formerly of Paula, thana Tamār.

Shām of Sirkādi, thana Bundu.

Gopāl of Sārjamḍi's grandfather Digwār is reported to have been the first Singuā Pān to have come to this side. He married his daughter Sibān to a Tamariā Pāñṛ of Sārjamḍi, by name Phate. But Digwār never brought his daughter home, nor did he ever take any food at his daughter's place ; and this was considered sufficient to keep him within the fold of Singuā Pāns. Guru, brother of Dubrāj of Birdi, mentioned above, who in more recent times married a Tamariā Pāñṛ girl, daughter of Parāu of Sārjamḍi, was considered to have been guilty of a graver irregularity, and he has been outcasted. Tamariā Pāñṛs do not appear, however, to have objected to the union of a girl of their community with a Singuā Pān ; and when Guru's first wife Koili eloped with a lover, he could readily get another Tamariā Pāñṛ girl, a daughter of Anānd-rām of Buruḍi (thana Tamār, near Mārdhān), to marry him. This would seem to indicate that Tamariā Pāñṛs acknowledge the superiority of the Singuā or Patkumiā Pāns.

The superiority of Āswine Tāntis who are believed to be immigrants from Manbhum is more clearly recognized. Tamariā Pāñṛs, as well as Singuā Pāns, always speak reverently of the Āswines as men who can weave *tasar*, while they

themselves can weave cotton cloth only ; and have given to Āswine Tāntis the distinctive name of Tāsriyā Tāntis. In Ranchi, however, Āswine Tāntis are not employed in *tasar* weaving, *tasar* cocoons being but rare in the district. Āswine Tāntis in Ranchi are mostly agriculturists; while a few weave cotton cloths. They are recognized as one of the *jalācharaniyā* castes, being one of the "*navāsrayakas*" mentioned in the *Parāsara-saṁhitā*. The number of Āswine Tāntis settled in Ranchi, though small, is apparently larger than that of Singuā Pāns ; and Āswine Tānti families are to be found in the following villages among others :—

Thana Tāmār—Sindri and Mājhiḍi.

Thana Sonāhātu—Chokāhātu, Barandā, Pāṇḍēḍi, Rāha.

Thana Būṇḍu—Būṇḍu and Bhakuṇḍi.

Thanas Khunṭi and Torpā (parganā Sonpur)—Perkā, Hāsā, Mahil, Ghaghṛā, Saridkel and Dormā.

Tāntis are shown in the census tables mixed up with Tatwās from Bihar (who, however, are not a *jalācharaniya* caste, though their position is not quite so low as that of the Tamarīyā Pāṇṛs) ; and the total number of Tāntis and Tatwās in 1911 was shown as 932. Tatwās are to be found in small colonies mostly near Lohardāgā ; and a very large proportion of them are now agriculturists.

Closely connected with these Tatwās are a number of men found in a few villages in thanas Sisai, Basiā, Pālkōṭ and Bāno who call themselves Kaṭiyās and who are mostly agriculturists by profession, a few alone being weavers. These men speak of Chaṭu, Gamhir, Deonāth, Gandouri and Sakhiā of Masmano Thārkurgaon (thana Lohardāgā) and of Bechan and Baksu of Inṭa (also near Lohardāgā) as their relatives ; but these Lohardāgā men call themselves Tatwās, and Maṛoo of Inṭa, although he has settled in Nāgar (thana Sisai) having married a sister of Andu Kaṭiyā of that village, still calls himself a Tatwā. The Kaṭiyās assert that neither they nor their relatives in Lohardāgā thana were weavers originally. The first immigrant of their caste,

who came from Bhojpur, became a *dhangar* (labourer) in the house of a Jolahā, and this is how some members of the caste took to weaving. The ancestors of the Inṭa people, the Nāgar men told me, had come to the district as musicians and dancers; they learnt weaving from Paṭwās, with whom they married *balkatti*. Paṭwās were to be found, I was told, at Jimā and Hendlā in thana Kuru; Bansi Paṭwā of Hendlā had married a cousin of Andu Kaṭiyā of Nāgar and was living at Sisai. Whatever may have been their antecedents before they came from Bhojpur, Paṭwās, Paṭwās and Kaṭiyās clearly form one endogamous group in Ranchi. I did not meet any of the so-called Paṭwās; and I am not in a position to say whether they describe themselves as Tatwās or as Paṭwās or as Kaṭiyās.

The Kaṭiyās spoke to me of a very curious custom observed by them, namely, that of their being invested on the day of their marriage with the *ṛāneo*, or the sacred thread, which is intended to be kept for nine days only and to be thrown away thereafter. A Brāhman has, of course, to be engaged for this ceremony, and Ram Pāṭhak of Dombā (thana Sisai) was said to be the *purohit* of the Kaṭiyās of Nāgar. The sacred thread is worn also for three days after the purification ceremony following the *śrādh* on the tenth day after a death takes place. For this *śrādh* and the investiture of the sacred thread in that connexion also, the Brāhman has to be employed. I cannot say whether their relatives who call themselves Tatwās, or those who are described as Paṭwās, have any similar custom.

The chief object of worship with Kaṭiyās is a god named Pachhimāhā (or the western one), in honour of whom they offer *mahuā* spirit and a coloured cock on the day following the *Phaguā* (the spring festival). Pachhimāhā is worshipped at marriages also; but for such occasions the offering must be a brown (*kasia*; as they described it) goat. The services of Brāhmans are not required for this worship. Other gods believed in by Kaṭiyās are Devī Māi, for whose puṇā they pay subscriptions to the village

Pāhn, and Jitbāhn and Sālibāhn, worshipped with home-made cakes on the day of the *Jitiā* (the eighth day of the dark phase of the moon in September). For the *Jitiā* a Brāhman comes and reads *kathā*; when this is over, the women of the house sing and dance for some time, after which only they can partake of food, having fasted the whole day and part of the night. The Taṭwās of Inṭā worship Jitbāhn and Sālibāhn at *Jitiā* in the same way as the Kaṭiyās; but they do not recognize the Kāṭiya god Pachhimāhā. The following are some of the places where Kaṭiyās may be found :—

Thana Sisai—Nāgar and Sisai.

Thana Basiā—Kumhāri, Turibirā, Loṭwā and Barṭoli near Bonai.

Thana Bāno—Bujgā.

The identity of Kaṭiyās with Taṭwās was not discovered till a considerable time after the census operations were over; and Kaṭiyās were shown as a separate caste in the enumerator's books. They were not shown in the printed tables, having apparently been included under the head "Others".

The only other weaver castes that I came across in Ranchi were Koshtās and Dāses, both immigrants from Oriya-speaking countries. Dāses are apparently divided into several groups, of which at least one intermarries with Koshtās; and I was told by Koshtās whom I met at Meromdegā in thana Kochedegā and others whom I met at Dulabpur near Rāibogā in the Gangpur State, that Koshtā and Dās were different names used in different districts for one and the same caste. Dās is the name by which the caste is known in Rāigarh in the Central Provinces; and such families as originally came from Rāigarh have retained the name Dās. Families calling themselves Koshtās had, on the other hand, come mostly from Sambalpur, where, however, the caste is known not as Koshtā but as Mahrā.

These Koshtā-Dāses are divided into two religious sects, Kabirpānthis and non-Kabirpānthis, which intermarry freely. The Kabirpānthis do not worship any gods and goddesses; with

non-Kabirpanthis the principal objects of worship are Dulhā¹ and DevīMāi. Dulhā is identified with deceased ancestors, and his *pūjā* (worship) which takes place in Phāgun and without the aid of any priests, is effected by sacrificing a brown (*kasia*) coloured goat or fowl before the family hearth. Devī Māi is worshipped only when there is a pestilence or a famine or some similar visitation. Kabirpanthi Koshtās bury their dead; the body is invariably kept in a seated position. Non-Kabirpanthis either bury or burn; in case of burial, the body is invariably placed in a lying position. The family is considered ceremonially unclean for ten days, after which the relatives of the deceased shave, offer *pinḍas* through a Brāhman or Gosāin, and give a feast to the caste. Kabirpanthi Koshtās further perform *srādh* of their ancestors in Aghan every year; but such *srādh* is not deemed to be a *pūjā*, like the *pūjā* of Dulhā by the non-Kabirpanthis. The following *gotrā* names of Koshtā-Dāses came to my notice: Bāgh, Bāchhur, Chaudhuri, Mānik and Songotiā.

Of another group of Dāses I met three, Saonā of Lotwā near Kumhāri in thana Basia, his cousin Jairām's son, Bahoran, who has settled at Boṛān five miles from Ranchi on the Purulia Road, and Phoḃā of Kerki, thana Gumla. Saonā called himself a Panikā Dās Gosāin, while Phoḃā said that Panikās were a different caste with whom Dāses had no concern. But Hari Dās of Merāl, thana Chainpur, was mentioned as a relative by either; and apparently Phoḃā and Saonā belong to the same sub-caste whatever its name may be; Bahoran gave the name of his caste to be Bairāgi Dās Gosāin. Members of this sub-caste, although

¹ The ordinary meaning of the term Dulhā is bridegroom, and the use of this expression to signify deceased ancestors is somewhat unexpected. Strange to say, this very expression is used with the very same meaning by a very different caste, viz., by the Bargohnḥi Birhors of thana Kurdeg. These Bargohnḥi Birhors of Kurdeg have now very little resemblance with their nomadic or semi-nomadic kinsmen regarding whom a series of articles has been contributed to Volumes II, III and IV of this Journal by Rai Sarat Chandra Ray Bahadur and who are known in Kurdeg as Chhotgohnḥi Birhors. Bargohnḥi Birhors have settled down in the plains and have adopted the profession of carpenters, wooden *parlas* (measures for grains, oilseeds, etc.) and *charkas* (spinning wheels) being the chief articles that they turn out.

very few in Ranchi, are scattered almost all over the district ; and while those in Merāl, thana Chainpur, - are still employed as weavers, most of the others are Bairāgis and serve as spiritual guides to Kumbhārs, Mundās and Orāons.

Of the third group of Dāses, also calling themselves Panikā Dāses, I met only one, Jangu Dās of Barki Biurā, thana Kurdeg, who was a weaver by profession. I should have been inclined to consider him as of the same group as Saonā Dās Gosāin of Lotwā mentioned in the previous paragraph (who also called himself a Panikā Dās), but for the fact that Jangu distinctly mentioned that the Dāses of Merāl in Chainpur (who are Saonā Dās's relatives) were a different caste from him. Jangu said that his family had originally come from Raigarh and that his only relatives in the Ranchi district were to be found in Biurā and Kadamdi in thana Kurdeg and in some villages in pargana Borwe (thanas Chainpur and Bishunpur) of whom he could mention only one, viz. Sikri Pagurā. Jangu said that men of his caste were Kabirpanthis, and that any member of the caste could take a *janeo* (sacred thread) or *kanṭhi* (necklace of beads), provided he was prepared to abstain from animal food. Even for those who do not take *janeo* or *kanṭhi*, the only animal food permissible is fish or goat-meat. Kabirdās is the only object of worship ; his *pūja* has to be performed on the full-moon days in Baisākh, Kārtik and Māgh with cocoanut, arecanut and milk. Jangu's people do not believe in ancestor-worship, nor do they have any annual *srādh* of ancestors like the Koshta-Dāses. They bury their dead, the body being placed in a lying position. On the *tihi*, or third day after death, the relatives of the deceased shave ; and on the tenth day they perform the *daskarmā* ceremony which consists of making an image of Kabirdās from rice-powder and worshipping the same with *bhog* consisting of *ghi*, jaggery and cocoanut milk. The cocoanut must be broken by being dashed against the ground by the priest. The priests, styled Mahants, are men of their own caste. On the death of a Mahant, his eldest son becomes the Mahant ; when, however,

the Mahant dies childless, some male member of his family is elected by the caste-people as his successor. The following *gotra* names were supplied by Jangu Dās:—Bāghel, Bhoisā, Chawār, Kuldip, Parwa, Sariyō, Sonwani and Tāñriā.

It is possible that in their original home, the progenitors of the three groups of Dāses and of the Koshtās belonged to the same caste or clan, and that the differences now observable between them are indicative only of different degrees of permeation with a socio-religious movement that came from outside, or of different ways of being acted on by this external stimulus, in groups that left at different times or from different localities. The Koshta-Dāses were probably the first to leave, while the Bairāgi-Dāses apparently left at a time when, or from a quarter where, the religious movement had taken a mystic turn. The matter, however, must at present be one of conjecture, and a satisfactory answer to the question how the three groups of Dāses stand in relation to one another can be given only after detailed enquiries in areas outside Ranchi, in Gangpur and elsewhere, where the different groups may be found in larger numbers. Within the limits of Ranchi I did not come across any instance of intermarriage between one group and another although, curiously enough, I got evidence of a marriage having taken place between a Koshta girl of Jhikirmā (thana Kolebirā) with Budhu Ohdār of Bujgā (thana Bāno), who is a Kaṭiyā by caste. Budhu was outcasted by the Kaṭiyās for this irregularity and had to propitiate the panchayat before he was re-admitted into caste. How the Koshtās looked upon the incident I do not know. At the last census persons describing themselves as Dāses were shown as Panikās. Persons who described themselves as Koshtās were shown as such, and were apparently included in the printed tables under "Others". Koshtās had been shown as a separate caste in 1901, when their number in Ranchi was 1,346.

My information regarding the Muhammadan weaver caste, Jolāhā, is comparatively meagre, although Jolāhās are pretty numerous in the district. There is a tendency among them also to assume a new caste name which might give them

a higher social position than they can otherwise command ; and large numbers of Jolāhās returned themselves at the last census as "Sheikh Nurbaf" or as "Sheikh" simply.

There is only one other point which I have to note before I conclude. The Koshtās of Meromdegā told me that Gandās were identical with Pāñrs. I do not know what the value of this statement is, but if this be correct, and also the surmise that Gandās are the same as Chhotgonhri Chiks of Kochedegā and Kurdeg, the conclusion would seem to be that Pāñrs and Chiks are but sub-castes of the same caste. Or, is it the truth that Pāñrs were the indigenous weaver caste of the district, who were crowded out in later times by Chiks from the west (who came probably with the Orāons from Rhotasgarh side), and while the main body of them moved with the Mundās to the eastern portion of the district, a small section stayed behind in the south-west, the Chiks coming in as a wedge between them and the main group? Under such circumstances, it is not very strange that this isolated section would forget its kinship with the main body of Pāñrs and begin to consider itself, and be considered by others, as but a degraded sub-caste of the Chiks. Pāñrs or Penrāis are ordinarily supposed to be a sub-caste of Pāns or Panikās. With the Pāns of Mānbhum and Singhbhum they are apparently allied, although the Mānbhum Pāns have succeeded in getting themselves returned as Tañtis. But whether with Panikās from Orissa, the Pāñrs of the Mundā country have any greater affinity than mere similarity in name and in occupation, can possibly be found out only after detailed enquiries in areas where the Singuā Pāns and the Orissa Panikās meet. There is no scope for such enquiries within the district of Ranchi, where Panikā Dāses (including Koshtā-Dāses) are separated from Pāñrs and Singuā Pāns by a broad belt of country in which Chiks are the predominant weaver caste,

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I—Śaiśunāka Statues.

By Brindavan C. Bhattacharya, M.A.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has deservedly earned the congratulation of scholars by his striking discovery of the Śaiśunāka statues in the Calcutta Museum. A scholar of such éminence as Mr. R. D. Banerji has, in the last number of the Journal, admitted that "Mr. Jayaswal has really discovered the oldest known Indian statues, and has correctly identified them with two Emperors of the Śaiśunāka dynasty of Northern India." There is, however, one point relating to this topic, which has evidently escaped the notice of scholars and to it I draw their attention as furnishing a curious parallelism.

Mr. R. D. Banerji in his "Note" ¹ has observed: "Before the identification of these two specimens, the statue of the Kushan Emperor of Kaniska I. was the oldest known statue in India" and "We do not know any other example of Pre-Mauryan art and consequently we cannot make comparison." I respectfully differ from him on this point in view of the existence of some known statues belonging to the Mauryan or an earlier period. The statues of the Mauryan period already discovered are: a colossal female statue and the Telim statue from Besnagar, a female figure from Sāñchi and the colossal Parkham statue of Mathura.² The general look of all these pieces of sculpture, in respect of style and design, presents a great similarity to the statue of the Śaiśunāka Emperors in the Calcutta Museum. Of these sculptures of ancient date, I particularly take the Parkham statue as showing a close resemblance to the Śaiśunāka statues. The statue was, long ago, described by General Cunningham in his Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XX, pp. 40, 41, which I find necessary to reproduce here:—

The statue is a colossal standing figure of a man cut in the round, 7 feet in height from head to foot and 2 feet broad across the shoulders.

¹ J. B. O. R. S., *ante* pp. 210, 114.

² [It is evident that Mr. Banerji means a portrait statue.—K. P. J.]

The left knee is slightly bent. Both arms are broken and the face has been nearly obliterated by repeated libations and anointments with ghee and red lead which have left a very hard and unsightly crust of dirt on the breast. The figure is clothed from head to foot in a loose flowing garment, which is secured by two broad bands, one round the waist and the other round the loins. The whole body is much too bulky; and seen from the side the two bands look exactly as if they were intended to support its pot-belly.

The statue is made of grey sandstone, and still retains many traces of having been highly polished. The figure is called Devata or "the God" and has been in its present position for an unknown length of time. All the other remains at Parkham are of red sandstone and comparatively modern. Both arms being broken off just below the shoulders, it is difficult to say what was the action of the figure. But I suspect that the statue was that of a *Yaksha* or attendant demi-god, who carried a *chowri* over the right shoulder. The dress is very peculiar, and has nothing whatever in common with that of the later figures of the Indo-Scythian period. There is a short garland or necklace round the neck which is ornamented at the back with four dependent tassels.

A comparison between the description of this image and that of the Śāisunāka statues as also between their illustrations at once discloses the following points of similarity. Even, in some cases, their very details may be observed to coincide:

(1) The height of the Parkham image is 7 feet; the height of the Śāisunāka statues is a little above 6 feet.

(2) The statues are monoliths cut in the round.

(3) The figure of Nandivardhana as well as the Parkham statue carries a *chowri* or flywhisk over the right shoulder.¹

(4) All these figures are dressed in a loose flowing garment; the body, in each case, is clothed "in a waist-cloth (dhoti) held

¹ I am unable to believe with Mr. Jayaswal that *chowris* could ever have been carried by princes. On the other hand, I am inclined to think that Jaina saints might have borne such *chowris* in ancient times. Even to-day, we observe that the Śvetāmbara as well as Digambara Jainas (specially their religious leaders) carry a *chowri*, with which they brush the ground on which they are going to sit, the idea being to remove the chance of killing any living being. What was the point of the *chowri* borne by the kings is hard to hypothesize.

[The reproduction of the Ajanta Hamsa-jātaka to which I referred *ante* page 104 was partial and therefore misleading. But since then I have seen an illustrated Jaina Rāmāyana amongst the MSS. of the Jaina Central Library at Arrah where royal personages are depicted as carrying *chowris*—K. P. J.]

from the loins by means of a flat girdle tied in a knot in front." The ears of the figure bear earrings. On each of these figures there is an "upper garment mantle-like, and beneath it there is a vest, intended to be of diaphanous texture, as is evident by the line in the waist and the treatment of the navel."¹

(5) The overgarment has an embroidered neck, which shows some design on the back.

(6) The girdles of the cloth, the most naturalistic knots of the bands and the waves in the gowns belonging to all these figures are designs of art extremely similar in type and style.

(7) The statues show a small pot-belly in each case.

(8) The clumsily worked feet of the statues also bear similarity.

(9) All these statues are made of grey sandstone of Mirzapur bearing clear traces of high polish.

From the above-drawn comparison, it should seem clear that the Śāisunāka statues and the Parkham statue are essentially identical in character. The inscription at the pedestal of the Parkham figure undeniably leads us to assign to it a time not later than the Aśokan period. It may even be earlier in date as there is nothing to bar such a conjecture. Various strong grounds have been adduced by Mr. Jayaswal to show that the Śāisunāka statues rightly deserved the nomenclature given to them. From its evident identity with these old statues, the Parkham statue may as well have a claim to an equal antiquity. There seems to come about a discussion between Messrs. R. D. Banerji and K. P. Jayaswal about the date of inscriptions on the statues and possibly also to their age. The similarity of these statues with the Parkham statues, which also bear an inscription of an uncertain date, may help to solve this problem. For the present purpose it is enough for me to have shown the points which relate to iconography, without touching upon the other topics already in the hands of competent scholars.

¹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. V., Part 1, p. 105.

II—A Note on an Inscribed Cannon in the Patna Museum.

By J. N. Samaddar, B. A.

This cannon, bearing number 18 in the Patna Museum, Manuscript Catalogue, bears the following inscription. It has been presented to the Museum by Babu Haricharan Ganguly, Zemindar of Colgong (Bhagalpore), to whom the Museum is also indebted for a number of sculptures from the alleged site of the Vikramśilā University.

The inscription reads :—

در عمل نواب نورالہ خان بہ اہتمام محمد شریف جمیت مادھو درہکر
سنہ ۱۰۷۴ ہجری نراں سپردس دامی ع ۱۳ء ساء

Owing to the fact that portions of the inscription have been disfigured, it cannot be read and translated fully but such as it appears may be translated as follows :—

“ In the time of Nawab Nurullah Khan, under the supervision of Muhammad Sharif for Madho (in) A. H. 1074. ”

In the genealogy of Bengal Kings, as given in the existing histories, no mention is made of any Nawab by the name of Nurullah. At the same time the title of Nawab and the making of cannons evidently imply that he was of some consequence. I suggest that Nurullah Khan referred to here was the Foujdar of Jessore who is mentioned both by Riyazu-s-Salatin and (evidently following him by Stewart in his History of Bengal). In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, when he was engrossed in fighting with the Marathas and during the Viceroyalty of Nawab Ibrahim Khan, then occurred the rebellion of Subha Singh, Zemindar of Katwa. He was joined by Rahim Khan, an Afghan, and the rebellion assumed a threatening aspect. “ On

hearing of this Nur-ullāh Khan, Faujdar of the Chaklah of Jasar, Hugli, Bardwan and Mednipur, who was very opulent and had commercial business and who also held the dignity of Sehbazari, marched out from Jessore in order to chastise and subdue the rebels."—(Riyazu-s-Salatin, p. 232, English Edition). Although he obtained the help of the Dutch from Chinsurah, he could do nothing, "on the contrary throwing away his treasures and effects he considered it lucky to save his own life."—(*Ibid.*)

It seems to me that the Nawab Nurullah referred to in the inscription is the above Faujdar. There is still a gun at Mirzanagar, (which does not possess any inscription, however,) where the Faujdar had his place in the district of Jessore (Bengal). The two cannons seem to have been made in the same way. Both are of the same pattern—with three or four concentric layers of metal.

The date in the inscription is A.H. 1074 which corresponds to 1663. A. C. Subha Singh's rebellion took place in 1695, and it is quite likely that Nurullah who was both rich and powerful was called by courtesy Nawab.

It may be mentioned here that, according to Masir-i-Alamgiri, Nurullah Khan, even after his disgraceful defeat, was subsequently promoted by Aurangzeb to the post of Deputy Subedar of Orissa.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Ganguly cannot give us any idea about the locality where the cannon was originally found in Bihar,

Agharias of Sambalpur : Tradition as to Their Origin.

By M. N. Sen, B.A.

Agharias [अघरिया] of Sambalpur are a caste of cultivators who claim Rajput descent. Risley, however, in his book "The Tribes and Castes of Bengal" describes Agharia as "one of the six subdivisions of the Lohar caste who manufacture and smelt iron ore;" while his description of "Agaria" or "Anguwar" tallies with that of the Agharia of Sambalpur, for he writes : "Agaria, Anguwar, a cultivating caste found in the Tributary Mahals of Chota Nagpur. They claim to be the descendants of certain Kshatriya immigrants from the neighbourhood of Agra who put off the sacred thread when they settled in a new country and took to holding the plough." But it has been observed at page 212, Central Provinces Census Report, 1911, Vol. X, Part I "Confusion is also sometimes caused by a similarity of names. Instances are Agarias [अगरिया] (aboriginal iron smelters) and Agharias [अघरिया] (Oriya cultivators) * * * * " and in the Caste Table (Table XIII) of the Census Report for that Province the strength of the Agharia and Agaria castes has been separately shown. The same table of the Bihar and Orissa Census Report, however, shows figures for Agarias only, the term, following Risley, having been apparently used for the same caste as the Agharias of Sambalpur. In Sambalpur the Agharias inhabit the northern part of the district, particularly the zamindaris of the Sadar Tehsil—the portions adjacent to Gangpur State, which formerly belonged to Chota Nagpur and has since been transferred to Orissa, and other Feudatory States; and there can be no doubt that the cultivating caste whom Risley mentions as Agaria : are the same people as those who call themselves Agharias in Sambalpur and have been given the

same name in the Central Provinces Census Report. But it is a question whether, owing to similarity of names, confusion has not crept in in the Bengal and Bihar and Orissa Census Tables (Table XIII) particularly in compiling the figures of those districts in which iron smelting sub-caste of Lohars owning similar name exist, e. g., Ranchi, Hazaribagh and Palamanu and the iron smelting sub-caste and the cultivating caste have been classified together. The following table gives the distribution and strength of the "Agarias" in Bihar and Orissa in 1911:—

Name of district.	Hindu.		Animist.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5
Gaya	9	8	Nil.	Nil.
Purnea	4	5	Nil.	Nil.
Santhal Parganas ...	5	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.
Balasore... ..	1	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.
Sambalpur	3,126	3,270	Nil.	Nil.
Hazaribagh	490	497	Nil.	Nil.
Ranchi	133	84	13	7
Palamanu	642	781	1	Nil.
Manbhum	136	128	49	71
Singbhum	2	5	Nil.	Nil.
Orissa Feudatory States ...	8,824	8,831	Nil.	Nil.

It will be interesting if at the next census particular enquiries are instituted and differentiation made between this caste of cultivators and the other sub-caste of iron smelters having similar names.

In Sambalpur there is a peculiar but interesting tradition prevalent among the Agharias as regards their origin. They call themselves immigrants from Agra and claim to be *Kheda*

Rajputs. The story of the incident hat brought about their expulsion from, or abandonment of, their motherland is this : They were a race of sturdy men and were in the habit of saluting their king in the fashion of *namaskar* (i. e., joining the palms of both the hands and raising them to the forehead). But once when there was a change of kings—they cannot give any idea of the date of this incident—the new king ordered that they should salute him bowing down their heads low. This order they refused to carry out. When the king saw that these stiff-necked people would not be persuaded to adopt the new form of salutation with bowed down heads while paying respects to him, he devised a means to put them out of their wits. He had a sharp rapidly revolving saw (which on account of its motion was invisible) placed at a height of a man's neck when standing erect, across the door leading to the king's throne. The king then sent for these people. When the leading men of the caste came with their heads erect and tried to pass through the door they had their heads severed from their necks by the invisible rapidly moving saw. Pricked by this cruel treatment at the hand of their king, and since they would not flinch from their resolute determination, ten families of these people left the city of Agra for some distant land, where they might live unmolested and with honour unsullied. They came to Puri and offered their prayer to the god Jagannath at the famous temple there. It is said that the leading member of the party obtained a personal communication—by dream or otherwise—with the god and implored the god to protect him and his homeless brethren. The god placed before him two sheathed weapons, one with a golden hilt and the other with a silver hilt and asked him to make his choice. The man chose the one with the golden hilt and it turned out to be a ploughman's stick "Panchan". So said the god "You are fit now for agriculture; go, and earn your bread by tilling the soil; you work and I shall see that you are not poor men." The party then turned back and made their last place of halt near Laida in the district of Sambalpur which they call their "*Jhampi utra* " (place of laying down their baggage)

As Khatriyas they had their sacred threads and now that they were changing their profession from fighting to agriculture and they had to handle the plough they decided to throw away their sacred threads. But to keep up a reminiscence of their origin, they retained the sacred threads of one family among them and called the members of that family "Dasanar" or "Bhat." They all agreed to support this family with their earnings. These Bhats are now the bards of the Agharias.

Obituary Notice.

Dr. Andrew Campbell, D.D.

It is with deep regret that we have to record the great loss our Society has suffered by the death of the Hon'ble Rev. Dr. Andrew Campbell, D.D., on the 8th July last. Born at Boltan, in Lancashire, in year 1845, he came out to India in 1872 in connection with the Santal Mission of the Free Church of Scotland and up till his death he worked amongst the Santals in Chota Nagpur. From 1872 to 1878 he was stationed at Giridih in the Hazaribagh District, and in 1879 he removed his headquarters to Pokhuria in the Manbhum District where he lived and worked for the rest of his life. Besides his zealous Missionary, Philanthropic and Ethnological work among the Santals, he took an active interest in public affairs. As an Honorary Magistrate, and as a Member of the Manbhum District Board and of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council he did excellent work. In recognition of his public services, Government was pleased to award him the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal in 1900 and a bar to the same in 1914.

Well known throughout the Province as a great philanthropic and missionary worker, he is more widely known by his valuable Ethnological writings. In fact, his extensive and scholarly Santal-English Dictionary has earned for him an European reputation, and he is recognized as the greatest authority of his times on everything connected with the Santals. Besides his 'Santal-English Dictionary' he published a valuable collection of Santal Folktales in English. He also published several school books in the Santali language with a view to promoting education amongst the Santals,—and for a number of years edited a Journal in Santali named the *Dharwak* (Fiery Cross). He was long engaged in the preparation of an elaborate

monograph on the Santals. Portions of the material collected by him for this purpose were embodied in a series of most interesting articles which appeared in this Journal. It is hoped that the remaining materials for the contemplated monograph will be found among his papers and duly edited and published. When published, the monograph is expected to be the standard work on Santal Ethnography.

**Proceedings of the Council Meeting of
Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
held on the 8th August 1919 at 4 p.m.
at the Society's Office.**

PRESENT

The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, C S.I., I.C.S., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Jennings, C.I.E., I.E.S.

G. E. Fawcett, Esq., M.A., F.P.U.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., General Secretary.

Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A., Honorary Treasurer.

K. N. Dikshit, Esq., M.A.

I.—The following gentlemen were elected as ordinary members
of the Society:—

1. Babu Nirsu Narain Sinha, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Patna.
2. Babu Atul Krishna Roy, B.L., Vakil, High Court, Patna.
3. Babu Hem Chandra Bose, M.A., B.L., Public Prosecutor, Monghyr.
4. Mahanta Gadadhar Ramanuja Das, Raj Gopal Math, Puri.
5. S. P. Varma, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
6. Babu N. G. Majumdar, B.A., 70 Russa Road, Calcutta.
7. Babu Ganpati Sircar, 69 Beliaghata Main Road, Calcutta.
8. Mr. K. G. Sankara Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Trivandrum.

9. Babu Gauranga Nath Banerjee, University Lecturer,
107-1 Machua Bazar, Amherst Street P. O.
Calcutta.
10. Maulvi Saiyid Hailar Belgrami, Koath (Shahabad).
11. Babu Narsimha Moorthy, M.A., B.L., University
Librarian, Mysore.
12. J. Robinson, Esq., Deputy Director of Agriculture,
Patna.
13. Babu Tirbhuvan Nath Sahay, Vakil, High Court,
Patna.
14. The Hon'ble Mr. K. B. Dutt, Barister-at-Law,
Patna.
15. Mr. Narsinha Rao, Deputy Collector, Trichinopoly.
16. The Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Hubback, I.C.S., Patna.
17. W. S. Hitchcock, Esq., Government House, Patna.
18. J. A. Craven, Esq., Angul.
19. K. N. Dikshit, Esq., M.A., Patna.
20. Babu P. N. Majumdar, Pakur.

II.—Purchase of books as per list given below was recorded.

List of books acquired to be published henceforward.

Resolved that a Book Committee be constituted consisting of the Vice-President, the General Secretary and the Treasurer, and the authority of purchasing books be delegated to them.

III.—The letter of the Registrar, Patna University, dated the 17th June, 1919, was recorded: (See Proceedings of the General Meeting.)

IV.—Letter of Government No. 709E., dated the 6th June, 1919, granting a further sum of Rs. 500 for the Journal was thankfully recorded. The Council will consider in their next meeting the desirability of raising the subscription of members residing outside the Province from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10. The Honorary Treasurer to place on the table a statement showing the cost of publication of the Journal and receipts to cover that cost.

V.—Considered the proposal of the Anagarika Dharmapala that the Society should edit Pali Texts in Nagri Script. Resolved that a Sub-Committee consisting of the Vice-President, the General Secretary, and Mr. Dikshit be formed to advise on the subject and that the correspondence on the subject received from His Honour the President be circulated amongst the members of the Council.

VI.—Considered applications of the Curator,¹Dacca Museum, Rev. Vijaya Dharma Śuri, and the Secretary, Gait Public Library, Ranchi, to get the Journal free from the Society. Resolved that the applications cannot be granted, as no rule allows a free distribution of the Journal.

VII.—Resolved that the Society's Journal be exchanged as requested by the Director, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, as per letter of its Librarian, dated the 4th June, 1919, for the publications of the said Museum.

VIII.—Considered the proposal of the Secretary to appoint a Librarian who should also work as Clerk of the Society. The Secretary suggested the name of Babu Kameshwar Prasad, who has passed the I.Sc. examination and has already worked on trial in the Society's Office. Resolved that Babu Kameshwar Prasad be appointed on a salary of Rs. 35—5—50, and that his starting pay should be Rs. 40 in place of Babu Chaman Lal, resigned.

IX.—Permission was given to Mr. Samaddar to use the blocks of the Hathigumpa inscriptions.

Proceedings of a General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on the 8th August, 1919, at 4 p. m. at the Society's Office.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Jennings, C.I.E., I.E.S.

G. E. Fawcett, Esq., M.A., F.P.U.

R. Shaw, Esq., M.A., F.P.U.

Rev. Mr. G. J. Dann.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., General Secretary.

Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A., Honorary Treasurer.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Husain Khan.

Mr. H. Panday.

Babu Kali Prasad Sinha.

Babu Manoranjan Ghosh.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy.

Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A.

Babu Nandlal Mazumdar.

The following communications, received from the Registrar, Patna University, which had already been circulated with a letter, dated the 12th July 1919, as per copies below, were placed before the meeting :—

Dated the 12th July, 1919.

From—K. P. JAYASWAL, Esq., General Secretary to the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

To—The Members of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

The Society has been given the right of electing a member to represent them on the Senate of the Patna University (vide Enclosures A and B).

Under the regulations framed in that behalf the nominations should reach this office fourteen clear days before the date fixed

for election (vide Enclosure C). The date for election this year is the 8th of August next. The election will take place at a meeting to be held on that date at the Office of the Society, High Court Buildings, Patna, between the hours 4-15 p.m. and 4-45 p.m.

Enclosures :—

A.—Copy of a letter, No. 4685-93, dated the 17th June, 1919, from the Registrar of the Patna University to the Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

B.—Copy of a communication numbered 638P., dated the 12th June 1919, from the Private Secretary to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to the Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.

C.—Copy of a communication numbered 755E., dated the 9th June, 1919, from the Additional Under-Secretary to the Government to the Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.

D.—Letter No. 5194-5203, dated the 5th July 1919, from the Registrar, Patna University, to the Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.

A.

Patna University, No. 4685-93, dated the Patna, 17th June, 1919.

From—R. SHAW, Esq., M.A., Registrar, Patna University,

To—The Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.

I have the honour to enclose copies of two letters from Government on the subject of election of Fellows by Associations or Public Bodies. From these letters you will see that your Association elects one member. You will note from the Rules which are embodied in letter No. 755E., dated the 9th June 1919, that no person shall be qualified to vote or to be elected at any election unless he be a member of the Association or Public Body and his name be registered before 30th June in the year of election. Consequently only those members of your Association whose names are registered before 30th June of this year are eligible to vote or for election.

2. The elections this year will take place on 8th August. I am therefore to request you to intimate this date to all qualified members together with a notice that a meeting will take place on 8th August for the election. It would be as well to send each member a copy of the rules. If you wish for any further information on the subject I shall be obliged if you will be so good as to write to me at once.

B.

No. 638P., dated the 12th June 1919.

From—The Private Secretary to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

To—The Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.

In reply to your letter No. 113-177, dated the 10th January 1919, I am directed to say that His Honour the Chancellor is pleased to empower, under section 7(3) (i) (d) of the Patna University Act, the Associations or Public Bodies named below to elect Ordinary Fellows of the Senate of the University:—

Association or Public Body.	No. of Fellows to be elected.
Bihar and Orissa Research Society ...	... 1

C.

No. 755E., dated Ranchi, the 9th June 1919.

From—R. E. RUSSELL, Esq., I.C.S., Additional Under-Secretary to the Government, Bihar and Orissa, Education Branch,

To—The Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.

In reply to your letter No. 2086, dated the 14th April 1919, I am directed to say that the Local Government are pleased to sanction under section 14(6) of the Patna University Act the following addition to the University Regulations:—

CHAPTER XIII-A.

Election of Fellows by Association or Public Bodies.

The following procedure shall be adopted in the election of the Ordinary Fellows by Associations or Public Bodies under section 7(3) (i) (d) of the Patna University Act:—

“(1) Once in every year, on such date as the Chancellor may appoint in this behalf, there shall, if necessary,

be an election to fill any vacancy among the Ordinary Fellows to be elected by Associations or Public Bodies.

- (2) No person shall be qualified to vote or to be elected at any election held under Regulation 1, unless he be a member of the Association or Public Body concerned, and his name be registered as a member before 30th June in the year of election.
- (3) Intimation of the date fixed for election shall be sent by the Registrar to the Secretary of the Association or Public Body at least thirty-five clear days in advance and the Secretary shall intimate this date to all qualified members forthwith together with a notice that a meeting shall take place on the said date fixed for election. Each member of the Association or Public Body shall be entitled to propose the name of one person for appointment as a Fellow. Such proposals must reach the Secretary fourteen clear days before the date fixed for election. The election shall take place at the meeting.
- (4) Each voter shall have only one vote for each vacancy which is to be filled up, and can give only one vote to any one candidate.
- (5) Those who obtain the highest number of votes shall be declared elected. In the event of there being any tie between two more candidates necessitating further selection, the tie shall be decided by drawing lots.
- (6) If, upon the election of an Ordinary Fellow by an Association or Public Body, objection is taken that the election has not been held in accordance with the Regulations framed for the purpose, written notice of such objection shall be given to the Registrar within three days after the election. Such notice shall specify the grounds upon which the

validity of the election is questioned. The Registrar shall place the notice before the Vice-Chancellor or the Senior Member of the Syndicate as the case may be who shall thereupon convene a meeting of the Syndicate for the consideration of the matter on as early a date as practicable. The Syndicate shall report on the matter to the Chancellor who, under section 5(4) of the Act, shall decide the dispute."

D.

No. 5194-5203, dated 5th July 1919.

From—R. SHAW, Esq., M.A., Registrar, Patna University,

To—The Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.

In response to enquiries I am directed to state that it is open to Association concerned, at their meetings summoned under Chapter XIII A of the Patna University Regulations (copy forwarded) for the purpose of electing Fellows to represent Associations in the University Senate, to conduct the proceedings of meetings according to their own respective rules except in so far as they are contrary to the express regulations of the University.

The nominations which had already been notified to the members by the Secretary's letter, dated the 30th July 1919, as per copy below, were also placed before the meeting :—

Patna, 30th July 1919.

From—K. P. JAYASWAL, Esq., General Secretary to the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,

To—The Members of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

In continuation of the letter from this office, dated the 12th July 1919, on the subject of electing a representative of the Society to the Senate of the Patna University, I beg to inform you that the following nominations have been received.

It may be further noted that the election is to be decided by the suffrage of the Members present at the meeting on the 8th August next (4-15 p.m.) at the Office of the Society.

NOMINATIONS.

I. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq. ... Professor Samadar, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, S. Sinha, Esq., R. Shaw, Esq., The Hon'ble Mr. J. Jennings, Mr. H. Panday, Babu Keshi Misra, B.A. and Pandit Biswanath Rath.

The names of Babu Keshi Misra, Mr. H. Panday and Dr. Hari Chand had been sent in by Dr. Ganganath Jha, Babu Kailaspati Sahay and Babu Suresh Chandra Sirkar, respectively. In each case the gentleman proposed has not approved of the nomination.

Letters from Babu Keshi Misra, Mr. Panday and Dr. Hari Chand declining to stand for election were read by the President.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal was unanimously elected as the Society's representative to the Senate of the Patna University.

**LIST OF BOOKS PURCHASED AND OTHERWISE RECEIVED DURING THE MONTHS OF
MARCH TO JULY, 1919.**

Date of receipt.	Monthly serial number.	Names of Books.	Number of copies received.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
3rd March 1919	...			
	1-2	Vedanta Kalpataru and Parimāla. 2 Vols.	1	Penares Sanskrit Series.
Ditto	3	Paribhashavritti	1	Ditto.
Ditto	4	Senkhyakarika	1	Ditto.
Ditto	5	Śaptapadārthi	1	Ditto.
Ditto	6	Yajñavalkyādi Śikṣa Saṅgraha	1	Ditto.
Ditto	7	S. Yājñ Pratisakhyā	1	Ditto.
Ditto	8-9	Tantravartika, 2 Vols.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	10	Vivaraṇaprameya Saṅgraha	1	Ditto.
Ditto	11	Panchapadika	1	Ditto.
Ditto	12	Siddhāntaleśa...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	13	Prasastapadīya Bhāṣya	1	Ditto.

Ditto	...	14	Siddhanta Tatvaviveka	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	15	Nyayamanjari	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	16	Rasagangadhara	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	17	Katyayana's Sarvaṅkrama Sūtras	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	18	Arthasangraha	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	19	Vaishika Darśana	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	20—21	Brihat Samhita, 2 Vols.	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	22	Vakypadiya	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	23	Lakṣmīśāstra	...	1	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.
Ditto	...	24	Prasatapadabhashyatika Sangraha	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	25	Vyakarana Siddhanta Manjusha	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	26	Brihadaranyaka Vartikasara	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	27	Bodhasara	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	28	Rasamanjari	...	1	Benares Sanskrit Series.
Ditto	...	29	Gudharthadipika	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	30	Tattvatraya	...	1	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.
Ditto	...	31	Lilavati	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	32	Karana Prakasa	...	1	Ditto.

Date of receipt.	Monthly serial number.	Names of Books.	Number of copies received.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
3rd March 1910	33	Kavyalankara Sutra	1	Benares Sanskrit Series.
Ditto	34	Mahasiddhanta	1	Ditto.
Ditto	35	Patanjala Darsanam	1	Ditto.
Ditto	36	Sankhyayagribhya Sangraha	1	Ditto.
Ditto	37	Sabdakaustubha	1	Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series.
Ditto	38	Naishkarmasiddhi	1	Ditto.
Ditto	39	Bhatta Chintamani	1	Ditto.
Ditto	40—41	Anu Bhashya, 2 Vols.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	42—43	Nyayasudha, 2 Vols.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	44	Vyakarana Siddhanta Sudhanidhi	1	Ditto.
Ditto	45	Brahma Sutra	1	Ditto.
Ditto	46	Advaita Siddhi Siddhanta Sara	1	Ditto.
Ditto	47	Tuptika	1	Benares Sanskrit Series.

Ditto	...	48	Daivajna kamadhara	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	49	Panini Mitakshara	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	50	Tattvadipana...	...	...	1	Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series.
Ditto	...	51	Vedanta Darsana	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	52	Prakaranapanchika	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	53	Sivastotravali	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	54	Vibhaktayatha Niraya	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	55	Nidhi Rasayanam	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	56	Nyaya Martanda	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	57	Siddhitrayam	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	58	Syadvada Manjari	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	59	Subodhani	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	60	Sri Bhashya Vattika	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	61	Vedantadipa	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	62	Yoga Darsana...	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	63	Svanubhava Darasa	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	64	Vedanta Sidhanta Sargala	...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	65—66	Vyavalara Balambhatti, 2 Vols.	...	...	1	Ditto.

Date of receipt.	Monthly serial number.	Names of Books.	Number of copies received.	Remarks.
1	2	2	4	5
March 919	...	...	...	Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series.
Ditto	67	Minamastala Prakasa	1	
Ditto	68	Sastr. d'pika	1	Ditto,
Ditto	69	Gadadhari	1	Ditto.
Ditto	70-71	Ja adis, 2 Vols.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	72	Vedan a Ratna Manjusha	1	Ditto.
Ditto	73	Sarit. Sarodhara	1	Ditto.
Ditto	74	Nyaywartik utparyatikha	1	Ditto.
Ditto	75	Akhyata Chandrika	1	Ditto.
Ditto	76	Prasna Ratnakara	1	Ditto.
Ditto	76	Vsa Prakasa	1	Ditto.
Ditto	76	Nyayprasadhi	1	Ditto.
Ditto	77	Kana	1	Ditto.
Ditto	78	Sa. Ahyas Sangraha	1	Benares Sanskrit Series.

Ditto	...	79	Brahma Mimamsa Bhashya	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	80	Prahasastra Marichika ...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	81	Krotopatira Sangraha ...	...	1	Chow. S. Series.
Ditto	...	82	Sputasastama Samucāchaya	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	83	Suddhadvaita Martanda ...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	84	Brahma Sūtra Bhashya ...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	85	Purva Mimamsa ...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	86-87	Khandana Khanda Khadya, 2 Vols.	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	88	Sādhā Kaustūbha ...	...	1	Benares S. Series.
Ditto	...	89-90	Katyayana Srauta Sūtra, 2 Vols.	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	91	Vidvan Mandana ...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	92	Rik Pratishakha ...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	93	Srutayanta Suradrūma ...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	94	Nyaya Lilavati ...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	95	Asvallyana Srauta Sūtra ...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	96	Brahma Sūtra Bhashyam	...	1	Chow. S. Series.
Ditto	...	97	Nyaya atumala ...	...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	98	Sūkva Ratnamala ...	...	1	Ditto.

Date of receipt.	Monthly serial number.	Names of Books.	Number of copies received.					Remarks.
			1	2	3	4	5	
3rd March 1919	...	Mīmamsa Sloka Varttika ...	...	99	...	1	1	Chow. S. Series.
Ditto	...	Chaturvimsatimata Sangraha	...	100	...	1	1	Benares S. Series.
Ditto	...	Bhāṣadāhikāra...	...	101	...	1	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	Vivaraṇopanyāsa	...	102	...	1	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	Bṛihat Vāiyakarana Bhūṣana	...	103	...	1	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	Saṅkhyāyana Aranyaka by Arthur B. Keith, M.A.	...	104	...	1	1	Purchased from Luzac and Co.
Ditto	...	Harsaṅgarīta of Paṇa by E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas.	...	105	...	1	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	Kaṇḍamāri of Paṇa by C. M. Ridding	...	106	...	1	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	Buddhist Psychology	...	107	...	1	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	The Kathakosha or Treasury of Stories by C. H. Towney.	...	108	...	1	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	The Antagada-Ḍaśao and Anuktaaravaiya Ḍaśao by L. D. Barnett, M.A.	...	109	...	1	1	Ditto.

Ditto	...	110	Pali Literature of Burma by M. H. Bode, Ph. D.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	111	The Oxford Students' History of India by Vincent Smith.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	112	Babylonian Tablets of the Bernes collection by T. G. Pinches, LL.D., M.R.A.S.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	113	A Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts by Dr M. Winternitz.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	114	Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia by G. E. Gerini, M.R.A.S.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	115	The Baloch Race by M. Longworth Jones.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	116—125	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 10 Vols.	1	Purchased from Mr. Jackson.
Ditto	...	261	Vaisheshika Philosophy by F. W. Thomas.	1	Purchased from Luzac and Co.
Ditto	...	127	Musalman Numismatics by O. Codrington, M.D., F.S.A.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	128	Kalidasa's Meghaduta by E. Hultzsch	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	129	The Life History of a Brahui by D. Bray.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	130	Prakritrupavatara by E. Hultzsch ...	1	Ditto.

Date of receipt.	Monthly serial number.	Names of Books.	Number of copies received.	Remarks.
I	2	3	4	5
3rd March 1919	131	Rigveda Hymns with the Commentary of Sayana.	1	Purchased from Cambray & Co.
Ditto	132	Medieval School of Indian Logic by M. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan, M.A., Ph.D.	1	Ditto.
23rd April 1919	1	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1910.	1	Purchased from Luzac & Co.
Ditto	2	Ditto Ditto 1911	1	Ditto.
Ditto	3	Ditto Ditto 1912	1	Ditto.
Ditto	4	Ditto Ditto 1914	1	Ditto.
Ditto	5	Ditto Ditto 1915	1	Ditto.
Ditto	6	Grundriss Der Indo Arischen Philologie Band III Heft 4 of 1910.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	7	Grundriss Der Indo Arischen Philologie Band I Heft 4 of 1910.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	8	Grundriss Der Indo Arischen Philologie Band III Heft 6 of 1913.	1	Ditto.

23rd April 1919	...	9—19	Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Vols. I to X.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	20	Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. XII, The Languages of the Northern Himalayas.	1	Ditto.
30th April 1919	...	21	Indian Chronology ...	1	Purchased from Sharma.
6th May 1919	...	1	The Commentary of Govindraja on Manava Dharma Sastra.	1	Purchased from Tarapurwala.
Ditto	...	2	Manava Dharm Sastra Bk. 1—6 (Manu Samhita Purva Dharma).	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	3	Manava Dharma Sastra (Manu Samhi- ta U.)	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	4	Manava Dharma Sastra (Manu Samhita U. Dharma) (1-2).	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	5—6	Manava Samhita, 2 Vols.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	7—46	The Pandit, June 1876 to 1918, 40 Vols.	1	Purchased from Lazarus, Benares.
13th May 1919	...	47	Vakyartha Chandrika ...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	48	Vaisheshika Aphorisms ...	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	49—50	Hymns of the Atharva Veda, Vols. I and II.	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	51	Hymns of the Sama Veda . .	1	Ditto.
Ditto	...	52	Naya Gutka ...	1	Ditto.

Date of receipt.	Monthly serial number.	Names of Books.	Number of copies received.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
18th May 1919	...	English Translation of "Padārtha Dharma Sangraha of Prasastapada."	1	Purchased from Lazarus, Benares.
Ditto	53		1	Ditto.
Ditto	54	} The White Yayur Veda ...	1	Ditto.
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JOURNAL

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VOL. V.]

[PART IV.

LEADING ARTICLES

I—Secret Messages and Symbols Used in India.

By W. Crooke, C.I.E., Hon. D.Sc., Oxon.

Anthropologists in India have hitherto devoted little attention to the methods of secret transmission of messages and information and of signalling in various parts of the country. The question has been investigated with interesting results by some American anthropologists,¹ and we have some information on the subject from Persia.² It is notorious that in India important news is often spread in the bazars in advance of the information supplied from official sources. Much of this news is doubtless spread by wandering Faqirs and other travellers along great highways like the Grand Trunk Road or the railways. But many other means of secret signalling are in use of which the origin is obscure. For instance, no satisfactory explanation seems to have been given of the "tree-daubing" which was noticed in northern India in recent times. This paper aims only at collecting some examples from easily

¹ G. Mallery, *Sign Language among the North American Indians*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, 1881: *Handbook of American Indians*, II. 503.

² *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, III. 619.

accessible sources, in the hope that it may lead to further investigation.

First comes the use of secret jargons or slang. The classical example of this is the message received by the Marāṭha Peshwa after the fatal battle of Pānīpat in 1761: "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up"—the two "pearls" being the generals in command, Śaḍāshivraṃ and Viśhvāshirāṃ.³ Some commercial castes have a secret language of their own—the Chettis and Nāttukottai Chettis, the Komatis and Patnulkārāns of Madras,⁴ and some classes of metal workers in northern India⁵ with the Maheshri Vānias of Gujarāt.⁶ Secret jargons of this kind are most common among the criminal and vagrant tribes. That of the Thags was collected by General Sleeman in his *Ramaseeana*; for the criminal tribes of western India several vocabularies have been collected;⁷ some have been noted in Madras,⁸ and in Baluchistān that of the Loris.⁹

One special form of such means of communication is the letter or message stick of the natives of Australia.¹⁰ This method seems to be unknown or very rarely used in the Indian peninsula, but it is found among the Veddahs of Ceylon.¹¹ Among the Kannadiyans, a class of cattle-breeders and cultivators in North

³ Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, 3rd ed., 320.

⁴ E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii. 95ff, iii. 308f, v. 270f, vi. 175.

⁵ Sir H. M. Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary*, 1860, 245.

⁶ *Bombay Gazetteer*, ix part i. 80.

⁷ M. Kennedy, *Notes on the Criminal Classes of the Bombay Presidency*, Bombay, 1908.

⁸ Thurston, iii. 46, 438, 446ff.

⁹ Census Report, 1911, 139; cf. The Jargon of Persian Gypsies, *Journal, Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. 344ff; Cypher Alphabet of the Malays, *Ibid.* xxxviii. 207ff.

¹⁰ W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines*, 70ff, 132f, 136f.; A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 691; B. Spencer, F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 141.

¹¹ C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddahs*, 119f.

and South Arcot, information is sent to relatives and castemen by two boys carrying little sticks in their hands.¹² But these do not seem to be inscribed in any way and they may be classed with the use of sticks and leaves which is common among the hill and forest tribes.

In 1899 the Dombas of Vizagapatam sent round as a signal of revolt a branch of the jack tree, which was fortunately intercepted by the police.¹³ During the Santāl rebellion of 1855 the *sāl* (*Shorea robusta*) branch, the national emblem of war, was circulated, like the fiery cross, in their villages; and slips of paper, supposed to belong to some sacred book, were sent round in the same way; a notice of a similar kind announced that the doors of the temple of Jagannāth had been closed, and that a bull with snakes hissing all over him would go there: "Keep your streets well cleaned and clear that he may pass through your village without obstruction. Send him on to the next four villages, or you will be smitten with disease and die within a year."¹⁴ Among the Kawars, an aboriginal tribe in the Central Provinces, a twig of the *nīm* (*Melia azadirachta*) possibly selected because it is the tree sacred to the Mother goddesses, or that of the guava, is circulated as a notice to attend the caste conferences.¹⁵ The Orāons used to summon the tribesmen to attend the annual hunt by sending round twigs of the *sāl* tree or of other trees; but this is now fallen into disuse, and the summons is circulated by beat of drum, but for this the phrase "circulating the twig" is still employed.¹⁶ Among the same tribe, when a claim for divorce is made, the president of the council hands a *sāl* leaf to the party desiring separation, who tears it in half to signify dissolution of the marriage.¹⁷

¹² Thurston, iii. 209.

¹³ W. Francis, *District Manual of Vizagapatam*, 1907, i. 204.

¹⁴ F. B. Bradley-Birt, *The Story of an Indian Upland*, 187f: E. G. Man, *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, 150, 185.

¹⁵ *Census Report*, 1911, i. 237.

¹⁶ Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Oraons* 230.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 455

Among the forest tribes another favourite method of sending signals is by circulating an arrow. The Khonds used to collect their fighting men by sending round "the arrow of summons."¹⁸ Among the Kols an arrow, passed from village to village, is a summons to arms, and if sent to any one in authority it is an open declaration of war, as was the case in 1831.¹⁹ A Ho who is unable to write makes his mark or sign manual with a rude representation of an arrow, and the women use it as a tattoo mark, it being the national emblem.²⁰ The Binjhawās of the Central Provinces have the arrow as their tribal symbol; they brand their cattle with it, and use it instead of a signature.²¹ The Māl Pahārias of Bengal, after the bride-price has been fixed, send the matchmaker to the bride's house bearing an arrow with a yellow thread tied in as many knots as there are days to the date proposed for the wedding.²² As a coincidence, it may be noted that in Africa the Ba-Mbal Bantus send messages by means of an arrow, on which certain marks have been cut.²³ This precaution does not appear in the Indian examples of the practice.

A more gruesome form of notice during a rebellion is the sending round of parts of the corpse of one of the first victims as a call to arms. In 1882 the Khonds of Vizagapatam sent round the head, fingers, hair, and other parts of an early victim of the disturbances.²⁴ It may be noted as a parallel that in Papua a pig is killed and the body is sent round; every village that accepts and eats of the pig is bound to join in the foray.²⁵

To collect his people or to authenticate any order the Lushai chief sends his spear from village to village; should the message be hostile the messenger carries a fighting dao, to which a piece of red cloth is attached; in other cases

¹⁸ S. C. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, 41.

¹⁹ E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 171.

²⁰ E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 181.

²¹ R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, ii. 260.

²² Sir H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 69.

²³ *Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. 413.

²⁴ W. Francis, i. 58.

²⁵ J. H. P. Murray, *Papua or British New Guinea*, p. iii.

a peculiar wand shaped like a cross made of strips of peeled bamboo is circulated; and if the tips of the cross pieces are broken a demand for blackmail is indicated, a rupee to be levied for every break; if the end of one of the cross pieces be charred, it implies urgency, and that the people must come even by torchlight; if a capsicum is attached to the wand, it means that disobedience will entail punishment as hot as the capsicum is; if the cross pieces be made of cane, it means that disobedience will entail corporal chastisement.²⁶

The best example of the use of knotted strings as a form of notice is found in the case of the Quipus.²⁷ In India knotted strings are often used for this purpose. Among the Hill Bhuiyas of Keonjhar "a knotted string passed from village to village throws the entire country into commotion, and the order which is verbally communicated in connexion with it is implicitly obeyed as if it emanated from the most potent despot. The *gānthi* or knotted string of the sixty chiefs has during the recent disturbances in Keonjhar been in active operation. The last one I heard of was a forgery. An adherent of the Raja captured by the Pauris ingeniously fabricated a *gānthi* and having effected his escape from his guard, it passed him unquestioned through the remainder of the Bhuiya country to our camp." ²⁸ In the Khond outbreak in 1882 the signal was given by passing a knotted string from village to village; other signals were a bent arrow and a branch of the *mahua* tree (*Bassia latifolia*); when the leaders were assembled each of them swore on an axe to join in the rising and to support his fellows.²⁹ The Kānikars, a forest tribe in Travancore, when summoning a caste meeting, send round a knot of fibres of a creeper as a call.³⁰ In

²⁶ J. Shakespear, *The Lushai Kuki Clans*, 46.

²⁷ E. B. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilisation*, ed. 1865, p. 154 ff.

²⁸ Dalton, 144f. [Among the Pāuris or Pābri Bhūiyās of Bonai, mustard seeds are sent round to the headmen of the different villages, the number of seeds indicating the number of combatants each village has to supply. And the messenger who communicates the demand for men also brings a knotted string made of the *Bauhinia* creeper, the number of knots indicating the number of days within which the combatants are required to assemble at the appointed place.—J. C. Roy.]

²⁹ R. V. Russell, iii. 480.

³⁰ Thurston, iii. 177.

the same way, knotted strings are often used as a record. At Santāl marriages a knotted string which shows the interval between the betrothal and the wedding is kept as a memorandum.⁸¹ We may compare with this the *sālgirah* or knotted birthday cord of the Musalmāns which marks the age of a child.⁸² Colonel Tod tells how the Chāran conductor of a caravan marks every stage of the journey by tying a knot in the end of his turban.⁸³

At the beginning of the Mutiny in 1857 cakes or *chapātis* were circulated in parts of northern India, and in the Pānchmahāle and in eastern Gujarāt a pariah dog was passed from village to village. Sir J. Campbell suggested that the cake was sent as embodying the spirit of the fierce goddess Kālī, and that any one tasting the food was thus admitted to communion with the deity and her worshippers. In a similar way he identified the dog with the attendant on Khandoba, the Marātha sword god, as a symbol of war. He gives some evidence in support of this theory from the statements of witnesses during the trial which followed the outbreak, but this does not carry full conviction.⁸⁴ It may be noted that in 1878 the Koyis of the Godāvari district sent round by village peons about twenty fowls and ordered that they should be circulated through the country. It was said that the cholera goddess was selecting her victims in the villages further north, and that these villages had sent the fowls as offerings; they were to be passed as far as possible before being sacrificed in the hope that the goddess would follow them and leave the district.⁸⁵ This seems to be a case of the scape animal familiar to students of folklore.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Dalton, 215f.

⁸² Abul Fazl, Allami, *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i. 267 note; Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Musalmans of India*, ed. 1916, p. 215; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iii. 190; N. Manucci, *Storia de Magor*, ii. 346.

⁸³ *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1919, iii. 1262.

⁸⁴ T. R. E. Holmes, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, 2nd ed. 89; *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. part i. 483f.

⁸⁵ Thurston, iv. 57.

⁸⁶ W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 2nd ed., i. 164 f.

In 1818, just after the Pindāri war, a sudden agitation was caused by a number of coconuts, sometimes accompanied by small pieces of copper money, being passed from village to village, from Jaipur in the north to the Deccan in the south, from Gujarāt to Bhopāl. The village Patels or headmen passed them on in order to avoid a curse denounced on all who impeded or stopped them for a moment. In spite of careful enquiry, the passing of these symbols, which lasted for a month, remained a mystery. Some thought it to be a sign of the complete establishment of British power; others said that a holy Brāhman in Jaipur had started it to announce the birth of a son; others that it was done in the interest of Bājirāv the Peshwa. Sir John Malcolm, in accordance with a custom current in southern India, had those which were brought to him broken and distributed at the foundation-laying of a house which he was then building.³⁷

The use of signs as marks of certain castes and tribes, or as personal crests, is not uncommon. The use of the *lānchhana* or tribal crest, in inscriptions and coins, or as devices on banners, was common in western India and elsewhere during the mediæval period.³⁸ In the Central Provinces the sign manual of the Māngs is a representation of the knife used in castrating cattle; the Bhāts make the sign of the dagger beside their signatures, as did, or does, the chief of Salūmbar, the leading noble of Mewār; the Bhainas use the bow as a signature and as a cattle brand.³⁹ Cattle in the Vedic age were marked on the ear and elsewhere as a mark of the tribe or family to which they belonged, or as a magical device to cause fertility.⁴⁰ At the present day in the United Provinces and elsewhere cattle are branded in various ways, the most common being the trident of Siva on the flanks of the so-called "Brahmani" bulls. It might be worth while making enquiries into the meaning of other marks of a similar kind. We may compare the tribal

³⁷ Sir J. Malcolm, *Memoir of Central India*, 2nd ed., ii. 217ff.

³⁸ *Bombay Gazetteer*, I Part ii. 299 note.

³⁹ Russell, ii. 233, 256, iv. 189; Tod, i. 205, 324

⁴⁰ A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, i. 46, ii. 56, 229.

mark known as *wasm* in Arabia by which every Badawi knows his own cattle ; and similar marks are often painted on rocks to indicate the frontier of the tribe's territories.⁴¹

Drum beating used as a mode of summons lacks in India the precision which it possesses in Africa and elsewhere.⁴² The Bhils beat the drum at both ends for joyful news, for news of evil only at one end, that end being previously muffled by rubbing it with moistened flour of the *urad* pulse ; in case of an alarm it is beaten at both ends, a continuous note being emitted, while screams often add to the commotion ; this note is at once picked up by the next village, and in an incredibly short time the whole district is aroused, all the tribesmen collecting at the place where the first alarm was sounded.⁴³ Among the same tribe in Gujarât, the Dholi minstrel makes his drum give out a peculiar mournful note at the sound of which the people of the neighbourhood gather to the funeral.⁴⁴ The Mâria Gonds in the Central Provinces beat a drum to announce a death.⁴⁵ The Orâons are summoned by the beating of the great drum which has iron sides and a cover of buffalo hide.⁴⁶ It was to the sound of the drum that the Vedic warriors moved to battle or to rescue their herds ; but in the Mahâbhârata this is replaced by the conch-shell of war, which the Asvins in the Rigveda used to sound when they claimed their share of the booty after a battle.⁴⁷

Special signs are often used to define the trail in the jungle. In Sikkim the trail is marked by a handful of freshly cut twigs ; when these are laid lengthwise on one of the diverging tracks they signify that the one so marked is that which the traveller should choose ; if laid crossways they mean that there is no

⁴¹ *Encyclopædia of Islam*, i. 376f. W. Robertson Smith, *Marriage and Kinship in Arabia*, 245ff. S. M. Zwemer, *Arabia, the Cradle of Islam*, 279.

⁴² L. Frobenius, *The Childhood of Man*, chap. vi. G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, ii. 23.

⁴³ C. E. Luard, *Ethnographical Survey Central India*, Monograph Bhil, 89.

⁴⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX, part i. 304.

⁴⁵ Russell, iii. 189.

⁴⁶ Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Orâons*, 181.

⁴⁷ Rajendralala Mitra, *The Indo-Aryans*, i. 328f.

passage this way.⁴⁸ Such devices are often used by the criminal or vagrant tribes. The Chhappaibands, well-known coiners of false money in northern India, who wander all over the peninsula, make a mud heap on the side of the road with an arrow mark pointing in the direction which other members of the gang have taken.⁴⁹ The Bhāmpas, pickpockets and railway thieves, when they wish to indicate to others following, where they have gone, bring together the tops of the stones used to make a cooking fire place, and scrape a mark with the side of the foot in the direction they propose moving, or they leave the impress of a naked foot on the earth which they have scraped together, pointing in the direction they have have taken.⁵⁰ The Kaikādis of the Deccan break off a spray from the bough of a tree and lay it near the cooking stones with the broken end pointing in the direction taken by the gang, a footprint being impressed at right angles to the spray; when two roads meet a circle is drawn with a straight line intersecting it, the free end indicating the direction; side tracks are marked by strewing leaves along that which should be selected.⁵¹ Bāwarīyas from Mārwar get a member of the gang, usually a woman, to trail a stick in the dust along the selected route, or leaves are placed at intervals under stones for the same purpose.⁵² The Ujla Mīnas adopt similar practices, or the jāmadār or leader of the gang scribbles his name on the walls of resthouses, temples, or other prominent places.⁵³ Audhiyas draw two segments of a circle on the roadside to indicate that the gang has halted in the vicinity.⁵⁴ Sānsīyas make a few small heaps of earth along the road they have chosen, and mark paths across country by leaves strewed on the ground.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ L. A. Waddell, *Among the Himalayas*, 202.

⁴⁹ Kennedy, 49ff: Thurston, ii. 18.

⁵⁰ Kennedy, 24.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 201.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 209.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 223.

Ibid., 250.

J. C. Hotten ⁵⁶ reproduces a map drawn by an English tramp which indicates houses which may be visited with advantage or those which it is well to avoid. Such rude maps are often found drawn for general information on the walls of lodging-houses and other resorts of the fraternity. It has been stated that English Gypsies practise similar methods. Rev. F. G. Ackerley, ⁵⁷ Secretary of the Gypsy Lore Society, kindly informs me that "Gypsies have various ways of laying a trail to show their own people which road they have travelled. Usually a handful of grass is laid on the roadside, or a mark, known as *patteran* or *patrin*, is scored in the dust. This is used for giving information, but not about houses and their inhabitants. Thus, when travelling with a Gypsy, two members of our Society often lingered behind to explore the country, to look at interesting buildings, and the like. The Gypsy always laid a *patteran* at cross roads so that they should make no mistake in following his route. He was much annoyed when he found that they did not destroy or remove the bunch of grass after learning its message. He said it might bring other Gypsies after him. Probably different families use different methods of giving such a sign, but the one and only purpose of the *patteran*, a word meaning 'a leaf', is to show which road the main or advanced party has travelled." *Patteran* is clearly the Hindi *patra*, "a leaf."

The language of signs is used in love-making all the world over. The classical instances are found in the stories of the "Arabian Nights", "Aziz and Aziza" and "Kamar-al-Zaman and the Jeweller's Wife".⁵⁸ It also appears in India. Pawn and betel are universally eaten by the Khyongtha, and they are not infrequently used as a means wherewith to make amatory propositions. Thus, a leaf of pawn with betel and sweet spices inside, accompanied by a certain flower, mean "I love you". If much spice is put inside the leaf and one corner turned in

⁵⁶ *Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words*, 1873.

⁵⁷ Letter dated 15th March, 1919.

⁵⁸ Sir R. Burton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and A Night*, ed. 1893, ii. 198ff, vii. 313ff.

a peculiar way, it signifies "Come". The leaf being touched with turmeric means "I cannot come". A small piece of charcoal inside the leaf means "Go, I have done with you".⁵⁹

Similar signs are also employed in marriage negotiations. Khonds make a marriage proposal by placing a brass cup and three arrows at the door of the girl's father. He will remove these once to show his reluctance, and they will be again replaced. If he removes them a second time, it signifies the definite refusal of the match; but if he allows them to remain, the bridegroom's friends go to him and say "We have noticed a beautiful flower in passing through your village and desire to pluck it".⁶⁰ The Mundas send a number of clay marbles to the guardians of the bridegroom to signify the number of rupees making up the bride-price. A number of *sāl* leaves, each rolled up and tied with a coloured thread signify the number of women's sheets which the bridegroom must present to the relatives of the bride.⁶¹

The criminal tribes have many ways of giving information by means of signs to other members of the gang. When Sānsiyas returned to their camp after a thieving expedition, when about a mile away they used to call "Cuckoo", to ascertain if any misfortune had happened during their absence; if they thought all was well, they went nearer and imitated the call of the partridge; and, finally, when close to the encampment, made a hissing noise like a snake.⁶² The Bhāmpṭa warns another by first coughing and then clearing his throat; this is done quietly if police are about, or noisily if the person to be warned is at a distance and the coast is clear; they are believed to possess certain secret signs, made with the eyes and fingers, by which they can communicate with each other when necessary.⁶³ Among some Māng burglars it is the practice for the confederate outside to keep up a quiet and regular tapping, by flicking the first finger from the thumb on a window or door to assure the men

⁵⁹ T. H. Lewin, *The Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, 123.

⁶⁰ Russell, iii. 467.

⁶¹ Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Mundas*, 441.

⁶² Russell, iv. 493.

⁶³ Kennedy, 286.

inside the house that there is no danger; the cessation of this signal means that they must be cautious or escape while they can.⁶⁴ Pathāns have a system of intercommunication by using words and phrases in a sense different from the ordinary meaning. Chandravedi pick-pockets make signals to the boy thief whom they employ by raising the elbow and moving their hands in various ways.⁶⁵

Lastly, I may refer to the custom of Dumb Barter, used particularly in horse-dealing, where the parties to the bargain arrange the price by manipulating their fingers under a cloth. The practice has been described by old travellers, like Varthema, Tavernier and Fryer, and by many later observers.⁶⁶

The use of secret marks and signs is thus of considerable interest as a contribution to the study of oriental symbolism, and it deserves the attention of anthropologists working in India who have opportunities for throwing light on the methods, some of which have been described in this paper.

⁶⁴ Kennedy, 116.

⁶⁵ Kennedy, 299.

⁶⁶ Varthema, *Travels in Egypt, Syria, Persia, India and Ethiopia*, 169 : Tavernier, *Travels in India*, ed. v. Ball, ii. 68 : Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, ed. 1909, i. 282 : P. G. H. Grierson, *The Silent Trade*, 1903 : *Man*, xiii. 193.

II—An Examination of Fifty-eight Silver Punch Marked Coins found at Gorho Ghat.

By E. H. C. Walsh.

The fifty-eight silver punch-marked coins which are described in the present paper were found in July 1917 at Gorho Ghat in the Bangaon (" Bongong ") Thana of the Bhagalpur District of this Province. They were found by some labourers who were digging earth to repair the road in a garden. At " knee-depth " below the surface they found an earthen pot which contained the coins and a copper *kangana* covered over with goldleaf, and some beads. They stated, as reported in the Police Report, that they found " a portion of land was surrounded by brick wall under the ground having a gap in the middle for putting some pot." It would therefore appear that the coins formed part of a deposit in a stūpa or reliquary.

The coins have been deposited in the Patna Museum.¹

The result of the examination of the coins entirely confirms the conclusions to which I came from the examination of the punch-marked coins found at Golakhpur in Patna City,² namely, " An examination of the marks on them shows that they occur in certain constant and regular groups on the obverse,.....and although other varying symbols were added to these constant groups, the above regular combinations, which cannot have been fortuitous, shows that the theory that these marks were affixed haphazard by shroffs and moneyers through whose hands the coins passed cannot be maintained, and that the present coins in fact constitute a coinage."

¹ The coins are Nos. 912 to 959 in the General Register of the Bihar and Orissa Coin Cabinet.

² An Examination of a Find of Punch Marked Coins in Patna City with reference to the subject of Punch Marked Coins generally. By E. H. C. Walsh. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. V, p. 16.

I do not propose to repeat in this paper the grounds for the conclusions arrived at in the former paper. This paper should therefore be read in continuation of it.

The examination of the present coins further shows that oval, round, and square coins were not only current at the same time, but, as is shown by the occurrence of the same group of marks on the coins of these different classes, were minted at the same time, and that, consequently, no conclusion as to the comparative age of the present smaller type of punch-marked coins can safely be drawn from their shape.

The coins were classified by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his Treasure Trove Report according to their shape as "circular thin", "circular thick", "square thin" and "square thick" and these classes were divided according to the number of marks on the reverse into "one mark", "two marks" and "three marks". This distribution between "thick" and "thin" as regards the present coins is only comparative. None of them are of the really thin type of the Golakhpur coins, as can be readily seen from the comparison of their respective size and weight.

The number of marks on the reverse, also, forms no basis for classification where, as already noted in the case of the Golakhpur coins, there is, with few exceptions, no uniformity amongst the groups of reverse marks. This will be clearly seen from the coins on which the reverse marks occur; which will be found in column 5 of Table II against *Figs.* 55 to 97.

The present coins appear to be considerably later than the Golakhpur coins. This would appear to be the case from the fact that the Golakhpur coins were found at a depth of 15 feet below the surface, whereas the present coins were found "knee-deep" below the surface, which, even allowing for the more rapid rise of the surface in a town than at a stūpa, the site of which has long been abandoned, would indicate a considerably greater age. The present coins would also appear to be later from the greater elaborateness of some of the marks on them.

It will be interesting if further evidence should become available to fix the approximate date of the stūpa in which they were deposited.

They support the conclusion that the large thin type of punch-marked coins, such as the Golakhpur coins, may be earlier than the smaller and thicker oval, round, and square type of coins. Also, as previously noted in the paper on the Golakhpur coins, the square form would appear to be later and to have been current when the later cast copper coins were introduced, from the fact that the cast coins were of that shape and contained the symbols found on square punch-marked coins.

The age of the present coins may also, possibly, be found from the fact that some of them (Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6 and 8) have on the reverse the "Taxila Mark," *Fig. 55*, referred to by Cunningham¹, which occurs on the reverse of coins found at Taxila, and four others (Nos. 3, 4, 18 and 26) have on the reverse a mark, *Fig. 56*, which appears to be an imitation of the Taxila mark.

The only evidence from the coins themselves which might indicate their age is a very small mark, *Fig. 81*, on the reverse of coin No. 19 which resembles and may, perhaps, be the Brāhmī letter *Ka*.

The weights of the present coins, excluding one coin, No. 42, which weighs 40.58 grains, vary from 52.47 grains to 44.75 grains. Only two (Nos. 3 and 13) are over 52 grains; three others (Nos. 23, 28 and 56) are over 51 grains; seven others weigh from 50 to 51 grains; eight others over 49 but under 50; and the remaining 38 are all under 49 grains, 8 of them being under 47 grains. As noted in regard to the Golakhpur coins, the theoretical weight of 58 grains for silver punch-marked coins, estimated from the system of weights given in Manu VIII, 132 *et seq.*² is very rarely attained, and it is uncommon to find these coins weighing more than 53 grains.

It would therefore appear that the estimated weight of the *rati* or *gunja* berry³, on which they are based, requires to be revised.

¹ Cunningham : *Coins of Ancient India* (C.A.I.) p. 56.

² C.A.I. and Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 2.

³ *Abrus precatorius*.

As already noted, the marks on the obverse of the present coins occur in certain groups and there are certain marks which are common to a number of coins.

Proceeding from this basis, as in the case of the Golakhpur coins, the present coins fall into certain distinct classes. Excluding coins Nos. 57 and 58, on which the marks are indistinct and which therefore cannot be classified, the remaining 56 coins are of three entirely distinct kinds, which would appear to come from entirely different areas and governments.

Coins Nos. 1 to 52 are of one kind and all bear the "Troy Mark" in different variants, Coins Nos. 1 to 40 in the form of *Fig. 1* and coins Nos. 41 to 52 in the variants of this form, *Fig. 1(a) to 1(c)*. They all also bear the Sun mark, *Fig. 2*.

They all bear five marks, neither more nor less.

The "Troy Mark" on the present coins is only another variety of the same mark, *Fig. 1* of the Golakhpur coins, with three taurines alternately with the three *chhatras* instead of three ovals alternately with the three *chhatras* in the Golakhpur coins, which, coins, also, all bore the Sun mark, *Fig. 2*. Assuming that this prevailing mark was the Empire mark (like Britannia on the English coins), these coins would be coins of the same Empire as the Golakhpur coins.

Coins 53, 54 and 55 are of an entirely different kind. They bear only three marks, instead of five, and do not bear either the Troy mark, or the Sun, which are the constant marks on all the other coins, Nos. 1 to 52.

One of the three marks on those three coins, the "Cotton bale" mark or "Caduceus," *Fig. 4*, occurs on 13 of the other coins. It is, however, a common mark on punch-marked coins from various localities. Marks which appear to be a portion of another of the three marks (dog or other with tortoise and taurines) *Fig. 18*, also occur on three other coins, viz. *Fig. 19* on coin No. 46 and *Fig. 20* on coins Nos. 9 and 10. But the third mark (three human figures in a row), *Fig. 54*, is peculiar to these three coins.

The third kind is represented by one coin only, No. 56. This coin is distinct from coins Nos. 1 to 52, in bearing only four marks, not five, and does not bear either the Troy mark or the Sun, the constant marks on those coins. It also differs in the number of marks from coins 53, 54 and 55, which have three marks only. Also, the marks on this coin, *Figs.* 51, 52, 53 and 23, only occur on this one coin and on none of the others.

The marks on the first kind of coins (Nos. 1 to 52) fall into certain classes, each of which bear a common group of marks. On this basis I have classified the coins as shown in the List of Coins and in Table I.

Class A. (Nos. 1—32) bear three constant marks, *Figs.* 1 and 2, and the usual form of the Hill mark, *Fig.* 3.¹ The remaining two marks fall into different groups, sub-classes 1 to 11, as shown in Table I. One coin (No. 26) bears, instead of *Fig.* 3, a variety of that mark, *Fig.* 3(a), and consequently I have placed it as another class, class B; coin No. 34 bears another variety of the Hill-mark, *Fig.* 3(b) and has consequently been entered as a separate class, class C; coins 35 and 36 bear another variety, *Fig.* 3(c), and consequently have been entered as a separate class, class D; coins 37 to 40 while bearing *Figs.* 1 and 2 do not bear the Hill mark, and consequently have been placed together as class E. Six coins (Nos. 41—45) bear a variety of *Fig.* 1, viz. *Fig.* 1(a). Of these, five (Nos. 41—44) also bear *Fig.* 8, and consequently have been called class F., and one (No. 45), which does not bear that mark, has been called class G. Three coins (Nos. 47—49), class H, bear another variety of the Troy mark, *Fig.* 1(b), and the three remaining coins (Nos. 50 to 52) bear respectively the varieties *Figs.* 1(c), 1(d) and 1(e) and, consequently, have each been entered as a separate class, classes I, J and K.

It would appear, however, that these are merely varieties of the same mark, and that classes A. to K. may therefore be considered as belonging to one general group, or kingdom of coins.

The reasons for considering this mark to be the Hill Mark, and not a Stūpa or Chaitya, as has been hitherto considered have been given in reference to the Golakhpur coins, and need not be repeated. J.R.O.R.S., Vol. V, pp. 30, 31.

As in the case of the Golakhpur coins and of every new find, the present coins bear a number of new marks which are not amongst those figured by Theobald.¹ Of the 54 obverse marks on Plate III only 23 correspond to marks figured by Theobald, and only three of the reverse marks.²

Still fewer of the marks on the present coins correspond with those on the Golakhpur coins. Although the two constant marks of the present coins, *Figs. 1 and 2*, correspond with the two constant marks, *Figs. 1 and 2*, of the Golakhpur coins, only one of the remaining obverse marks on the present coins corresponds, namely, *Fig. 42* with *Fig. 19* of the Golakhpur coins; and only one of the reverse marks, namely, *Fig. 87* with *Fig. 67* of the Golakhpur coins.

A complete record of the obverse marks occurring on punch-marked coins is needed, from which it may eventually be possible to assign these coins to definite areas and governments.

Although the classification of the coins has been made in reference to be obverse marks only and the reverse marks have not been taken into consideration, it will be seen from Table II, *Figs. 55 to 97*, that in some cases the same reverse marks are found on those coins which the obverse marks show to form one class, and not on the other coins, a fact which, on the supposition that the reverse marks are the marks of shroffs or moneyers through whose hands the coins passed, supports the presumption that those coins bearing one group of marks on the obverse passed through the hands of the same moneyers, as would be the case if they were the coins of one locality.

As an example of this, the "Taxila Mark," *Fig. 55*, occurs on the reverse of two of the four coins, Nos. 1—4, in class A.1,

¹ Notes on the Symbols found on the Punch Marked Coins of Hindustan and their relationship to the Archaic Symbolism of other races and distant lands. By W. Theobald, M.R.A.S., J.A.S.B., Part I, 1890, p. 181.

² *Fig. 1* corresponds to Theobald's *Fig. 94*; 3 to 51; 3(c) to 59 3(d) to 47; 3(e) to 50; 4 to 136; 5 to 80; 6 to 161; 8 to 18; 10 to 118; 11 to 10; 22 to 19; 25 to 221; 29 to 68; 30 to 222; 31 to 7; 32 to 9; 39 to 99; 46 to 179; 50 to 55; 52 to 2; 53 to 1. Of the Reverse Marks, *Fig. 61* corresponds to Theobald's *Fig. 180*; 63 to 136; 66 to 50; 69 to 63.

and on both the coins, Nos. 5 and 6, in class A.2, and the variety of this mark, *Fig. 56*, occurs on the remaining two coins of class A.1; and the triskelis, *Fig. 59*, and the caduceus, *Fig. 63*, occur together on the reverse of all the coins Nos. 53, 54, 55, which form the distinct class, class L. Other examples will also be found in Table II.

Another fact which supports the conclusion that the reverse marks are those of shroffs or moneyers and are not the recognized marks constituting the coinage is that in some cases the same mark occurs punched more than once on the reverse of the same coin; for example, *Fig. 90* is punched in two places on the reverse of coin No. 43, and *Fig. 94* is punched in two places on the reverse of the No. 46.

The reverse marks on the present coins, as in the case of reverse marks on punch-marked coins generally, differ from those on the obverse and are smaller and are punched less deeply into the coin. When they are of the same design as obverse marks they are smaller than the corresponding obverse mark.

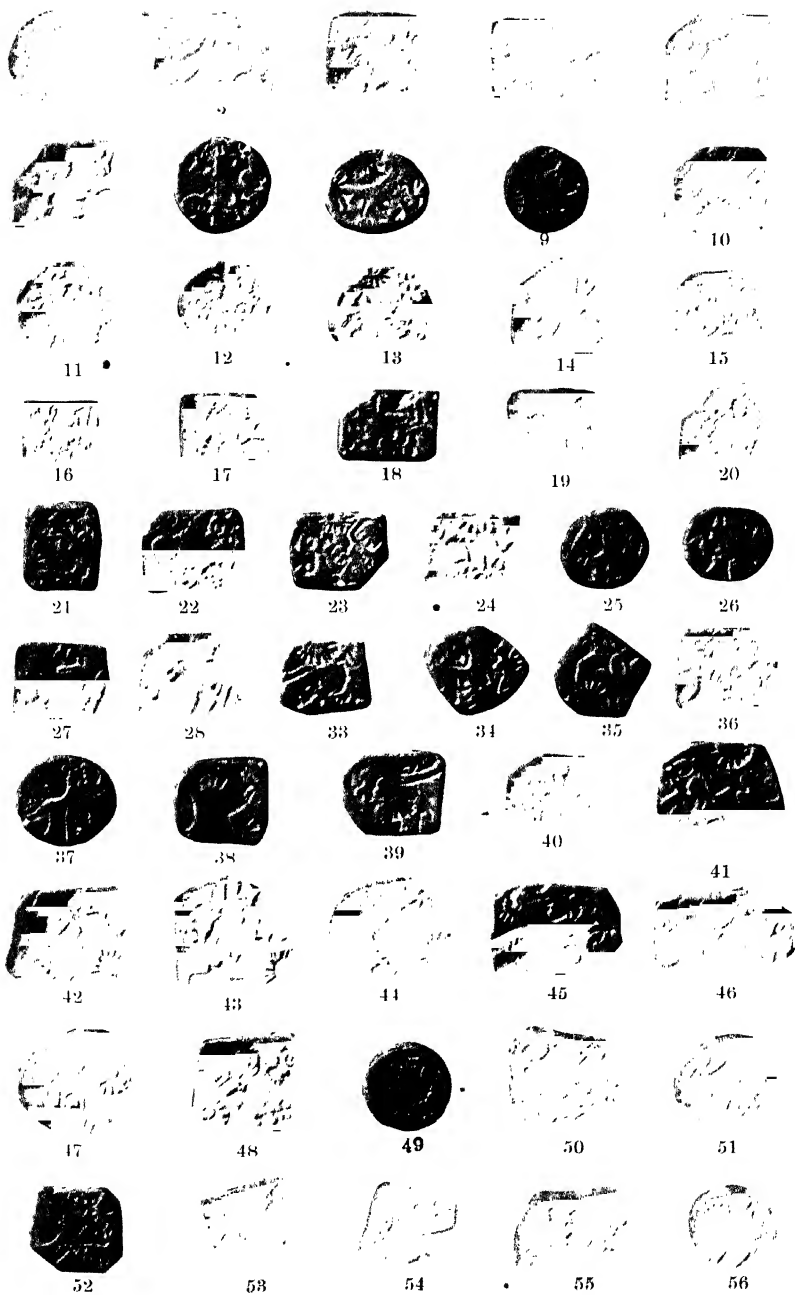
Only five of the 43 marks which occur on the reverse of the present coins are similar to marks on the obverse, namely, the Hill mark, *Figs. 65, 65(a) and 65(b)* which resembles obverse *Fig. 3*; the peacock on hill, *Fig. 66*, which resembles obverse *Fig. 3(e)*; the caduceus, *Fig. 63*, which resembles obverse *Fig. 4*; the humped bull, *Fig. 90*, which resembles obverse *Fig. 8*; and the four taurines round central boss, *Fig. 70*, which resembles obverse *Fig. 39*. In every one of these cases the reverse marks are considerably smaller than the similar marks on the obverse. This is particularly noticeable where the similar mark occurs on the obverse and reverse of the same coin; as the hill-mark on the obverse and reverse of coin No. 25; the peacock on hill, on the obverse and reverse of coins Nos. 20 and 21; the caduceus on the obverse and reverse of coins Nos. 9, 13, 40, 53, 54, 55; and the humped bull on the obverse and reverse of coin No. 43.

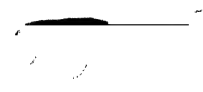
The reason for the reverse marks being punched so much less deeply into the coin may possibly be due to the fact that

PUNCH MARKED COINS.

the squares or disks of metal were heated before the coinage marks on the obverse were punched on, while the shroffs or moneyers would punch their marks on to the cold metal of the coin.

In some cases the reverse marks are hardly more than the outline of the design and have the appearance of having been partly obliterated by having been partly pressed or hammered out from the other side. An example of this is the mark *Fig. 72* on the reverse of coin No. 57. A possible explanation of this may be that in some cases people brought their silver to the minting authorities to have the government and other official marks minted on them, ready prepared in the form of the bars in which they would be cut in lengths to the authorized weight, and be stamped, and, before doing so, placed their own private marks on one side of the bars to ensure getting their own silver back again in coins after paying the *Rupya* or seignorage for minting.





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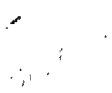
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1.a.



3.a.



3.e.



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5.



6.



16.



17.



18.



19.



20.



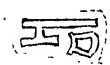
30.



31.



32.



33.



34.



44.



45.



46.



55.



56.



65.b.



66



67.



68.



69.



80.



81.



82.



96



97

LIST OF PUNCHED-MARKED COINS FOUND AT GORHO GHAT.

C.N.=Circular Thin; C.K.=Circular Thick; O.N.=Oval Thin;
O.K.=Oval Thick; S.N.=Square Thin; S.K.=Square Thick.

No.	Shape, weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS A.			
Figure composed of three <i>chhatras</i> and three taurines alternately round a central circle with a dot in the centre, <i>fig. 1</i> ; Sun, <i>fig. 2</i> ; an arch surmounted by a crescent, superimposed on two other arches, <i>fig. 3</i> .			
SUB-CLASS 1.			
With two additional marks, bovine facing <i>right</i> , with taurine below, <i>fig. 7</i> ; and tree with branches, <i>fig. 27</i> .			
1	C.K. 49.69 60 × 58	Five marks, as noted above; <i>figs. 1, 2, 3, 7 and 27</i> .	"Taxila marks", <i>fig. 55</i> .
2	S.N. 48.91 70 × 47	Ditto ...	<i>Fig. 55 and triskelis, fig. 61.</i>
3	S.N. 52.01 56 × 50	Ditto ...	Variety of the "taxila" mark, <i>fig. 56</i> .
4	S.N. 48.46 66 × 52	Ditto ...	<i>Fig. 56; and triskelis round a circle with a dot in the centre, fig. 60.</i>
SUB-CLASS 2.			
With two additional marks, <i>fig. 7</i> , as above, and another mark.			
5	S.N. 48.46 66 × 54	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 7 and part of an obscure mark on the margin.</i>	"Taxila mark", <i>fig. 55</i> .

No.	Shape, weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
6	S.N. 46-45 ·64 × ·50	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 7 part showing; and humped bull facing right, fig. 8.</i>	<i>Fig. 55, and triskelis (showing faintly) fig. 59 or fig. 60 and traces of another faint mark.</i>
		SUB-CLASS 3	
		With two additional marks, <i>fig. 27, and another mark.</i>	
7	C.K. 46-76 ·60 × ·57	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 27 and ele- phant facing right, fig. 11.</i>	Variety of "Taxila mark" <i>fig. 58.</i>
8	O.K. 49-84 ·62 × ·53	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 27 and object resembling a fleur-de-lys on a "comb" of five teeth, fig. 42.</i>	<i>Fig. 55.</i>
		SUB-CLASS 4.	
		With two additional marks; the "cotton-bale" or Ca- duceus <i>fig. 4</i> , and tortoise, with taurine (portion show- ing) <i>fig. 20.</i>	
9	C.K. 48-15 ·53 × ·52	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 20 ...</i>	Portion of "cotton-bale" mark, <i>fig. 63</i> , and portion of another mark.
10	S.K. 49-84 ·57 × ·46	Ditto ...	Triskelis, <i>fig. 60.</i>
		SUB-CLASS 5	
		With two additional marks; the "cotton-bale" mark, <i>fig. 4</i> , and another mark.	
11	C.K. 48-30 ·64 × ·62	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, and four crescents round a central boss, fig. 6.</i>	Three cones surmounted by crescents with foliated objects between them <i>fig. 75.</i>

No.	Shape, weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
12	O.K. 46.92 ·58 x ·52	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and five leaves in segmental incuse with a dot on each side of the central leaf, fig. 35.</i>	Traces of three undecipherable marks. The surface of the reverse of this coin has been scooped out in five places.
13	S.K. 52.47 ·60 x ·48	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and elephant, facing right, with taurine above and two taurines in front, fig. 12.</i> SUB-CLASS 6. With two additional marks, three uprights with spear-head, and half-arrow heads and two curved lines, <i>fig. 5</i> ; and another mark.	"Cotton-bale" mark, <i>fig. 63</i> , and taurine, <i>fig. 74</i> .
14	S.N. 47.07 ·60 x ·55	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5 and dog or other animal facing right, fig. 21.</i>	An indistinct mark.
15	S.K. 49.38 ·52 x ·40	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5 and dog or other animal with two arches above its back, fig. 16.</i>	Triskelion, round large circular boss, <i>fig. 59</i> , and traces of two indistinct marks.
16	S.K. 48.61 ·55 x ·39	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5 and object, possibly horned animal facing right, fig. 13.</i>	Indistinct mark in circular incuse.
17	S.K. 49.53 ·55 x ·44	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5 and portion of an indistinct mark.</i>	"Taxila" mark", <i>fig. 57</i> , and <i>fig. 78</i> .
18	S.K. 48.61 ·58 x ·42	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5 and portion of an indistinct mark.</i>	Variety of "Taxila mark" <i>fig. 56</i> , and <i>fig. 77</i> .
19	S.K. 50.46 ·53 x ·46	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5 and tree, with rail, fig. 30.</i>	Minute mark which may be the Brahmi letter K, <i>fig. 81</i> .

No	Shape, weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
SUB-CLASS 7.			
With two additional marks; two arches with a peacock on the top, superimposed on three other arches <i>fig.</i> 3(c) and another mark.			
20	S K. 50.46 ·53 × ·49	<i>Figs.</i> 1, 2, 3, 3(e), and steel- yard with circle and bale, <i>fig.</i> 34.	Two arches with a peacock on the top superimposed on three other arches, <i>fig.</i> 66, the same as 3(e), on the obverse, but smaller.
21	S K. 48.46 ·52 × ·45	<i>Figs.</i> 1, 2, 3, 3(e) and steel- yard with bale. <i>fig.</i> 32.	<i>Fig.</i> 66.
SUB-CLASS 8.			
With two additional marks; hand of four fingers, <i>fig.</i> 31; and another mark.			
22	S.N. 49.84 ·60 × ·52	1, 2, 3, 32, and harped bull facing right, <i>fig.</i> 9.	Triskelis, <i>fig.</i> 62; and central boss, surrounded by four taurines, <i>fig.</i> 71.
23	S.K. 51.70 ·58 × ·47	<i>Figs.</i> 1, 2, 3, 31 and <i>fig.</i> 14(a).	<i>Fig.</i> 70.
SUB-CLASS 9.			
With two additional marks, other than the preceding Sub-Class marks.			
24	S.K. 50.0 ·52 × ·41	1, 2, 3, tree with rail, <i>fig.</i> 30; and flower of four petals and four; straight lines, <i>fig.</i> 43.	Top of a branch or tree, <i>fig.</i> 85.

No	Shape, weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
SUB-CLASS 10.			
		With two additional marks, one of which is indistinct.	
25	O.K. 48·61 ·54 × ·47	1, 2, 3, animal with horns or large ears facing <i>right</i> , <i>fig. 14</i> ; and portion of an indistinct mark.	"Hill mark" <i>fig. 65(a)</i> ; triskelis, <i>fig. 59</i> ; and <i>fig. 82</i> .
26	O.K. 47·84 ·56 × ·50	1, 2, 3, hind quarters of dog or other animal facing <i>right</i> , <i>fig. 22</i> ; and portion of an indistinct mark.	Variety of "Taxila mark" <i>fig. 56</i> ; and triskelis, <i>fig. 59</i> .
27	S.N. 48·15 ·60 × ·48	1, 2, 3, steelyard with bale, <i>fig. 33</i> ; and portion of an indistinct mark.	Peacock facing <i>right</i> , <i>fig. 68</i> ; and portion of an indistinct mark.
28	S.K. 51·08 ·63 × ·51	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 49</i> , which is part of a mark and is over- punched with another in- distinct mark.	<i>Fig. 79</i> .
SUB-CLASS 11.			
		With two additional indis- tinct marks.	
29	C.K. 48·30 ·56 × ·50	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3</i> and two indis- tinct marks.	"Hour-glass" mark, <i>fig.</i> <i>69</i> , and portions of two indistinct marks.
30	C.K. 47·53 ·54 × ·50	Ditto	"Hour-glass" mark, <i>fig.</i> <i>69</i> , and portion of another mark.
31	S.K. 50·30 47· × ·42	Ditto	Portion of an indistinct mark.
32	S.K. 48·15 ·52 × ·45	Ditto	Cross of two long ovals and shorter cross-bar, <i>fig. 83</i> ; and portion of another mark.

No.	Shape, weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS B.			
		<i>Figs. 1, 2, and variety of the Hill mark; a double arch surmounted by a crescent, superimposed on two other arches, Fig. 3 (a); with two other marks.</i>	
33	S.K. 48.15 ·53 × ·43	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3 (a); bird resembling an owl, Fig. 26; and an indistinct mark.</i>	Traces of an indistinct mark. The reverse of this coin has been scored with several lines.
CLASS C.			
		<i>Figs. 1, 2, 4, and a variety of the Hill mark, a single arch surmounted by a crescent, Fig. 3 (b); with two other marks.</i>	
34	O.K. 48.91 ·57 × 55	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3 (b), 5 and portion of an indistinct mark.</i>	Traces of three faint marks.
CLASS D.			
		<i>Figs. 1, 2, and a variety of the Hill mark, three arches in a row, the centre one higher than the others, Fig. 3 (c) and two other marks.</i>	
35	S.K. 50.61 ·51 × ·48	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3 (c), 5 (upper half), and portion of an indistinct mark.</i>	Two indistinct marks.
36	S.N. 46.92 ·60 × ·48	<i>Fig. 1, 2, 3 c; four taurines to right round a central boss, Fig. 39, and a portion of an indistinct mark.</i>	Portion of an indistinct mark.

No.	Shape, weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS E.			
<i>Figs. 1 and 2, but not the Hill marks; with three other marks.</i>			
SUB-CLASS I.			
With three distinct additional marks.			
37	C.K. 46.92 .58 x .55	<i>Figs. 1 and 2; four objects resembling insects within a square, Fig. 36; (portion of mark) central boss with two taurines above it, and a portion of a taurine showing on either side, Fig. 38; and trisul with oval knobs at the points, and another dot at each side, Fig. 4.</i>	Small star of seven rays <i>Fig. 84.</i>
SUB-CLASS 2.			
With three additional marks, one or more of which are indistinct.			
38	S.N. 51.70 .56 x .51	<i>Figs. 1, 2; elephant right, Fig. 11; Fig. 44; and portion of an indistinct mark.</i>	Hill mark, <i>Fig. 65.</i>
39	S.N. 47.53 .56 x .51	<i>Figs. 1, 2; bovine right, with taurines, Fig. 7, a crescent on a cone or pillar with a taurine on each side, Fig. 46; and portion of an indistinct mark.</i>	Portions of three indistinct marks.
40	S.K. 50.30 .55 x .45	<i>Figs. 1, 2; "cotton-bale" mark, Fig. 4; and portion of two indistinct marks.</i>	Cotton-bale mark, <i>Fig. 63</i> ; smaller than the similar mark on the obverse.

No.	Shape, weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
CLASS F.			
Variety of <i>Fig. 1</i> , with the taurines enclosed in ovals, <i>Fig. 1 (a)</i> ; Sun, <i>Fig. 2</i> ; and humped bull facing right, <i>Fig. 8</i> .			
SUB-CLASS 1.			
With additional marks, grotesque humped-bull facing left, with taurines above and below, <i>Fig. 10</i> ; and elephant right, <i>Fig. 11</i> .			
41	S.N. 47-07 ·72 × ·70	<i>Figs. 1 (a), 2, 8, 10 and 11</i>	Three upright lines, two terminating in three branches, the other with a projection on each side, <i>Fig. 76</i> ; straight line terminating in a knob and another object within an oval ring, <i>Fig. 89</i> ; small taurine, <i>Fig. 74</i> ; and an indistinct mark.
42	S.N. 40-53 ·74 × ·59	Ditto ...	"Hill mark," <i>Fig. 65</i> ; boss in circular ring, <i>Fig. 88</i> ; and two indistinct marks.
SUB-CLASS 2.			
With two additional marks, which vary.			
43	S.N. 47-07 ·70 × ·63	<i>Fig. 1 (a), 2, 8, grotesque humped bull, Fig. 10; and thick wavy line, Fig. 47.</i>	Seven marks. "Hill mark," <i>Fig. 65</i> ; "Hour-glass," <i>Fig. 69</i> ; humped bull right, <i>Fig. 80</i> ; <i>Fig. 91</i> ; <i>Fig. 92</i> ; portion of flower of eight petals, with taurine in the centre, <i>Fig. 93</i> ; and portion of an indistinct mark.
44	O.N. 45-32 ·76 × ·65	<i>Figs. 1 (a), 2, 8, elephant facing right, Fig. 11; and portion of an indistinct mark.</i>	Two squares placed diagonally, with some object inside them, <i>Fig. 87</i> ; <i>Fig. 96</i> ; and an indistinct mark.

No.	Shape, weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
45	S.N. 44-75 .78 x .56	<p><i>Figs. 1(a). 2, 8; four objects resembling insects in a square, Fig. 36, and boss within circular ring, "portion of a circle, and a taurine, Fig. 40.</i></p> <p>CLASS G.</p> <p><i>Fig. 1(a), variety of Fig. 1; Sun, Fig. 2; and three other marks.</i></p>	"Hill mark," <i>Fig. 65</i> , and an indistinct mark.
46	S.N. 46-92 .89 x .49	<p><i>Figs. 1(a), 2; elephant right, Fig. 11; dog or other animal facing right with taurine above and below, Fig. 19; and five pointed branches and oval bosses alternately round a large central boss, Fig. 48.</i></p> <p>CLASS H.</p> <p>Variety of <i>Fig. 1</i>, with objects like a thick I in place of taurines; <i>Fig. 1(b)</i>; Sun, <i>Fig. 2</i>; and three other marks.</p> <p>SUB-CLASS 1.</p> <p>With additional marks, variety of "Hill mark", three arches in a row, <i>Fig. 3(c)</i>; and two other marks.</p>	Eight marks. Cross in circular ring, <i>Fig. 94</i> ; branch of seven ovals, <i>Fig. 95</i> ; two taurines under two crossed lines, <i>Fig. 97</i> ; and portions of four incomplete or indistinct marks. <i>Fig. 94</i> is punched in two places.
47	O.N. 47-88 .73 x .65	<p><i>Figs. 1(b), 2, 3(c); branch of seven points, Fig. 29; and an object of obscure meaning, Fig. 45.</i></p>	Two indistinct marks.

No.	Shape, weight and size.	Obverse. ,	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
48	S.N. 49-38 60 x 56	<p><i>Figs. 1(b), 2, and 3(c); cotton-bale mark, Fig. 4; and dog or other animal with double arch above it, Fig. 17.</i></p> <p>SUB-CLASS 2.</p> <p>With additional marks; "cotton bale", <i>Fig. 4</i>; tree or plant, <i>Fig. 28</i>; and an indistinct mark.</p>	<p>"Hill mark," <i>Fig. 65</i>; and an indistinct mark.</p>
49	C.K. 48-76 55 x 55	<p><i>Fig. 1(b), 2, 4, 28 and an indistinct mark.</i></p> <p>CLASS I.</p> <p>Variety of <i>Fig. 1</i>, with "hour glass" in oval in place of taurine, <i>Fig. 1(c)</i>; Sun, <i>Fig. 2</i>, with three additional marks.</p>	<p>Variety of "Hill mark" five arches with peacock on the top, <i>Fig. 66</i>, and an indistinct mark.</p>
50	S.N. 49-23 72 x 53	<p><i>Figs. 1(c), 2; Pyramid of six arches, Fig. 3(d); "cotton bale" mark, Fig. 4 and dog or other animal inside a circle with dots round it, Fig. 24.</i></p> <p>CLASS J.</p> <p>Variety of <i>Fig. 1</i>, with two circles in place of taurine, <i>Fig. 1(d)</i>; Sun, <i>Fig. 2</i>; and three other marks.</p>	<p>"Hill mark," <i>Fig. 65(b)</i>; svastika with curved arms pointing left, <i>Fig. 62</i>; animal facing right over a cone, variety of the "Hill mark," <i>Fig. 67</i>; and an indistinct mark.</p>

No.	Shape, weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
51	O.K. 50.0 .61 x .56	<i>Figs. 1(d), 2; two insects in oval incuse, Fig. 37; tree with rail, Fig. 30; and solid body over three uprights with taurine on the right, Fig. 50.</i> CLASS K. Variety of <i>Fig. 1</i> , partly showing with an animal between two of the chhatras, <i>Fig. 1(e)</i> ; the sun, <i>Fig. 2</i> ; and three other marks.	Object in a square, <i>Fig. 73</i> .
52	S.K. 48.76 .58 x .54	<i>Figs. 1(e), 2, "cotton bale" mark, Fig. 4; animal resembling a goat, facing right, eating grapes, and a goblet above its back, Fig. 25; and part of a mark including an "insect"</i> CLASS L. "Cotton bale" mark, <i>Fig. 4</i> ; dog or otter with tortoise, and taurine, <i>Fig. 18</i> ; and three human figures, two with chignons, <i>Fig. 54</i> .	Three oval objects one above another, resembling the "cotton-bale" mark, <i>Fig. 64</i> .
53	S.N. 49.68 .55 x .55	<i>Figs. 4, 18 and 54.</i>	Triskelis, <i>Fig. 59</i> ; "Cotton bale" mark, <i>Fig. 63</i> , smaller than the similar mark on the obverse; and hour-glass, <i>Fig. 69</i> .
54	S.N. 50.0 .59 x .52	Ditto	Ditto

No.	Shape, weight and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	3	4
55	S. N. 50.0 ·71 x ·46	<i>Figs. 4, 13, 54.</i> CLASS M. Three marks which appear to be intended for human figures, one with three dots over the head, <i>Fig. 51</i> ; one with a dot on either side of the head, <i>Fig. 52</i> ; and one without dots, <i>Fig. 53</i> ; animal, facing <i>right</i> , <i>Fig. 23</i> ; and an indistinct mark.	<i>Figs. 59 and 63</i> ; and solid object on two up-right lines, <i>Fig. 80.</i>
56	O.K. 51.39 ·59 x ·48	<i>Figs. 51, 52, 53, 23</i> and portion of an indistinct mark. CLASS N. Unclassified, as the marks are indistinct.	Branch, <i>Fig. 83</i> ; and portion of an indistinct mark.
57	O.K. 48.30 ·57 x ·47	<i>Fig. 2</i> , partly showing and four indistinct marks, a taurine forming part of one.	Six dots round central dot (faintly showing), <i>Fig. 72</i> and traces of an indistinct mark.
58	S. N. 49.23 ·64 x ·47	<i>Fig. 37</i> and four indistinct marks.	Circle surrounded by four taurines, with crescent below, <i>Fig. 71</i> , and an indistinct mark.

TABLE I.

The Classification of the Coins.

Class and Sub-class.	Distinctive marks of each class <i>Fig. in Plate III.</i>	Distinctive Additional marks of each Sub-Class <i>Fig. in Plate III.</i>	Number of coins in each class and sub-class.	Serial number of the coins in the list of coins.
1	2	3	4	5
Class A ...	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3</i> ...	.....	32	1—32
Sub-class 1 ...	.....	<i>Figs. 6, 27</i> ...	4	1—4
Do. 2 ...	.....	<i>Fig. 6</i> ...	2	5, 6
Do. 3 ...	.....	<i>Fig. 27</i> ...	2	7, 8
Do. 4 ...	.....	<i>Figs. 4, 20</i> ...	2	9, 10
Do. 5 ...	.....	<i>Fig. 4</i> ...	3	11—13
Do. 6 ...	.....	<i>Fig. 5</i> ...	6	14—19
Do. 7 ...	.....	<i>Fig. 3(e)</i> ...	2	20
Do. 8 ...	.....	<i>Fig. 31</i> ...	2	22, 23
Do. 9 ...	.....	<i>Figs. 30, 43</i> ...	1	24
Do. 10 ...	.....	Varying marks and the other mark indistinct.	4	25—28
Do. 11 ...	.....	Both marks indistinct.	4	29—32
Class B ...	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3(a)</i> ...	<i>Fig. 26</i>	1	33
Do. C ...	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3(b)</i> ...	<i>Fig. 5</i>	1	34
Do. D ...	<i>Figs. 1, 2, 3(c)</i> ...	Varying marks ...	2	35, 36

TABLE I—*contd.*

Class and sub-class.	Distinctive marks of each class <i>Fig. in Plate III.</i>	Distinctive additional marks of each Sub-class <i>Fig. in Plate III.</i>	Number of coins in each class and sub-class.	Serial number of the coins in the list of coins.
1	2	3	4	5
Class E ...	<i>Figs. 1, 2</i> ...	.....	...	...
Sub-class 1 ...	.....	Three clear marks...	1	37
Do. 2 ...	.....	Two varying marks, clear and one indistinct.	3	38—40
Class F ...	<i>Figs. 1(a), 2, 8</i> ...	.....	...	...
Sub-class 1 ...	.....	<i>Figs. 10, 11</i> ...	2	41, 42
Do. 2 ...	.....	Varying marks ...	3	43—45
Class G ...	<i>Figs. 1(a), 2</i> ...	Three other marks...	1	46
Do. H ...	<i>Figs. 1(b), 2</i> ...	.....	...	...
Sub-class 1 ...	.....	<i>Fig. 3(e)</i>	2	47, 48
Do. 2 ...	.....	Three other marks ...	1	49
Class I ...	<i>Figs. 1(c), 2</i> ...	Ditto ...	1	50
Do. J ...	<i>Figs. 1(d), 2</i> ...	Ditto ...	1	51
Do. K ...	<i>Figs. 1(e), 2</i> ...	Ditto ...	1	52
Do. L ...	<i>Figs. 4, 18, 54</i> ...	No other marks ...	3	53—55
Do. M ...	<i>Figs. 51, 52, 53, 23</i>	Ditto ...	1	53
Do. N ...	Unclassified as the marks are indistinct.	.....	2	57, 58

TABLE II.

Description of the Marks on the Coins as illustrated on Plate III.

MARKS ON THE OVERSE.

Figure on Plate.	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
1	Three <i>chhatras</i> and three taurines alternately round a central circle with a dot in the centre; a variety of the "Troy Mark".	A—E	40	1—40
1a	As <i>Fig. 1</i> ; but with an oval round each of the taurines.	F.—G.	6	41—46
1b	As <i>Fig. 1</i> ; but with a figure like a thick I in place of the taurines.	H. •	3	47—49
1c	As <i>Fig. 1</i> ; but with a figure like an hour-glass probably the <i>damaru</i> (small double hand drum) in place of the taurines, each enclosed in an oval.	I.	1	50
1d	As <i>Fig. 1</i> ; but with two ovals, one above the other, in place of the taurine.	J.	1.	51
1e	As <i>Fig. 1</i> ; but with an animal (dog or jackal ?) over one of the taurines.	K.	1	52
2	The sun. A circle with rays round it and a dot in the centre.	A—K	52	1—52
3	An arch with a crescent on the top, superimposed on two others; the Hill-mark.	A .	32	1—32
3a	Like <i>Fig. 3</i> ; but with a double arch (two arches) with a crescent on the top, superimposed on the two others.	B	1	33
3b	A single arch with crescent on the top.	C	1	34

TABLE II—*contd.*

Figure on Plate.	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
3c	Three arches in a row, the centre one higher than the others.	D	2	35, 36
		H. 1	2	47, 48
3d	An arch superimposed on two which are superimposed on three other arches.	I	1	50
3e	Two arches with a peacock on the top, superimposed on three others.	A. 7	2	20, 21
4	These ovals one above another with a straight line running through them; the "Cotton-bale" mark, or Caduceus.	A. 4	2	9, 10
		A. 5	3	11, 12, 13
		E. 2	1	40
		H. 1	1	48
		H. 2	1	49
		I	1	50
		K	1	52
		L	3	53, 54, 55
5	Three uprights with spear-head and half arrow-heads with curved line on either side.	A. 6	6	14—19
		C	1	34
		D	1	35
6	Four crescents round a central boss.	A. 5	1	11
		A. 2	2	5, 6
		A. 1	1	1—4
7	Bovine facing <i>right</i> with taurine below.	E. 2	4	39
8	Humped bull facing <i>right</i> ...	A. 2	1	6
		F	5	41—45

TABLE II—*contd.*

Figure on Plate.	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
9	Humped bull facing right with taurine above.	A. 8	1	22
10	Humped bull grotesque facing <i>left</i> , with two taurines above and two below.	F. 1	2	41, 42
		F. 2	1	43
11	Elephant facing <i>right</i> ...	A. 3	1	7
		E. 2	1	38
		F. 1	2	41, 42
		F. 2	1	44
		G.	1	46
12	Elephant facing <i>right</i> , with taurines above and in front.	A. 5	1	13
13	Figure which may perhaps be a portion of an animal with horns, facing <i>right</i> .	A. 6	1	16
14	Figure resembling <i>Fig. 13</i> but with the "horns" more raised from the head, and with a dot below the head.	A. 8	1	23
15	Animal with horns or large ears, facing <i>right</i> .	A. 10	1	25
16	Animal, perhaps a dog or an otter, facing <i>right</i> , with two arches above its back.	A. 6	1	15
17	Animal facing <i>right</i> , with projection and two arches above its back.	H. 1	1	48
18	Animal [dog or otter (?)] facing <i>right</i> , with a tortoise below and three taurines in front.	L	3	53, 54, 55

TABLE II—*contd.*

Figure on Plate	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
19	Animal facing <i>right</i> with taurine above and below.	G	1	46
20	Tortoise, with part of a taurine; this appears to be a portion of <i>Fig.</i> 18.	A. 4	2	9, 10
21	Upper portion of animal facing <i>right</i> ; but with no taurine or other object above it.	A. 6	1	14
22	Mark which appears to be the hind quarters of a dog or other animal facing <i>right</i> ; but the <i>incuse</i> shows that this is not a portion of <i>Fig.</i> 18.	A. 10	1	26
23	Animal facing <i>right</i> ...	M	1	56
24	Animal [dog (?)] facing <i>right</i> , inside a circle with dots round it.	I	1	50
25	Animal, resembling a goat, facing <i>right</i> , eating grapes, with taurine above its head, and figure resembling a goblet above its back.	K	1	52
26	A bird; resembling an owl ...	B	1	33
27	Tree with branches ...	A. 1	4	1—4
		A. 3	2	7, 8
28	Tree of different design from <i>Fig.</i> 27; or plant.	H. 2	1	49
29	Branch of seven points ...	H. 1	1	47
30	Tree with rail ...	A. 6	1	19
		A. 9	1	24
		J	1	51

TABLE II—*contd.*

Figure on Plate.	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
31	Hand of four fingers, within a square.	A. 8	2	22, 23
32	Steelyard and bale ...	A. 7	1	21
33	Portion of steelyard and bale.	A. 10	1	27
34	Portion of steelyard, with bale, and circle	A. 7	1	20
35	Five leaves in segmental <i>incuse</i> , with a dot on each side above the central leaf	A. 5	1	12
36	Four objects, which may be insects within a square.	E. 1	1	37
		F. 2	1	45
37	Two "insects", one on either side of a straight line with a boss, in oval <i>incuse</i> .	J	1.	51
38	(Portion of a mark) central boss, with two taurines above it, and portion of a taurine showing on either side.	E. 1	1	37
39	Four taurines to <i>right</i> , round a central boss.	D.	1	36
40	Boss within a ring, portion of a circle, and taurine.	F. 2	1	45
41	Trisûla with oval knobs at the points, with oval dot on each side.	E. 1	1	37
42	Figure resembling a <i>fleur-de-lys</i> on the "comb" of five vertical lines.	A. 3.	1	8

TABLE II—*contd.*

Figure of Plate	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Number of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
43	Flower of four petals and four straight lines alternately round central boss.	A. 9	1	24
44	(Portion of mark) semi-circle, and a straight line.	E 2	1	38
45	Figure as illustrated. the incuse shows that it is a single mark, and it appears to be complete.	H. 1	1	47
46	Cone or pillar surmounted by a crescent, with taurine on either side.	E 2	1	39
47	Thick wavy line... ..	F. 2	1	43
48	Large circular boss with five pointed branches and oval bosses alternately round it	G.	1	46
49	Figure as illustrated ...	A. 10	1	28
50	Solid figure above three vertical lines, with taurine on right; similar to the right hand portion of Theobald's Fig. 55.	J.	1	51
51	Probably a human figure with three dots above.	M.	1	56
52	Probably a human figure with two dots above.	M.	1	56
53	Rude human figure ...	M.	1	56
54	Three human figures in a row, the two to the left facing each other. with hair in chignons. The head of the right hand figure not complete.	L.	3	53, 54, 55

TABLE II—*contd.*
MARKS ON THE REVERSE.

Figure on Plate.	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
55	"The Taxila mark" (C. A. I, p. 56). Central dot with a crescent on each side and a foliated object above and below.	A. 1	2	1, 2
		A. 2	2	5, 6
		A. 3	1	8
56	A variety of the above "Taxila mark".	A. 1	2	3, 4
		A. 6	1	18
		A. 10	1	26
57	Six-pointed figure of crescent shape on each side and blunt pointed above and below, with two small straight lines projecting on each side; with small circular incuse in centre. May be a variety of Fig. 56 as it contains the similar component parts.	A. 6	1	17
58		A. 3	1	7
59	Triskelis with central boss.	A. 2	1	6
		A. 6	1	15
		A. 10	2	25, 26
		L.	3	53, 54, 55
60	Triskelis on a circle round a central boss.	A. 1	1	4
		A. 4	1	10
61	Triskelis pointing left.	A. 1	1	2
		A. 8	1	22

TABLE II—*contd.*

Figure on Plate	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
62	Svastika with curved arms pointing left.	I.	1	50
63	Three ovals one above another with a straight line running through them; the "cotton bale" mark, or "caduceus."	A. 4 A. 5 E. 2 L.	1 1 1 3	9 13 40 53, 54, 55
64	Three figures one above another, the general appearance of which resembles the "cotton bale" mark.	K.	1	52
65	An arch surmounted by a crescent, superimposed on two other arches. The "Hill-mark"	E. 2 F. 1 F. 2 H. 1	1 1 2 1	38 42 43, 45 48
65(a)	"Hill-mark" similar to Fig. 11; but the arches are higher in comparison to their width.	A. 10	1	25
65(b)	A smaller variety of the "Hill-mark," with the arches solid.	I.	1	50
66	Variety of "Hill-mark." Two arches surmounted by a peacock, facing right, superimposed on three other arches.	A. 7 H. 2.	2 1	20, 21 49
67	An animal facing right over a cone. A variety of "Hill-mark."	I.	1	50
68	Peacock facing left, but no arches.	A. 10	1	27
69	Object of the shape of an hour glass; probably a <i>damaru</i> (double hand-drum.)	A. 11 F. 2 L.	2 1 2	29, 30 43 53, 54
70	Central boss surrounded by four taurines pointing right.	A. 8	2	22, 23

TABLE II—*contd.*

Figure on Plate.	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
71	Circle surrounded by four taurines pointing left, with crescent below.	N.	1	58
72	Six dots round a central dot.	N.	1	57
73	Dot within a square ...	I	1	51
74	Taurine ...	A. 5 F. 1	1 1	13 41
75	Three cones surmounted by crescents with foliated objects between them.	A. 5	1	11
76	Three upright lines, two terminating in three points, and the right hand one with a projecting line on each side.	F. 1	1	41
77	(Incomplete). Possibly portion of an animal facing left.	A. 6	1	18
78	Humped bull ? facing left (Similar to <i>Fig. 77</i>).	A. 6	1	17
79	Figure as illustrated ; may be intended for humped bull facing left.	A. 10	1	28
80	Incomplete ; apparently a portion of <i>Fig. 78</i> .	L.	1	55
81	Minute mark, which may be the Brahmi letter K.	A. 6	1	19
82	Object which may possibly be a tree with its roots showing.	A. 10	1	25
83	A cross of two long ovals and shorter crossbar.	A. 11	1	32
84	Small star of seven rays ...	E. 1	1	37
85	(Incomplete). Branch of five points ; appears to be part of a larger branch or tree.	A. 9	1	24

TABLE II—*concl'd.*

Figure on Plate.	Description of Mark.	Class and Sub-class.	Number of coins on which the mark appears.	Numbers of the coins in the list.
1	2	3	4	5
86	Branch of five points in oval incuse.	M. 1	1	56
87	Two squares placed diagonally, with some object inside them.	F. 2	1	44
88	Circle with a boss in the centre.	F. 1	1	42
89	Straight line terminating in a knob and another object, within an oval ring.	F. 1	1	41
90	Humped bull facing right ...	F. 2	1	43
91	Obscure object, as illustrated...	F. 2	1	43
92	Cone, surmounted by an object resembling an animal, also taurine and dot; would appear to be a variety of Hill mark.	F. 2	1	43
93	Portion of a flower of eight petals, round a circle, with a taurine in the centre.	F. 2	1	43
94	A cross within a circle ...	G.	1	46
95	Branch of seven oval leaves ...	G.	1	46
96	Boss above an arch; perhaps a variety of the "Hill mark". This mark might be a taurine as in <i>Fig. 74</i> , but the arch and the boss are separate.	F. 2	1	44
97	Two taurines under two crossed lines.	G.	1	46

III—Contributions of Bengal to Hindu Civilization.

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Sixth Contribution.

Ships and Boats.

Bengal abounds in large rivers, and so there can be little doubt that the people in very ancient times knew how to build boats. The boats built were of various kinds — Dona, Duni, Dingi, Bhelā, Naukā, Balām, Chip, Mayūrpānkhī, etc. All these however were small boats and could be found everywhere. What contributed to Bengal's special glory was the fact that she built her ships too.

There was a king in Vaṅgaṇagara, according to the Buddhist tradition, in Bengal even before Lord Buddha's time. He married the daughter of the king of Kaliṅga and had a beautiful daughter by her. She was a naughty girl. She fled from her home and joined a party of merchants who were going to Magadha. When they arrived near the frontier of Bengal they were attacked by a lion. The merchants fled for their lives, but the princess followed the 'lion,' and pleased him so much that he married her. In course of time she had a son and a daughter. The arms of the son resembled those of the lion, and for this reason he was named Siṃhabāhu. Siṃhabāhu, when he grew up, fled with his mother and sister from the lion's cave. When they reached the frontier of Bengal, the king's brother, who was the Sīmārakṣaka or frontier officer, sent the princess with her son and daughter to Vaṅganagara. The lion returning to the cave missed his son and daughter and was very unhappy. He began a diligent search everywhere and at last came into Bengal. His appearance scared the villagers who ran to the king to apprise him of the danger. The king announced by beat of drum the offer

of a large reward for the capture of the lion. He said to Sinhabāhu "If you can capture the animal I will make you king." Sinhabāhu killed the beast, became king and married his own sister. He had a large number of children by the marriage, the eldest being named Vijaya. Vijaya was very wicked. He oppressed the people very much. The latter, thus provoked, came to the king and asked him to kill Vijaya. The king sent him in a boat to the sea with seven hundred followers. His children and those of his followers were sent in another boat, while their wives in a third. The males landed in one island, called Nagnadvīpa, and the females in another, named Nāridvīpa. Sailing thence Vijaya reached Suparākā situated near modern Bombay—now called Supārā. Here, too, he began to oppress the people. The latter chased him and he fled in a boat to Laṅkādvīpa. On the day he landed here, Lord Buddha laid himself down between two *sal* trees in the city of Kushi and was attempting to obtain Nirvāṇa. Addressing Indra he said "To-day Vijaya has landed in Laṅkādvīpa ; kindly protect him ; he will preach my religion there."

The three boats in which Sinhabāhu sent Vijaya, his sons and their wives, were very large. They were ships, for each of them could accommodate seven hundred persons. Two thousand five hundred years ago boats of this description used to be built in Bengal. There is engraved on the Ajanta cave, a picture of the ship in which Vijaya sailed to Laṅkādvīpa. It appears from this that the ship had its mast and sail and everything which a ship required before the successful application of steam power for the purposes of navigation. There are many, however, who are sceptical about the ship. But the picture in the Ajanta cave is still there and the evidence it furnishes cannot be disbelieved. The picture is fourteen hundred years old. When it was engraved nobody thought it had been overdrawn.

Even before Lord Buddha's time there were large boats in other parts of India. There was a big port near Bombay, called Bharukaccha or Baroach, from which ships sailed to Baberu or Babylon. From Supara, too, ships sailed to different parts of

the world. We hear of ships capable of carrying seven hundred passengers.

But we have not heard of such ships sailing from Tāmralipti or Bengal before or after Lord Buddha's time. Nevertheless it is supposed by European scholars that Tāmralipti was a busy port in Buddha's time. This conjecture is strongly corroborated by the *Artha-Sāstra* in which Cānakya says that the officer in charge of ships supervised navigation in the sea. Hence there can be little doubt that in that age ships sailed from Bengal and Magadha. But with the exception of Tāmralipti, Bengal and Magadha had no port.

The *Daśakumāra Carita* is an ancient work. Professor Wilson says it was composed in the seventh century A.D. Other scholars, equally competent to form an opinion, however, think that its date preceded the birth of Christ. This book gives an account of Tāmralipti. We are told that many ships sailed from this port across the Bay of Bengal. One of the ten Kumāras embarked from here for a distant voyage. His ship was sunk by that of a Yavana, named Rāmeṣu.

"Rāmeṣu" in the *Daśakumāra Carita* reminds us of Ramases of Egypt. It would seem that the memory of Ramases existed at the time the work was written.

We learn that ships sailed from Tāmralipti to Japan and China even after this date. Four hundred years after Christ Fa-hien sailed from Tamluk. There were men of all nationalities in the ship. It met with a storm in the boisterous Chinese sea. The ship was on the point of sinking, but Fa-hien prayed to Buddha and the storm abated. At a still later time, Indians emigrated to Sumatra, Java, Bali and other islands, and spread in each of those countries Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava or Buddhist religion. But they probably embarked from Bharukaccha, although there is nothing to preclude the supposition that they sailed from Tāmralipti. There is however no evidence available on the point.

We learn from the ancient accounts of Burma that the people of Magadha conquered the country many times and

spread Indian civilization there. It appears from the Burma Archæological Report that in very ancient times the Magadhis entered Pagan and preached there the religion of India.

Kalidāsa says that the king of Bengal had navies fully equipped. There can be little doubt that the Pala Kings fought naval battles. It is distinctly written in a copper-plate belonging to Dharmapāla (which has been discovered at Khalimpore) that the said king had many ships always ready for naval fight. It is written in Rāmacarita that Rāmapāla crossed the Ganges in a bridge of boats. It also appears in a stone engraving in the city of Kalyāṇī that in A.D. 1276 some Buddhist Bhikṣus embarked from Tāmralipti and on arriving at Pagan reformed the Buddhist religion there.

It is from Bengali works on Manasā and Maṅgalacandī however that we derive glowing and perhaps somewhat exaggerated accounts of sea voyages in times gone by. We are told that a certain merchant in Bengal used to undertake perilous voyages. On one occasion he equipped fourteen to sixteen vessels, put them under the charge of a single Mājhi, and passing through the Ganges, entered the sea. Crossing the sea he proceeded to Ceylon, and sailing thence, reached various islands in the ocean after a voyage of fourteen or fifteen days. The principal ship of Cāṇḍ Sadāgar was called Madhukara. In Manasār Bhāsān, composed by Dvija Vaṇsidāsa, it is stated that starting from Ceylon and after a voyage of thirteen days, Cāṇḍ Sadāgar encountered a severe storm. Volumes of froth and foam rushed on board his ship. He wept through fear and being unable to trace the whereabouts of his other vessels cried out in blank despair: "Those vessels contain my all. I do not see any one of them. My life too is in danger." He entreated the pilot to devise some means of safety. The latter tried to quiet his fears, and failing to do so dragged out a number of oil casks from the ship and threw them into the sea. In an instant the onrush of waves ceased and the sea became tranquil. The other ships were discovered at a distance and Cāṇḍ Sadāgar was now full of joy.

Even after the date of these books, we find that when Kedar

Ray and Pratápāditya became very powerful, they fought naval battles and often undertook distant voyages. It must be confessed indeed that they were in a great measure helped by the Portuguese pirates. At a subsequent time, however, the Raja of Arakan, aided by the Portuguese, raided Bengal, inaugurating there a reign of terror. Saïsta Khan punished them with the help of Bengali Majhis and extirpated piracy from the Bay of Bengal.

Seventh Contribution.

Bauddha Silabhadra.

In the introduction to a work entitled "Abhidharmakosa Vyakhyānam" the author Vasubandhu is stated to be like a second Buddha. If this was true of India, there can be little doubt that Yuan Chwang was a second Buddha in all Asia. Of the Buddhist scholars born in China, he was the greatest. At one time his disciples and their followers spread over Japan, Korea and Mongolia. Yuan Chwang came to India to derive a first-hand knowledge of Buddhism and Yoga. But he learnt a great deal more than he came to learn, and it reflects no small glory upon Bengal that the man at whose feet he learnt was a Bengali. Silabhadra was the son of the king of Samatata. He was the head of Nalanda Vihāra at the time, when Yuan Chwang visited India, and as such was regarded with awe and respect by kings, including even the Emperor Harṣavardhana himself. This was however owing to the position he held and not due to his personality. But the glory of his wisdom and learning surpassed even the dignity of his high office. Yuan Chwang was a man of wide experience. He revered his guru like a god and gratefully acknowledged that Silabhadra had dispelled from his mind all doubts which could not be cleared up by instructions received from the gurus of various other countries on the subject of Bauddha Dharma Sāstra and Bauddha Yoga. The mists and clouds which the chief Pandits of Kashmere could not with all their erudition remove were all scattered away by Silabhadra and without much effort. Silabhadra was a Mahāyāna Bauddha, but he had studied the religious literature

of all the other sects. This of itself did not indeed mean much, for all heads of Mahāyāna Vihāras were expected to possess such versatility. What conferred upon him special glory was the fact that he had also thoroughly mastered the Śāstras of the Brāhmaṇas. He thoroughly studied Pāṇini and taught Yuan Chwang all the commentaries upon it which were then in existence. He also instructed him in the Vedas—the fundamental religious works of Brahmins. It is to be greatly doubted whether India ever had a profound scholar versed like him in all the Śāstras. His scholarship was as great as the liberality of his views. When attracted by the wisdom and learning of Yuan Chwang, the other Buddhist Pandits insisted upon his settling in this country, Śīlabhadra said “China is a great country. Yuan Chwang must preach Buddhism there and you should not stand in his way. If he goes there, Buddhism will flourish; but if he stays here, no good will come of it.” When again, Kumārarāja Bhāskara Varmā repeatedly requested Yuan Chwang to go to Kāmarūpa and the latter refused, Śīlabhadra said, “Buddhism has not as yet found its way into Kāmarūpa. If Yuan Chwang’s going helps to spread the religion there, it will be a great gain.” All these facts go to show Śīlabhadra’s foresight, his policy, and his unbounded attachment to the religion he professed.

A few words about his childhood I have said already that he was the son of the king of Samatata, and was a Brahmin by caste. From childhood he had shown a predilection for learning and his fame was great. He travelled all over India in furtherance of the cause of learning, and in his thirtieth year came to Nālanda. Here Bodhisattva Dharmapāla was at the head of the Buddhist organization. Śīlabhadra became his pupil and in a few days mastered everything which his guru had to teach. Just at this time a Pandit who had gained laurels in religious controversies came to the king of Magadha and challenged a discussion with Dharmapāla. The King thereupon sent for Dharmapāla. When the latter was making preparations for his departure Śīlabhadra said, “Why should you go?” Dharmapāla

replied, "The glory of Buddhism is on the wane. Irreligion is spreading among us like a cloud. Unless we succeed in scattering it, there is no hope for the progress of Buddhism". Silabhadra said "You had better stay here. Let me go". When Silabhadra met the Pandit, the latter observed with a smile, "Is this the boy who is to engage me in controversy?" In a short time however he realized his mistake, for he was completely beaten. Unable either to meet the arguments of his young adversary or to answer his questions he felt himself discomfited and hurriedly left the place. Silabhadra's learning and high scholarship filled the king with admiration and he bestowed upon him a city. Silabhadra however said, "What shall I do with wealth when I have entered the Holy Order?" The King replied, "The light of Lord Buddha's wisdom has long disappeared. Unless therefore we worship merit, how can we hope to save true religion? So please don't refuse my offer." Silabhadra then accepted the property and from its income built a large Saṅghārāma.

Yuan Chwang says that in piety, learning, wisdom as well as in love of religion, Silabhadra surpassed even the early Buddhists. He wrote a large number of books. His notes and commentaries were lucid and their language simple. There were few scholars versed like him equally in all the Śāstras.

Eighth Contribution.

Santi Deva a Buddhist Writer.

The great Śānti Deva who has left an indelible mark upon the Buddhist religious literature was, I think, a Bengali. But I find Tārānātha holds a different opinion. He says Śānti Deva was an inhabitant of Saurāṣṭra. I have got a life of Śānti Deva and with its help I hope to clear up this point. Unfortunately, however, the place which contained the name of his birthplace has been hopelessly erased by somebody and it is impossible to decipher it. Nālanda as well as the capital of Bihar were the spheres of his activities. When he left home his mother gave him the following instruction:—

"In order that you may acquire merit you should make Mañju Vajra Samādhi your spiritual guide".

Now, Mafijustī was somewhat out of place in Saurāṣṭra. Buddhism was not much prevalent there.

There is another reason for supposing that he was a Bengali. In Nālanda he had a *kuṭi* or cottage. He was seen to be always cheerful, either when he ate his food, or when he lay down to sleep or sat in his *kuti*. Hence the lines :—

सुझानोऽपि प्रभाखरः

बन्धोऽपि प्रभाखरः

कुटी गतोऽपि प्रभाखरः

This was why he was called “Bhusuku.” When he lived in the capital of Magadha he did the work of a “Rāuta.” Now, there are certain Bengali songs ending with the *bhaṇṭā* “राखतु भयङ्क कट, भुसुकु भयङ्क कट” The question is whether Rāutu, Bhusuku and Sānti Deva were one and the same person. The probability is that they were so.

It further appears that Sānti Deva was the author of three books:—

- (1) Sūtra Samuccaya.
- (2) Sīkṣā Samuccaya.
- (3) Bodhicaryyāvatāra.

The last two have been discovered and printed, but the first has not yet been traced. But we have got another book which bears the name of Bhusuku which was written by him. This work, too, like the two books which have been discovered, is written in Sanskrit and contains in places passages in Bengali. Again, in the two books aforesaid and especially in Sīkṣā Samuccaya, there are portions written in a language which is not Sanskrit.

It may be urged however that the two books mentioned above deal with the doctrine of the Mahāyāna School, but the other, Sūtra Samuccaya, belonged either to the Vajrayāna or Sahajayāna. How could the same man, it may be asked, write books of two different Yānas? I would refer in this connexion to the opinion of Bendall who says that even in Sīkṣā Samuccaya, Tantric doctrines are to be found here and there. We have

also seen that Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna are not independent of Mahāyāna. All these sects regarded themselves as being part and parcel of Mahāyāna. They thought they had only simplified its complexities and ensured its advancement. The Nepalese who belong either to the Vajrayāna or Sahajayāna School call themselves Mahāyāna Buddhists.

In Bodhicaryyāvātara, Śānti Deva frequently uses towards his opponents an abusive epithet which cannot be met with in any language but Bengali. It is *গুণ মন্দক*, which, as every Bengali knows, is very common in our language.

There is also a current song which throws some light on the question. It is this—

“*আজ বুষুকু তু ভেলি বঙ্গালী*
নিজ ঘরিয়ো চাঁডালী বেজী”

“To-day Bhusuku you have truly become a Bengali, etc.”

For all these reasons I regard Śānti Deva as our eighth glory. The Tengur works say that he was an inhabitant of Jahore. I do not know where the place is situated but I think it should be traced.

Ninth Contribution.

Natha Pantha.

The Yogīs in this country bear the title of Nāthas. They say “we were the spiritual guides of kings, but the Brāhmanas have ousted us from our offices.” Accordingly they have set on foot a movement for wearing the sacred thread. The manners and customs of the Nāthas however do not resemble those of the Brāhmanas. For many years past I have been trying to inform myself about their origin. On reading an article on “Matsyendra Nāth and a few others” by Hodgson which appeared in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, I was first impressed with the belief that a religious school called Nathism held for many centuries unbounded sway in Bengal and Eastern India. It was formerly believed that the fourteen Nāthas mentioned in the Haṭha-Yoga-pradipaka of Gorakṣanātha belonged to Kavir’s time. The Kavirpanthis have indeed a work which contains a dialogue between Kavir and Gorakhnath. This led to the

supposition that they were contemporaries. But Wassiljew has proved from Thibetan books that Gorakhnath belonged to ninth century A.D. It is the prevailing belief among the Buddhists of Nepal that all the Nathas were Buddhists and that it was Goraksanātha only who forsook Buddhism and became a S'aiva. As long as he was a Buddhist he was called Ramanavajra or Anaṅgavajra. In the course of my research I came across a Tantra, entitled "Kaulajñāna Vinīścaya" brought to light by Matsyendranātha or Macchaghnapāda. It is written in the character of the ninth century A.D. It does not contain the remotest reference to Buddhism. There is an ancient Buddhist work which, quoting a Bengali passage of Minanātha, says it belongs to Paradarsana, or a Non-Buddhist School of thought. There are many other reasons for supposing that the Nāthas professed a religion which was neither Hindu nor Buddhist.

S'iva was the god of the Nāthas. Their religious books are written in the form of Hara Pārvatī Samvāda in the Tantras. It was they who were responsible for the Haṭha-yoga system. Their religion consisted in the practice of Yoga by means of various postures. The fundamental principles of the religion have not as yet been discovered, although it would seem that they favoured renunciation. They did not care much for heaven or hell, their efforts being mainly directed towards the attainment of Siddhi. This Siddhi has subsequently degenerated into conjuror's tricks; it is difficult to say what had been the objective of the early Nāthas. At the present time many Nāthas have taken to begging with the help of these conjuring tricks. The Nāthas have no objection to indiscriminate indulgence in sensuality. The Mahāmandir of Jodhpur is now the principal place of their pilgrimage. Here dwells their religious head who is called Nāthji. He is a rich man. His Mahāmandir is a large town surrounded on all sides by walls. A visit to this place enabled me to learn that the Nāthji worships the footprints of his predecessors and he himself is regarded by the people as a god. The Nāthjis do not marry, but they have no objection

to begetting children. Neither do they entertain any prejudice against wine or meat. In wine alone they incur enormous expenditure.

I have come across a passage of Mīnanātha (written in pure Bengali) which proves conclusively that the Nāthas were inhabitants of Bengal or at least of Eastern India. Bengal was generally the scene of Gorakṣanātha's activities. His disciple Hādipā was the hero of the song of Maynāmata. When Mīnanātha forgot his own religion, it was Gorakṣanātha who reminded him of the fact. Matsyendra Nātha is often called Macchaghna Nātha which shows that he was a fisherman by caste. If this be true, he must in all probability have been a Bengali.

When the Nāthas became a powerful sect, both Hindus and Buddhists stooped to worship them. It is somewhat curious that though the work of Matsyendra Nātha makes no mention of Buddhism, he is now the principal god of the Buddhists in Nepal. The Rathayātrā festival of Matsyendra Nath is celebrated there with a pomp unparalleled in the case of any other god. As to Gorakṣanātha it may be said that although all the Buddhists in Nepal are not quite pleased with him, there can be no doubt that his followers worship him as a god. He is likewise worshipped in Thibet.

For all these reasons I hold that the Nātha sect formed the ninth glory of ancient Bengal.

Tenth Contribution.

Dipankara Srijñāna.

Dipankara Srijñāna was the tenth glory of Bengal. He was an inhabitant of Vikramanipura in Eastern Bengal. He became a Bhikṣu and sought shelter in Vikramasīla Vihāra. Here, within a short time he came to be regarded as a profound scholar. The Adhyakṣa of the Vihāra sent him to Suvarṇadvīpa where he obtained much celebrity by reforming the abuses which had crept into Buddhism there. After his return he himself became the Adhyakṣa of Vikramasīla. This was at a time when Vikramasīla rose into greater importance than even

Nālanda. For it then became the training ground of many great scholars who afterwards preached Buddhism in India and abroad. Sānti, the jewel of this Maṭha, was a sharp and keen-witted Naiyāyika. Prajñākaramati, Jñānasri Bhikṣu and various other distinguished authors and scholars also contributed to the fame and glory of Vikramasīla.

It conferred no small glory therefore upon the person who stood at the head of such an institution. Dīpaṅkara frequently engaged in controversy with great Brahmin scholars and also with those who belonged to the several Yānas, and beat his opponents successfully. At this time Buddhism was declining in Thibet and a sect called Vanapa was becoming powerful there. Frightened at this, the king of Thibet sent a messenger to India inviting Dīpaṅkara to his Court. Dīpaṅkara was at first unwilling to go; afterwards however realizing the gravity of the situation he accepted the invitation. The king sent a large retinue who accompanied him to Thibet. During the journey he remained for several days at Svayambhūketra in Nepal. Starting thence he crossed the ice-clad peaks of the Himalaya and reached the Thibetan kingdom. The capital of the king was situated in Western Thibet. The Vihāras in Thibet in which he had stopped during his sojourn are even now regarded by the Thibetans as sacred. In his Archæological Report, Franke has pointed out the places of his activity in Thibet. He was in his seventieth year at this time. Here he worked hard and succeeded in converting many Thibetans to Buddhism. Since this time many different sects of this religion have sprung up in Thibet so that no apprehension is now entertained as to its possible disappearance from that country at any time. In Thibet Dīpaṅkara preached the Mahāyāna doctrine. But convinced that the Thibetans, habituated to the worship of Daityas and Dānavas, were not fully prepared for the pure doctrine, he translated also many Vijrayāna and Kālacarayāna books and wrote many prayers pointing out many different modes of worship. The Tangyur catalogue mentions his name almost in every age. He is worshipped as a god to this day by

many thousands of people. Many suppose that the learning and culture of Thibet were all due to his efforts.

Eleventh Contribution.

Jagaddala Mahavihara and Vibhuti Candra.

Mr. Wright picked up a few manuscripts from Nepal and presented them to the University of Cambridge. Among these is to be found one which is called Sānti Deva's Siksā Samuccaya. It is written on paper and contains hand-writing which is mostly Bengali. When Bendall catalogued it he said that it had been written in A.D. 1400 or 1500. When it was printed, he put the date one hundred years back, doubting whether paper could have been older. Bendall is a good scholar. I may perhaps boast of a private friendship with him. On one occasion he and I went to Nepal together. But I cannot persuade myself to agree with him on this point. I have seen in Nepal manuscripts written on paper much older than that used in Siksā Samuccaya and have brought with me one or two such specimens. I am not prepared to hold that any manuscript is recent merely because it is written on paper. Dr. Hoernle has shown that in very ancient times "Kāygaḍ" was in extensive use in Nepal. The word "Kāygaḍ" is Chinese. It has come to us through Muhammadans who got it direct from the Chinese and corrupted it into "Kagaz".

Towards the end of the manuscript we find the words :—

हेयधर्मीयं पवरमहायानयापिनो जागन्दलपण्डित विभूतिचन्द्रस्य etc.,

Bendall says he does not know who this Mahāyāna Panthi Jagaddala Paṇḍita Vibhūti Candra was. In 1907 when I renewed my visit to Nepal, I found in several manuscripts mention of the name of Jagaddala (and not Jagandala as in Bendell) Mahāvihāra. At that time I, too, was ignorant of everything connected with this institution. I became acquainted also with the name Vibhūti Candra at this time. It was he who had written a commentary on Nāmasaṅgīti called Amṛta Karmikā. The commentary was written after the doctrine of Kālacakrayāna.

When after this I published Rāmacarita, I came to know that Jagaddala was situated near the city of Rāmavati founded

by Rāmapāla. It stood just at the confluence of the Ganges and Karatoyā. The Karatoyā does not now flow into the Ganges but discharges its contents into the Jumna. The Ganges at one time passed through the Budigaṅgā. This has induced me to suppose that Rāmāvatī and Jagaddala must have been situated near the village Rāmapāla in Munshiganj. Since I expressed the opinion, many have been diligently trying to make out where Jagaddala was. Some are attempting to find it in Bogra and others in Maldah. The place however still remains to be discovered; but it cannot be doubted that its discovery is of the utmost importance. For what Nālanda was to Magadh, Kaniska Vihāra to Peshawar, Dipdattama Behar to Colombo, Jagaddala was to Bengal, or (as it is said in some places) to Eastern India.

That Jagaddala was an important centre admits of little doubt. It does not appear that Rāmapāla established it. But it is certain that many well-known Bhiksus lived here and that Vibhūti Candra was the greatest of them all. Vibhūti Candra wrote notes and commentaries on many Sanskrit Buddhist books. He also rendered valuable assistance at the time when these works were being translated in the Thibetan. He made one or two translations himself. There was another Mahābhiksu of the Jagaddala institution whose name was Dānasīla. He also assisted in these translations. From these facts it would appear that the Tibetans relied mainly on Jagaddal Bhiksus in building their religious literature.

Recently Babu Rakhal Das Banerji has purchased a work belonging to the Tengur collections and presented it to the Sāhitya Parisad. The Lama of the Society says it is not printed from wooden types, but is a manuscript. It was written 1,026 years ago and Dānasīla translated it. Now, if this Dānasīla be the identical man who was a Bhiksu in Jagaddala, the inference is irresistible that this institution as well as Bibhūti Candra flourished in very ancient times. The date assigned to Siksā Samuccaya by Bendall should, in that case, be pushed three or four centuries back. For all these reasons I hold that Jagaddal and Bibhūti Candra shed lustre upon our past.

*Twelfth Contribution.***Luipāda and his Siddhacāryyas.**

Luipāda and his Siddhacāryyas constitute the twelfth glory of ancient Bengal. Of Luipāda I have had occasion to mention in one or two places. He was the earliest Siddhacāryya. He has been described in many places as the Adi-Siddhacāryya. He was a Bengali. In Rādhā he is even now worshipped, a goat being sacrificed in his honour. In Mayurbhanja too he is worshipped. In Thibet he is worshipped as a Siddhacāryya. He wrote many Bengali songs and many commentaries on Sanskrit Buddhistic works and was the founder of a sect which is either Sahajayāna or any of its sub-sects. We are in possession of materials which show that the Siddhacāryyas at one time established their influence in Bengal and Eastern India. In A.D. 1400 a Raghuvamsi named Hari Singh became king of Mithilā. He at one time invaded Nepal and struck terror into the hearts of Mussalmans in Bengal and Delhi. After him many of his decendants sat on the throne of Nepal. Hari Singh had a minister named Caṇḍesvara. The latter wrote a number of works on Smṛti. In Hari Singh's Court there was a poet who wrote good farces in Sanskrit. He was called Jyotirisvara Kavisekharacāryya. Perhaps this man also used to write verses in Bengali. He has left a curious work entitled "Varṇana Ratnākara," written in a language which seems to be a strange compound of Sanskrit and Bengali. The object of the book was to impart instruction as to how persons and things should be described in poetry. He enumerated the names of 76 out of 84 Siddhas he intended to mention. Among the names he mentions, we find those of most of Lui's disciples. The fact, that this sect was in existence down to the time of Hari Singh, shows unmistakably that Lui was an extraordinary man.

It is written in Tengur that Lui was called Matsyāntrāda. It means that he was fond of the entrails of fish (which by the way is considered a delicacy by every Bengali). The same authority takes care to point out that he should not on that

account be confounded with Matsyendranatha who was the son of Minanātha, while Lui was Mahāyogisvara.

Of the Siddhācāryyas, the Kīrtanas or Caryyāpadas of the following have come down to us :—Lui, Kukkuri, Birua, Dheṇḍhana Dārika, Bhāde, Guṇḍari, Cātīla, Bhusukā, Kubnu, Kāmaoli, Dombi Mahidhara, Barāha Savara, Ajadeva, Tāḍaka. All these Kīrtans became unintelligible even before the Muham-madan conquest, and hence it became necessary to write Sanskrit notes on them according to Sahajiyā School. Besides those there was a large number of Dohās which had also their commentaries in Sanskrit. All these have been translated into Bhutea or Tibetan. The works of the Siddhācāryyas named above have been also translated into the same language. So, if we carry our researches into the Bhutea literature and the Tengur collections, we will not only find the ancient religious opinions of Bengal but also elaborate materials for writing a history of her literature. The Bengali knows very little of his own ancestors whose accounts have been preserved by their Bhutea disciples. This is indeed a reproach to us, but there can be no doubt that it adds to the glory of our ancestors.

IV.—Chastana's Statue and Date of Kanishka.

A young scholar, Mr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, M.A., a son of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, has made an important contribution to the Saka period of history by reading the name on the third statue found along with that of Kanishka's at Mathura. It is "Shastana". Dr. Vogel missed this identification by reading the first letter incorrectly (he read "Mastana")¹.

The fact that Chastana's statue is found in the same valhalla or *Devakula*, to borrow the word of Bhāsa and of the inscription on the first statue of the Kanishka group, proves that Chastana was a near relative of Kanishka and evidently belonged to the same family. Chastana's date is fixed by the known date of Ptolemy, the geographer, who mentions the capital of "Tiantenes." Kanishka's date now becomes impossible to be placed in the first century B.C. His time must be about A.D. 120, the time of Ptolemy. The statue of the seated King in my opinion is that of his father, for it is here that the foundation of the statue temple (*Devakula*) is mentioned. His name which is read as *vama* etc. is identical with Wema Kadpheses, and his description *Kushanaputra* probably denotes nearness to the original founder of the family (taking Kushana as a personal name). Remains of one more statue were found in the ruins of the same *Devakula*. This in all probability was a son of Kanishka. Chastana was a contemporary of either Kanishka or his son, assuming that his father's power did not extend up to Ujjain, the capital of Chastana. We would not be far from the mark in assuming the period of Kanishka to fall between A.D. 70 and A.D. 130 on the evidence of this new datum, brought to light by Mr. Bhattacharya.

K. P. J.

¹ It is hoped that Mr. Bhattacharya will publish the facsimile of the inscription in the Journal before long. I have examined it and I accept his reading and identification.

V.—“Saisunaka Statues.”

Joint Meeting of Asiatic Societies held in London. Abstract of Dr. Vincent Smith's remarks on September 5, 1919.

(I)

Dr. V. A. Smith.

Alleged Portrait Statues of Saisunaga-Nanda Kings.

Dr. Vincent A. Smith invited attention to the proposed identifications of two statues in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, found at Patna about a century ago, which are in the round, and of life size, or a little larger. Each bears a short inscription of eight characters, cut on the scarf passing over the back. The characters are exceptionally difficult to read because the script is peculiar and the forms of the letters are obscured by the parallel grooves marking the folds of the scarf. The only letter repeated is *n*, which appears in a curiously late shape, most resembling that found in certain Kuṣāṇ inscriptions of the first or second century A.C., a date quite impossible for the statues, which undoubtedly are extremely ancient and probably pre-Maurya. The inscriptions have been studied carefully for the first time by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, whose work has been criticized by Mr. R. D. Banerji of the Indian Museum. Both the scholars named, who had the advantage of examining the statues at leisure, have published their results in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for 1919, Vol. V. Both agree that the statues are pre-Maurya, the oldest known in India, and that they are portraits of the two kings, Aja or Udaya, and his son, Varta Namdi or Nandi (Nanda) Vardhana, who reigned in the fifth century B. C. That result, if established, revolutionizes the history of Indian art. Hitherto the assumption that stone sculpture began with Asoka has been generally accepted. If the Patna statues and their inscriptions are as old as supposed it must be admitted that

the art of sculpture in stone was well matured two centuries before As'oka. The execution of the images is such that it presupposes a long prior development of plastic art.

Dr. Smith was much impressed by the fact that both Jayaswal and Banerji agree in the reading of the inscription on the later or B. statue as being *Saba Khate Vata Namdi*, which is interpreted as meaning "Varta Namdi of universal dominion". The reading seems to be certain. Jayaswal read the second syllable as *pa*, but Banerji points out that on the stone it is *ba*. The correction does not affect the interpretation. The record on the older or A. statue is more difficult to read. Banerji feels doubts about three of the eight characters, while concurring with Jayaswal that the inscription refers to King Aja, also called Udaya or Udayin. Time did not permit full examination of the many disputable points raised, but Professor Barnett and the other scholars who spoke in the course of a brief discussion were unable to believe that the records are nearly as old as Mr. Jayaswal alleges them to be. The general opinion seems to be that the script is that of about 100 B.C., more or less. Dr. Smith, while unwilling to dogmatize, was and is of opinion that the statues are pre-Maurya, that probably they were executed not later than 400 B.C., that the inscriptions are contemporary with the statues, and that the appearance of comparative modernity in the script is not conclusive. For the present the problem must be regarded as not yet definitely solved.

(II)

Dr. Barnett.

Professor Barnett makes the following observations :—
Mr. K. P. Jayaswal by his learned and able paper on "Statues of Two S'ais'unaka Emperors" (J.B.O.R.S., V, pt. 1, p. 88ff) has rendered such a service to the study of history and antiquities that I feel the utmost diffidence in expressing any opinions at variance with his theories. But as I have been honoured by a request to contribute some notes on the important subjects which he has raised, I do so with the prayer *kshamantu sādhanam*.

1. Mr. Jayaswal seems to be wrong in his contention that the lines denoting the folds of the draperies were incised *after* the inscriptions were cut. The plate showing the relief side of the inscriptions (facing page 96) and the ink impressions appear to point to the opposite conclusion, for we can clearly see on them several letters (e.g. the last letter of A. and the second and the last of B.) of which the shafts rise up in relief above the cross-lines of the draperies, thus suggesting that the letters, being more deeply cut than the cross-lines, were incised *after* the latter. The accurate way in which the letters are placed upon the cross-lines also leads to the same conclusion.

2. If we accept Mr. Jayswal's readings of the inscriptions as correct, we are at once faced by several serious linguistic difficulties. He reads A. as *Bhagē Achō chhōnīdhīsē*, interpreting it as "His gracious Majesty Aja, king of the land". Here we have three masculine stems in *a* in the nominative case, two of which end in *ē* and one in *ō*, which is manifestly impossible. Perhaps Mr. Jayswal is mistaken in the vowel of *Achō*, for the ink-impressions do not confirm his reading of *ō*. An even greater difficulty arises in the supposed change of *j* to *ch* in the name *Achō*, while on the other hand the soft consonants are retained in *bhagē* and *dhīsē*. The alteration of soft to hard consonants is characteristic of Pais'āchi and Chūlikā-Pais'āchi, which were never spoken near Patna. Mr. Jayswal quotes two alleged examples, one from Pali and the other from an As'okan edict; but they are disputable, and even if they be admitted they are too sporadic to justify the change in the name of the king side by side with unchanged consonants in his epithets. To escape this difficulty, it may be suggested that the king's real name is Acha, and this was afterwards Sanskritized by Pauranic writers into Aja. This is conceivable; but it would be unfortunate for Mr. Jayswal's general hypothesis, for if the statue is that of a king whose real name is Acha, it does not follow by any means that this Acha is the legendary Aja. Incidentally I may point out that Acha is a good Dravidian name, though I cannot see any way to bring it into the inscription.

Mr. Jayaswal's reading of the second inscription is open to the same objection. He wishes to read it as *Sapa-kkatē Vata-Nandi*, understanding it to mean "Of complete empire, Varta-Nandi". He defends *sapa*, as a derivative from *sarva*, by comparing the Pali *pajāpati*, which is more than disputable.

3. It may however be questioned whether Mr. Jayaswal's readings are quite correct.

In inscription A. the characters seem to me to be भगवत्कुनीवीके; as to their interpretation I venture no opinion. The third character *a* is not of an early type; it is more like the *a* which appears about 150 B. C. (compare Bühler, *Pal.*, Pl. II, Cols. 18—21, 24). Next comes a *ch* of a distinctly late type; hardly anything like it is found until the Kushāṇas (Bühler III, col. 3ff.) and the Turfan fragments (cf. plates in *Kgl. Preuss-Turfan Expeditionen: Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte*, Heft 1). It is not clear to me whether a vowel *ō* is attached to the *ch*, as I have already said. The next character is *chh*; Mr. Jayaswal appears to have found an *ō* attached to it, of which no trace appears in the ink-impressions. The sixth character is rightly read by him as *nī*; but it may be added that the shape of the *n* somewhat resembles that of the Kushāṇas (Bühler, III, col. 3) and the Turfan fragments. The next letter Mr. Jayaswal takes to be *dhī*. But no *dh* of this shape is to be found in any early inscription. and on the other hand it is remarkably like *v*, especially the kind of *v* found in records of the second century B. C. (Bühler, II, cols. 20—22). The last character is certainly *kē*. This form of *k* is developed from the type with straight horizontal bar found at Bhattiprolu and belonging to about 200 B. C. or later (Bühler, II, cols. 15, 18—22), the straight bar gradually becoming curved; we have an exact parallel in the inscription on the statue of Kanishka. The *k* here is therefore midway between the types of 200 B. C. and those of the age of Kanishka.

Inscription B. is beset with even more difficulties. Mr. Jayaswal reads the beginning as *sapa-kkatē*,¹ which is dialectically

objectionable ; moreover, there is no letter at all like *s*. Mr. John Allan, who has carefully studied the ink-impressions with me, suggests that instead of *sapa* we should read *ya*, and this suggestion is fully justified by the ink-impressions ; but, unfortunately for Mr. Jayaswal, the *ya* which we would read is the *ya* of the Kushana period. The next two letters are apparently *kha* and *ta* (I find no trace of a vowel *ē* in the latter) ; and I may note that the *kha* is more like the type of Mathura (Bühler, II, col. 20) than that of any very early record. The next is probably *va*, and the next seems to be *ṣa*. Then comes a character which is very instructive, *naṁ* written with a short stumpy *n* with the *anusvāra* placed directly over the shaft of the *n*, exactly as in the Kushana type, and like nothing else on early records. Lastly comes a *d*, which may or may not have a vowel *i* ; the ink-impression is not decisive on the point.

To sum up the result of this epigraphic study : the name of Aja does not appear in inscription A. ; the inscription B. has indeed four syllables which may without violence be read as *Vaṭa Nandi*, a name which might be sanskritized as *Varta-Nandi* but as the Puranas say nothing at all about a king called Varta-Nandi, Mr. Jayaswal's effort to identify his *Vaṭa-Nandi* with the Puranic Nandivardhana must be pronounced a failure ; and, the type of writing points to a Mauryan date at the earliest and probably is considerably later.

(III)

Mr. Jayaswal's reply.

I am beholden to Dr. V. Smith for having studied the question himself and for having brought it to the notice of European scholars. His opinion on matters of Hindu art and history is entitled to greatest weight, and I am fortunate to have his endorsement of my results on the study of the two statues. I am not a little thankful to Dr. Barnett as well who

¹ I understood that he would now read *saba* ; but the ink-impression shows that this is quite unjustified.

has given so much consideration to the inscriptions and their interpretation. His objections afford an opportunity for going still deeper into the problems and they help us in arriving at, or at any rate near, the final solution. I have re-examined the whole question and the letters on the statues with reference to the criticisms of Dr. Barnett. I shall essay to answer his objections and shall also mention new facts bearing on the question which I have come across in consequence of or during the controversy.

I must also thank here Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri who gave several hours to the study of the letters on the stone. It is only an immediate scrutiny of the inscriptions which can give a sure basis for conclusions. No paper-impression can bring to clear light the difficult lettering in all its detail. Here the testimony of a savant of Mr. Shastri's position is invaluable as scholars abroad cannot physically see the monuments.

We have now the further advantage of the testimony of Mr. Green, the stone expert. To bring about finality in the controversy as to the actual forms of the disputed letters and the interrelation between the letters and the drapery lines, I thought of obtaining the independent judgment of a technical expert in stone who would examine the letters as mere incisions and trace their forms according to his technical knowledge of the chisel. For this purpose I sought the help of Messrs. Martin & Co. of Calcutta, the well-known firm of architects and engineers, who very kindly asked Mr. F. Green, their expert in charge of the construction of the Victoria Memorial, to examine the lines and letters on the statues and give his professional opinion. The result of his examination is published along with his drawings of the letters in controversy. (See Note below.) I also give a tracing of the letters, in full size, kindly prepared by Mr. Bishun Swarup, Superintending Engineer, Patna, from paper casts of the inscriptions.

Dr. Barnett questions my assertion that the finishing touch to the statues was given after the letters had been engraved.

Mr. Green's examination proves conclusively that the letters on the statue of Aja had been drawn and cut before the drapery lines. This is abundantly clear even in the relief impression published in the Journal s e, for instance, the broken character of the lines between the *mātrās* of *ni* and the next letter. Where the drapery lines coincided with the lettering the letter-portion has been redeepened and consequently bears a lower level than the drapery line and other portions of the letters. In the other inscription, on that of Vaṭa Nandi, the lines and the lettering were chalked out together. This is proved by the fact that the drapery line No. 4 (counted from the bottom) coming against the curved body of the first letter, stops absolutely just against it.¹ In this record also both deep and shallow levels in the same letters occur, the deep portions being the result of the method of distinguishing letter-forms from drapery lines. The bend of the line over the head of letters *v* and *t* and its higher altitude over the vertical bar of *S* indicate the contemporary existence of the letters and their influence on the drawing and cutting of the drapery lines just above the letters. The result is that both inscriptions are contemporary with the construction of the statues. The letters are not placed "upon" the lines (as Dr. Barnett says); they hang from the line. Placing of letters on lines is the system of European scripts, not Indian. "The accurate way in which the letters are placed upon the cross-lines" leads, if to any, to the conclusion that those lines were accurately placed below the lettering.

The decision of this point has a tremendous bearing on the question of the age of the script. No responsible scholar can allege that these statues are post-Mauryan. The dated technique of Aśokan and Śūṅgan monuments and the wide difference between the two will compel any art critic to place our statues before the Śūṅgan times. The same will be the con-

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri thinks that the line is recommenced after a break on the other side of the curve which gives to the arm of the letter the appearance of an arrow-head. He has therefore omitted the lower part of the arrow-head in his drawing (compare his drawing with Mr. Bishun Swarup's sketch). The break of the drapery line is absolute in any case.

clusion of an unbiased observer who has observed both the Parkham and the Patna images. The Parkham is the only monument which comes in line with the art and the material of the Patna images and the Parkham bears an inscription in a known script which has been declared to be Mauryan (Vogel, Catalogue of Mathura Museum, p. 83. "It has an inscription in Maurya Brahmi"). It is thus impossible to assign a post-Mauryan age to the statues as statues. Hence Dr. Spooner, and I understand also Sir J. Marshall, are of decided opinion that the statues are old (Mauryan)¹. Epigraphists thus have to face the fact that the statues are at any rate not later than the Mauryan period. At the same time, their preconceived ideas lead them to think that the script of the inscriptions is late. They as well as archæologists are consequently forced to postulate that the statues are old but the inscriptions later and subsequent. But the real situation is that if the statues are not post-Mauryan the inscriptions cannot be post-Mauryan, both being simultaneous and contemporary in execution. The statues bearing the "Mauryan polish" and "Mauryan art" bear inscriptions which are not of the Mauryan script. Then what is their script?

Before entering into the question of palæography I would take up 'the serious linguistic difficulties' proposed by Dr. Barnett. He objects to the change of *j* into *ch* (Acho = Ajo) in an inscription coming from Patna as the change is a Paisāchī characteristic and the Paisāchī country is the North-Western Frontier (Grierson, Z D.M.G., 46, 49; J.R.A.S., 1912, 711). I had admitted

¹ Professor Foucher writes:—"As to the Patna statues, I have no hesitation in telling you that I would, from the point of view of their artistic treatment, ascribe them to the second century B.C., and from the analogy of the Parkham and Bharhut images, identify them as yakshas, that comes to say that I share the common opinion prevailing on the subject." At the same time the learned Professor admits that the judgment is open to revision:—"Of course, I admit that this judgment, as every human one, is open to revision." I agree with the Professor that before we revolutionize all our ideas about the history of Indian Art positive proof should come forward. This proof can be afforded, in my humble opinion, by a solution of the inscriptions to the complete satisfaction of epigraphists.

this characteristic but demurred to its being exclusive to Paisāchī.¹ Two examples given by me in support of the change in non-Paisāchī areas are regarded by the learned Doctor as "disputable". One of them is *vrach*=*vraj* (Aśoka) and the other, *pāchana* (Pāli literature). Taking *vraj*, to show that no room for dispute really exists, I quote a sūtra of the Prakrit Grammar *Prākṛita-Maṇjarī* where it is expressly recognized "*cho vrajanṛityoh*" (VII. 44, page 117, ed. Nirṇaya Sāgara).² For the second example, I beg to refer to Müller's Grammar of the Pāli Language, p. 38 (1884), where to exemplify the process of "hardening of a soft consonant", i.e., the Paisāchī process, Müller gives "*pācheti*" (pra-ṛj), and *pāchana*. Here in the inscription the change is similarly in *aj*. Another point of objection is that the change is too sporadic to justify the change in the name of the king side by side with unchanged consonants. But phonetic laws make no distinction between names of kings and gods and names of commoners and animals. If there is a law of sporadic change it may choose any victim. Take for instance the Paisāchī changes in the very name of the mighty Kubera on the Bharhut railing as *Kupura* (L. B. I. 794) while side by side other letters enjoy immunity from this vulgar profanity. Similarly see *Bhagapata* for *Bhagavata* at Amaravati (L. B. I. 1271). Here *Bhaga* is free like *Bhage* in our inscription. Take again the commoner *Vitura* for *Vidhura* and the animal *Mugapakya* (= *pankhiya*) at Bharhut; also see *Makhādeva*=*Maghādeva* in the Jātaka (J. R. A. S. 1912, p. 406). These amongst numerous are all cases of Paisāchisms outside the Paisāchī jurisdiction, and sporadic, side by side, with unchanged consonants. Dr. Barnett's objection to the change of *v* into *p* in *sapa* is similarly answered. See examples given by Müller at p. 32 (*lāpa*=*lāva*, *paiāpati*=*prajāvati*, *palāpa*=*palāva*, *chhāpa*=*sāva*, *Sapadāna*=*Savadāna*, *Supāna*=*suvāna*, dog, *dhopana*=*dhovana*). See also *Erapato* for *Airavata* at Bharhut (L. B. I. 752).

¹ "The change of *j* into *ch* which later Prakrit Grammarians regard as characteristic of the North-Western dialect, is known to the official Pāli".—J. B. O. R. S., V, p. 102.

All these are sporadic changes side by side with unhardened consonants. Inscriptions prove that nowhere was the strict or ideal Prakrit of the grammarian spoken. Prakṛita or vulgar tongue had its own way when Prakrit languages were alive. There are forms and changes in the very names of kings and rulers in official records which followed the convenience of the tongue of populace or idiosyncracies of individual scribes and engravers and not the philological laws of grammarians. How grammarians' phonetics was at a discount may be seen from *Bṛihāsvātimitra* and *Bahasatimitra*, one appearing in a near relative's record and the other on coins, the original of the two being one and the same *Bṛihāspatimitra*; *Gudaphara*, *Gaḍaphara*, *Gudapharna*, all on the coins of the same Gondophares, *Mālavāṇa Jaya* and *Malavahṇa Jaya* (C.M. 172) on coins of the same time and people are examples of popular phonetics of the tongue as against iron phonetics of books. Remains prove that it was the former which ruled in every-day life and not Vararuchi and Pischel. In these circumstances it is enough for my position to show from literature and stone that changes of *j* into *ch* and *v* into *p* did take place in Magadha and that the so-called Paisāchisms were not confined to the Paisācha country.

The remaining linguistic question raised by Dr. Barnett is about the nominative endings in *Bhage*, *Acho* and *chhonīdhise*. This situation he considers "manifestly impossible". He seems to think that every case-ending should have followed either what the grammarian calls the *ardha-Māgadhi* e-ending or the *Māgadhi* o-ending. To see that the situation far from being impossible, is very common, take instances in Asoka's inscriptions: "*Satiyaputo Kelalaputo Tambapamni Aṃtiyoye*" at Kalsi, "*ra-iuko pradesike*" at Shahbazgarhi (against *rājuko cha prādesite* at Girnar), at Shahbazgarhi in section X "*Devana priye*" and then "*Devanam priyo*," in section XI *dharmasamstave dharmasamvibhāgo* (against *dharmasamstavō vā dharmasamvibhago* of Girnar), *Devānampriye* at Girnar in the beginning of section XII while a few words after *Devānampiyo* and throughout '*piyo*

and endings in *o* in other cases ; again at Shahbazgarhi, XIII line 8 “ *Amṭiyoko Turamaye nama ... Alikasudaro* ” where out of the five Greek names *Turamaya* ends in *e* (against the Girnar *Turmayo*) while two end in *o*. In view of the evidence of actual usage from stone all notions of Prakrit grammar to the contrary have to be given up, and it cannot be alleged that the occurrence of a masculine *o*-ending form side by side with *e*-ending forms is manifestly impossible.

Acho, *Ache*, or *Acha* will, however, denote one and the same name and the occurrence of any will support me equally. It is important that Dr. Barnett takes *Acha* as a proper name. I fail to see why it should be against my hypothesis if it is conceded (for the sake of argument) that *Acha* was the real name (and Dravidian if you like) and *Aja* a sanskritization. How does it affect the question of identification ? To call the Puranic *Aja* “legendary” is to beg the whole question in issue. When the vast majority of the names of Puranic list, from Bimbisāra downwards, have been confirmed by inscriptions, coins or independent literature, when names both before and after *Aja* are proved and have had to be treated as historical, how can we pick out one and call it legendary ?

It would be convenient here to discuss Dr. Barnett's assertion that the Purāṇas say nothing about a king called Varta Nandi. Now let us review the whole situation. He admits that there is Nandi Vardhana in the Purāṇas. There were two royal houses in the time of the Buddha and Mahā-Vira with reference to whose regnal years the Buddhists and Jains date the great events in their early ecclesiastical history. These were the Magadha and the Avanti (Ujjain) houses. The Kingdom of Avanti lasted, from Pradyota (a contemporary of the Buddha and Bimbisāra) to Ajaka or *Aja*¹ and Nandi Vardhana, for 138 or 128 years (Pargiter pp. 18, 19 ; J.B.O.R.S., I, 108.) From Bimbisāra up to the end of Udayi 111 years, and that of his successor Nandivardhana the Ājeya, 151 years passed in the Magadha line according to the text of Mr. Pargiter (pp. 68, 69).

¹ Pargiter, P.T., p. 19.

This is thus evident that the two Nandivardhanas are undoubtedly contemporaries and that the Avanti dynasty came to an end in the time of Śīsunāka Nandi-Vardhana Ājeya of Magadha and Nandi-Vardhana, son of *Aja*, of Avanti. The Nandi-Vardhana of the Avanti list, apart from being a contemporary of the Nandi-Vardhana of Magadha, is expressly called a Śīsunāka (*Ekā-viṃsat samā rājyam Ajakasya* (V. Br., Vi. = *Sūnyakas tu, M.*) *bhaviṣyati Śis'unākah nripas triṃsat tatsuto Nandivardhanah*) in one of the two oldest manuscripts of the Matsya Purāṇa which is dated 1729 (Wilson 21, Bodleian). In view of the reading of the Jones Manuscript of the Vāyu, characterized by Mr. Pargiter as "very valuable" "Ajakaḥ sa karishyati" it will be Ajaka who is called a Śīsunāka by the Matsya manuscript. In either case, Nandi Vardhana being called the son of the former, if one is a Śīsunāka both have to be taken as Śīsunākas. This is confirmed by the readings of other manuscripts and by the Jain records. The latter place after Pālaka and 60 years the Nandas of Magadha. Pālaka was the son of Pradyota according to the Purāṇas which place one more successor (Viśākhayūpa) before Aja; and Pālaka and Viśākhayūpa have 74 years between them (Pargiter, p. 68).¹ In other words, the Jains count the Magadha rule in Avanti with or in the reign of the Aja of the Purāṇas.² It should be remembered that the Purāṇas have dealt with the Pradyota family in the Magadha list as a sort of footnote. For a long time they had been lost amongst and mistaken for Magadha kings. I believe it was in the "Śīsunāka Chronology" published in the first number of this Journal and in Mr. Pargiter's Text that the Avanti list was separated for the first time. In separating them I saw and pointed out the identity of the two Nandivardhanas.

¹ Purāṇas:	Jains:
Pradyota	} 74 Pālaka, 60 years.
Pālaka, 24.	
Viśākhayūpa, 50.	
Aja	} Nandas of Magadha.
Nandivardhana	

² Aja is given 21 years in Avanti by the Purāṇas.

The point is that the S'isunākas and the Pradyotas are read together. Now the Jones manuscript of the Vāyu (called *e* Vāyu by Pargiter) which is a unique document giving a very early version of the Vāyu, *closes the Avanti kings with Ajaka* (Pargiter, p. 18), it does not give Nandivardhana and the total, and it reads immediately the line which is given by Mr. Pargiter as the first line of the next (the S'isunāka) list: *hatvā teshāṃ yasah kṛitsnam Sisunāko bhaviṣhyati*; "having destroyed completely their glory he will be a S'isunāka". It reads this line exactly as I had proposed it to be read as an emendation (J.B.O.R.S., I, 108). Several manuscripts of the Matsya (Pargiter's K) as well omit Nandivardhana and read the line quoted above after Ajaka (spelt as Sūryaka). The result is that some manuscripts close the Avanti kingdom with Ajaka, calling him a S'is'unāka and some with his son Nandivardhana calling him a Śisunāka. Then again, the Asiatic Society edition of the Vāyu and all other editions of that Purāṇa unanimously call the son of Ajaka of Avanti Varti Vardhana ¹. It is thus definite that Varti Vardhana, son of Ajaka or Aja, and Nandi Vardhana, son of Ajaka or Aja, denote one and the same king. At the same time no one would suggest that *Varti* can be a misreading for Nandi. Varti and Nandi have therefore to be taken as double designations, either one as a Viruda and the other a personal name, or both as personal names.

Now let us take up the consideration of *Vardhana*. The Purāṇas alternatively call Nandi Vardhana, "Nanda Vardhana". The Bhāgavata MS. dated 1407 reads *Nanda*. Mr. Pargiter describes this manuscript as "generally accurate" and "very valuable". The Purāṇas giving 100 years collectively to the "Nandas", count from Nandivardhana, like the Jains (J.B.O.R.S., V, 98). The Jain author Hemachandra calls the successor of Udayi "Nanda" only. He does not use

¹ Only two manuscripts of unknown dates used by the editor of the Asiatic Society edition and one by that of the Ānandāśrama edition give different readings *Vardhā* and *Kirtī* which are manifestly easy misreadings.

Vardhana. *Vardhan* is, again, used by the Puranic writers (Vishnu) in case of As'oka (Asokavardhana) while we know from inscriptions that Vardhana was no part of his name. It has therefore to be taken as a title in the Puranic writers¹. In view of the "Nanda" and "Nandas" of the Jains and Purāṇas and the use of *Vardhana* with As'oka, I am entitled to treat *Vardhana* as a title used by the Purāṇas to distinguish Nandi from other Nandas. We thus get Nandi and Varti alone as names, personal and Viruda, or alternative.

In face of these facts, in the existence of the indisputable *Varti Vardhana* and *Nandi Vardhana* as denoting one and the same king, can it be said that "the Purāṇas say nothing at all about a king called Varta² Nandi" and that "Mr. Jayaswal's effort to identify his³ Vata Nandi with Puranic Nandi-varshana must be pronounced a failure"? We find Simuka (or its misreadings) in the Purāṇas but not the other name Sātavāhana, while below his statue we have "Simuka Sātavāhano" (Bühler, A.S.W.I., 4.) Does any one doubt the identification of Simuka Sātavāhana with the first king of the Puranic Andhras? In the Purāṇas we have only As'oka, in the Ceylonese chronicle "Priyadarśana," and in inscriptions discovered up to this time, Asoka or Priyadarsin. Will the identification be challenged if we found in future As'oka Priyadarsi together? The Orissa MSS. have only either the Viruda or personal name of kings and now in inscriptions both are found together. Are the identifications of those kings to be doubted?

For my thesis it would have been enough to find Aja or Ajaka and his son Nandi-Vardhana even in the Avanti list with the express mention about one of them to be a S'is'unāka. In addition to that we have the identification confirmed by the S'is'unāka list. Nandi Vardhana in the Magadha list is the successor of

¹ Compare also the use of Vardhana joined on to Harsha.

² Vata may equally represent Varta or Varti.

³ Also Dr. Barnett's as he admits that it may be read without violence as Vata Nandi.

Udayi according to all the Purāṇas except the Bhāgavata. The latter gives in place of Udayi "Ajaya" and calls Nandivardhana "Ajeya". To any one who knows Sanskrit Grammar it is evident that a patronym *Ājeṇa* can only be formed from *Aja* and therefore the preceding form "*Ajaya*" is to be regarded as corrupt. This was clear to Dr. Barnett and he has not questioned the Puranic existence of *Aja* alleged by me. This seems to have been clear to Mr. Pargiter who in giving the reading *Ajaya* said, "but¹ see note 38", and note 38 runs: "Bh (the Bhāgavata) gives him (Nandivardhana) the patronymic *Ājeṇa*. It has been however questioned in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* (1919, page 35) and as the objection has the tacit support of Mr. Bhandarkar, the Sanskrit knowing editor, I may be permitted a short digression to deal with it. It has been boldly asserted there that *Aja* does not exist in the Śiśunāka list "as one may satisfy himself by looking at Pargiter's *Purāṇa Text*, pages 20—22". The objector derives "*Ājeṇa*" from "*Ajaya*" via "*ajeya*", for both in his opinion mean "invincible". But a derivative suffix is not attached to the meaning but to the word itself. Similarly it is elementary enough that *taddhita* suffixes are added to a noun and not to a *Viśeṣaṇa* as *Ajeṇa* is (verbal adjective). The form *Ājeṇa* here in the Śaiśunāka and *Aja* and *Ajaka* in the Avanti list prove beyond controversy that the other name of Udayi is to be read as *Aja* or *Ajaka* in place of the reading "*Ajaya*".

The question of readings and palaeography may be discussed now. Dr. Barnett reads the *Aja* inscription as *Bhage Acha chhanāvīke*, against my reading *Bhage Acha chhanāḍise*. The material difference is about the last word, and there too it is narrowed down to the last two letters and the vowel mark in the first one. In the second inscription he agrees with my reading *Vaṭa Nandi* and agrees with me in treating it as a proper name. *Acha* also, as I have pointed out already, he regards as a proper name. I have thus the

¹ Italization is by me.

good fortune of having his endorsement as to the names, the most material portions of the inscriptions. If I have succeeded in establishing the equation between Acha and Aja and the existence of Varta Nandi in the Purāṇas the material controversy is over. I shall, however, try by my further submissions to satisfy Dr. Barnett on the remaining and minor differences as well.

The difference with regard to the reading of the second inscription is limited to the first two letters only which he reads as *y* and I as *sapa*, rather *soba*. There is no substantial difference, in the reading of the next two letters: his *Khata* against my *Khate* (in either case the meaning remaining the same):

Dr. Barnett: *yakhata* Vaṭa Nandi.

Jayaswal: *Sabakhate* Vaṭa Nandi.

We must take into consideration the fact that the differing versions "*yakhata*" and "*chhañivike*" give no meaning. Dr. Barnett has admitted this in dealing with the latter and he offers no interpretation of *yakhata* as well¹. On the other hand my interpretation of the disputed passages, as I read them, (*chhonidhis'e*, "king of the land", "*saba-khata*", *sarva-khatra*, "of complete empire") has not been challenged.

To take the question of vowel marks. The inscriptions are most difficult to reproduce in impression, and I selected only those copies for reproduction which gave the majority of letters in good relief. I could get no single copy in which all the letters had come out satisfactorily. On receipt of Dr. Barnett's criticism I have re-examined the stone and I find the top line deeper on the *ch* and *chh* which indubitably indicates the o-mātrā. These are the only two o-marks in the inscription and in both cases they are

¹ The attempt to make *acha chha = a/śhaya* (Indian Antiquary, 1919, page 28) need not be considered. Any one knowing Sanskrit and Prakrit will not entertain it even for a second.

missed by Dr. Barnett as the *mātrā* assumes the form of a straight horizontal line and inclines to get submerged in the drapery line. But in fact the marks are very, very clear on the stone

Since the above was written Mr. Green, the expert, and Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri have examined the incisions. Both gentlemen find the incision on the top of the letters decisive. Further, the letters of the inscription have been kindly traced for us by Mr. Bishun Swarup, Superintending Engineer, Eastern Circle, Bihar and Orissa, from paper-cast impressions. The eye-copies prepared by Mr. Shastri and Mr. Green and the tracing by Mr. Bishun Swarup would convince Dr. Barnett of the existence of the vowel marks in question. With o-mark the *ch* is to be read as *cho* and the third letter as *chhonī*, "land", not *chhanī*, the meaningless. In the other inscription as to the vowel mark on *t*, Mr. Shastri says that it has to be read either as *o* or *ā* (not *e* as I had proposed) and I accept this and read it with him as *to* (*khato*). The mark on the top of *kh* is disregarded by the Mahamahopadhyaya as I had done, for the reason that it is not connected with the letter. The revision from *khate* to *khato*, though it does not affect the meaning, is important for the sake of accuracy, and I thank Dr. Barnett for being its indirect cause.

The next letter after *chhonī*, Dr. Barnett takes to be *v* against my *dh*. He says that it is remarkably like *v* of the second century B.C. and refers to Mathura and Hathigumpha. I am reproducing these *v*'s side by side with the letter in question and an undisputed *v* from our present inscriptions. The *v*'s which Dr. Barnett cites differ materially from our letter. Then, if the letter with slightly curved sides and a long neck bar on the other statue is *v*, and we are unanimous that it is *v*, then the triangle without any such neck can hardly be the same letter in the script of the inscriptions in question. If we had no example of *v* in the inscriptions Dr. Barnett's proposal would have stood on an arguable basis. But when we have in the inscriptions an undoubted *v*, it would be inadmissible to read the dis-

puted letter as *v*. The only other possible reading of the letter is *dh* as it is evident from a comparison with known *dh*'s which I am reproducing. And it is *dh* which gives a meaning not *v*. Taking it as a *dh*-form, if we compare it with the Kalsi and Bhattiprolu forms we at once see its old character. The latter two with cursive tendency are the same form only topsy-turvy, a phenomenon well known in the development of early Brāhmī. The right form (as opposed to the Kalsi head-down) descends in the archaic or "retrograde" scripts of Western India, e.g. at Nanaghat (150 B.C., see reproduction) and Nasik (Bühler A.R.W.D., IV, 72) and earlier at Girnar (As'oka) (see the reproduced letter).

As to the reading of the first two letters of the other inscription, the top horizontal bar to the right-hand diagram (see the drawings by Mr. Shastri and Mr. Green and the tracing from the impression by Mr. Bishun Swarup) excludes conclusively the possibility of taking the left-hand figure (my *s*) as the right hand part of a Kushāṇa *y*. It can only be a *b* or *p*, rather *b* than *p*, as corrected by Mr. Banerji. The initial part thus left to itself cannot be any letter but a *ṣ*, either cerebral or dental (see comparison with *Ṣ*'s in the plate). The deepening at base stops below the first vertical bar of *b*, thus separating it from the previous letter. The proximity of the two letters may be compared with that in *Acho* in the other inscription where two letters come even in closer contract. Then also the two letters *saba* would, if taken as one letter, cover double the area of any single letter in the inscription, and would make the reading (*yaḥ'a a*) nonsensical. *Y* in any case is out of question in view of the top horizontal to the two parallel verticals.

To come to palæography, I submit that Dr. Barnett is wrong in calling our *ch* a late type. Dr. Barnett has followed Bühler's method and opinion in determining the age of letters. But Bühler himself¹ regards this type of *ch*, what I described as a *ch* with

¹ References are to the translation of Bühler's Indian Palæography by Dr. Fleet, I.A. 33.

perpendicular line produced independently of the lower body, as the most archaic. My characterization of the *ch* probably would have been better understood if I had cited the example of the Bhattiprolu *ch* or employed the popular description of Bühler—"the tailed *ch*" (I. P. p. 13). The *ch* of our inscription is found at Bhattiprolu in the Drāviḍi variety of Brahmi. About this *ch* Bühler says thus "three signs *c* (*ch*), *j* and *s*, are more archaic than those of the Aśoka edicts and of the Eran coin". Out of these three letters, the *s* referred to by Bühler occurs also, as I shall presently show, on one of our statues; *j* is unfortunately absent. Now the conclusion which is derived by Bühler is that "the Drāviḍi alphabet separated from the main stock of the Brāhmī long before the Eran coin was struck, at the latest fifth century B. C." I also regard this *ch* as oldest but on the theory that greater effort and larger number of strokes prove higher antiquity in evolution, our *ch* requiring greater strokes and effort, the Aśoka *ch* being written in practically one flourish without lifting off the pen.

The statues were found here in Patna, not in the Drāviḍi country of Madras Presidency. If here at Patna we find in a script the Drāviḍi Brahmi letters on which Bühler bases his theory, can any one who accepts Bühler's theory resist the conclusion that the Patna script must be dated "at the latest in the fifth century B. C.", that is, the period before which the separation between the Southern and Northern Brahmi took place? And it is the fifth century B.C. date that I claim for the statues and their script. To give visual demonstration I am reproducing the *ch* of the statue and *ch*'s from Bhattiprolu. I reproduce the southern *s* also along with our *s*. The southern *s* with crossbar has been read by Bühler as *sh*. As he has shown, it cannot be the dental *s*, for a separate sign for it is found all along in the Bhattiprolu inscriptions. It can be therefore either the palatal or lingual *s*. The palatal occurs on the crystal at Bhattiprolu but the script of that, as Bühler admits, is "ordinary Brahmi" (p. 38). Bühler could have read

his each and every Drāviḍi *s* occurring at Bhattiprolu as *ś* in place of *śh* without the least phonetic objection and without having the necessity of saying that "it can only be doubted whether *ś* (= *śh*) has been put erroneously for *s* as often in the Jaina inscriptions from Mathura" (p. 38). In any case the point is not material for our controversy, for *s* and *ś* and *śh* are promiscuously employed in Prakrit inscriptions, and as Bühler says the signs for the three differed very little in shape and were evidently derived and differentiated from one original. Now the shape of what I read as *ś* should be compared with the Drāviḍi *s* with the crossbar: (*ś* or *śh*.) It should be also compared with *ś* of ordinary Brahmi along with the proposed forms of decay (development) shown in dotted lines in the plate. In placing the history of the letter I cite also two letters from the cairn pottery characters amongst which a number of Brahmi letters have been identified by Mr. Yazdani.¹ The cairn letters not only supply us with a prototype for our *ś* but also for our *bh*. This latter Dr. Barnett has read with me as *bh* and he has not declared it to be later. But nowhere else in the whole range of Indian epigraphy is *bh* found without the vertical bar. Now, I say it is a *bh*, and it is accepted. If I show that it occurs in monuments older—older by centuries than Aśoka's—and nowhere else later, it ought to be also accepted that we have in the letter another sure proof of an ancient date. Nobody will question the date of the cairns. The granite slabs of the coffins, shown to me *in situ* by Dr. Hunt of Secunderabad, are so old that they crumble to touch. Likewise if you put your finger on the pottery bearing the writing you can bore a hole and put your finger through. Again, for those who believe in Bühler's theory of a Semitic origin of Brahmi I cite a Semitic *b* which again is an exact parallel of our statue *bh*. Whatever the origin of Brahmi and cairn writing, our *bh* form is far, far older than Aśoka, judged either from the cairn type or the Semitic prototype. It goes

¹ Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His Highness the Nizām's Dominions, 1917, p. 10; Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1917, p. 57.

back to the period prior to the differentiation of the Northern and Southern scripts of Brāhmī. In the north the vertical bar evolved to the right and in the south to the left, very probably in the way as shown in the diagram on the plate attached.

We have thus two letters in the Aja inscription about the reading of which there is no controversy (*h* and *ch*) which are unquestionably pre-Mauryan and removed from As'oka by centuries. There is the third letter *s* which if my reading is accepted, and my reading alone gives a meaning, will have also to be admitted as pre-Mauryan.

Dr. Barnett does not suggest that our *ch* is late, nor does he demur to my assertion about *t*, *ṭ*, *v* and *d*, in the other inscription being old. In fact the *v* here, even according to Bühler's theory, is the oldest form (see his *v* reproduced in the plate). It is oldest also on the basis of my theory, circular and oval forms requiring less effort, came later than the straight base *v*. The *d*-form of our inscription is seldom, if ever, found again after As'oka (Delhi). About the form of *kh* Dr. Barnett is mistaken when he says that it is like the type of Mathura (150—100 B.C.), for the Mathura letter is a triangle while ours is four-sided (see Mr. Green's diagram and other drawings), and the body is to the left. Such a *kh* was unknown to Indian epigraphy up to this time. Thus the position about the second inscription is that four out of the undisputed letters are unquestionably early and about one further (*kh*) it is impossible to allege a late date for want of a second example. In the first inscription, similarly leaving out the disputed two letters, at least four letters out of the remaining six are such which Dr. Barnett would not call late on his own theory. As to the remaining letters I shall presently show that their forms do go to a period beyond As'oka. But even on the basis of admitted old letters the question arises: the statues in age being on the evidence of the polish and the Parkham image at least Mauryan and the script being un-Mauryan, what is the script in question? It may be equally earlier than As'oka or later than As'oka. But

as we have records from every part of the country in number for the period later than As'oka, and to none of the post-Mauryan scripts the statue script corresponds,—no script is found where the “tailed” *ch* and barless *dh*, the cross-bar *s* and the four-sided *th* and the four-angled *d* occur together or occur at all—the statue script must necessarily be pre-As'okan.

That before As'oka's time scripts other than As'okan were in existence is proved by positive evidence. That is the evidence of the coins of the Akhaemenians current in North-Western India, the Persian *sigloi*. They are the only documents about whose pre-As'okan date there is not the least controversy. The Persian empire was destroyed in 331 B.C. by Alexander and their rule in India had come to an end much earlier, very probably about 400 B.C., in the time of Darius II who lost the greater portion of the outlying Persian dominions. Ktesias writing about 416-398 B.C. in Persia speaks of the “Indian king” and Alexander found the Punjab independent. The Persian coins in India thus would be dated between 500 B.C. and 400 B.C., or at the latest about 350 B.C. Now what do they prove? They completely destroy the theory of Bühler in respect of his supposed pre-As'okan development of Brahmi letters. According to his theory the *sigloi* letters ought to have been post-As'okan by centuries. But the coins are admittedly at least a century older than As'oka. Bühler had to concede “But the shape of the characters on the Persian *sigloi* makes it probable that even its (that of Maurya alphabet) more advanced forms existed before the end of the Akhaemenian rule in India 331 B.C.” (I.P. 33). Bühler had also to face the occurrence of numerous forms in As'okan inscriptions what on his hypothesis—that Brahmi originated from a Semitic script of known forms between 800 B.C. and 500 B.C.—he would treat as later by centuries (“Kushana, Mathurā, Andhra, Abhira,” I. P., 7). In view of these facts he said about the “apparently or really advanced” types and “modern looking signs from As'oka's ciphers” that—

The existence of so many local varieties, and of so very numerous cursive forms, proves in any case that writing had had a long history in As'oka's

time, and that the alphabet was then in a state of transition. The use of the cursive forms together with archaic ones may possibly be explained by the assumption that several, partly more archaic and partly more advanced alphabets were simultaneously used during the third century B.C., and that the writers, intending or ordered to use lapidary forms, through negligence mixed them with the more familiar cursive letters, as has also happened not rarely in later inscriptions. It is possible to adduce in favour of this view the abovementioned tradition of the *Drṣṭivāda*, according to which a larger number of alphabets was in use about 300 B.C. The conjecture would become a certainty, if it could be shown that the word *seto*, 'the white (elephant),' which has been added to Dhauī edict VI in order to explain the sculpture above the middle column, was incised at the same time as the preceding edicts. The two characters of *seto* show the types of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta inscriptions. Though it is difficult to understand that, in later times anybody should have cared to add the explanation of the relief, keeping exactly the line of the edict, the possibility of the assumption that this was actually done, is not altogether excluded.

Then again,

The forms of the Brāhmī and Drāviḍi, used during the first 600 years, are known at present only from inscriptions on stones, copper-plates, coins, seals and rings, and there is only one instance of the use of ink from the third or second century B.C. The view of the development of the characters during this period is, therefore, not complete. For, in accordance with the results of all palæographic research, the epigraphic alphabets are mostly more archaic than those used in daily life, as the very natural desire to employ monumental forms prevents the adoption of modern letters, and as, in the case of coins, the imitation of older specimens not rarely, makes the alphabet retrograde. The occurrence of numerous cursive forms together with very archaic ones, both in the Aśoka edicts and also in later inscriptions, clearly proves that Indian writing makes no exception to the general rule

In other words, the Aśoka letters do not furnish a sure criterion to determine the age of the letters actually in use in and before Aśoka's time; in business and daily life they were later in form; they were later in form even during the Persian rule, a century (if not more) before Aśoka's time; and there were other scripts current side by side with Aśokan and proto-Aśokan scripts. This admission is quite enough for my purposes. When I show that there are letters in our inscriptions of which in one, if not in two, are the "tailed" *ch* and the

cross-bar *s*, we have a definite test agreed upon as proving a period before As'oka's time; when I show letters the like of which have not been found in scripts post-As'okan but about the reading of which there is no controversy (*bh*, *kh*), and two of which are traced back to megalithic remains (*bh*, *ks*); when I further show that there are names of two kings on the statues and that these inscriptions are contemporary with the statues; when I also show that statues were as a matter of fact given to deceased kings and that statues were given soon after their demise (Bhāsa corroborated by the Kushāna and Sātavāhana inscribed statues), the occurrence of one or two "modern looking" (to quote the word of Bühler) letters will not make the statues or inscriptions modern, especially when it is conceded that "modern looking" letters are found in older records. But I show presently that even the modern looking letter (*n*) is traced back in decidedly, much older—As'okan and pre-As'okan monuments.

On the standard set up by Bühler to judge of the age of scripts, I may be allowed to quote the latest opinion expressed in the article on "Alphabet" in the last (eleventh) edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* by an expert on Semitic writings who takes an outsider's point of view on Bühler's theory—

Bühler, on the other hand, shows from literary evidence that writing was in common use in India in the fifth, possibly in the sixth century B.C. The oldest alphabet must have been the Brāhmī lipi, which is found all over India. But he rejects Taylor's derivation of this alphabet from the Sabeian script, and contends that it is borrowed from the North Semitic. To the pedantry of the Hindu he attributes its main characteristics, viz. (a) letters made as upright as possible, and with few exceptions equal in height; (b) the majority of the letters constructed of vertical lines, with appendages attached mostly at the foot, occasionally at the foot and at the top, or (rarely) in the middle, but never at the top alone; (c) at the tops of the characters the ends of vertical lines, less frequently straight horizontal lines, still more rarely curves or the points of angles opening downwards, and quite exceptionally in the symbol *ma*, two lines rising upwards. A remarkable feature of the alphabet is that the letters are hung from and do not stand upon a line, a characteristic which, as Bühler notes

belongs even to the most ancient manuscripts and to the Aśoka inscriptions of the third century B. C. When these specially Indian features have been allowed for, Bühler contends that the symbols borrowed from the Semitic alphabet can be carried back to the forms of the Phœnician and Moabite alphabets. The proof deals with each symbol separately, as might be expected of its author; it is both scholarly and ingenious, but *it must be admitted, not very convincing*.¹ Further evidence as to the early history of this alphabet must be discovered before we can definitely decide what its origin may be. That such evidence will be forthcoming there is little doubt.

Now, as before in the case of the Piprahwa vase, when that fresh evidence has come forward, instead of its questioning Bühler's theory it is itself questioned on the ground that it does not accord with that theory. And that is done in face of the shakiness of Bühler's hypothesis which is practically self-condemned when he has to admit that a hundred years (if not more) before Aśoka's time letters of what he regards as late characteristics, were current. The result is that we are still moving in the circle of illusion created by Bühler even when the new evidence offers a clue and shows a way out of the labyrinth.

Let me now take each letter which Dr. Barnett declares to be late. The "a of our inscription is not of an early type; it is more like the a which appears about 150 B.C." How do we know that it is not of an early type? The reply I think would be that Bühler would say so. According to him the cursive a is later in evolution than angular ones and the angular one is nearer his aleph of 800 B.C. Known facts militate against Dr. Barnett's assertion that our letter is not of the early type. If I can show the so-called cursive form in Aśoka's a's, it cannot be said that it is a late type for a letter-form found in Aśoka proves that it did exist in Aśoka's time, and no one is entitled to say that it did not exist before. I give the cursive form of a, of not one, but three varieties, from Aśoka's writings both in the North and South, which show its common and established use. I also give the letters referred to by Dr. Barnett. The difference between Aśoka's cursive a's and those referred to by Dr. Barnett

¹Italicization is mine.

is nil in principle. If he relies on the slight difference in penmanship, I can equally say that his forms are as distant from the Śais'unāka letter as the As'okan is from the same. The later history of *a*, if it denotes one and the same process of decay, indicates that the separation of arms is earlier and their coalescence later in evolution. The form with coalesced arms is universal in post-Mauryan times. The separated formation has been produced in separate efforts while the coalesced one without raising off the pen. As to the next letter *ch* I have already pointed out the "tailed" character which evidently is not noticed by Dr. Barnett.¹ If he had noticed it there would have been no controversy as to its being pre-As'okan, for whether you follow Bühler or accept my stroke-effort explanation you come to the same result. All *ch*'s of As'oka and later are drawn in one effort without lifting off the pen, while the Śais'unāka letter is drawn in two separate strokes, taking off the pen after drawing down the perpendicular line. The next letter *n*, which Dr. Barnett hesitatingly compares with Kushāṇa forms, equally resembles "somewhat" the bent base *n* of the Girnar letter of As'oka, and the *n* in *salīla nidhane* of the Piprahwa vase inscription, which according to both Bühler² and Fleet³ is older than Asoka.⁴ If the bent characteristic is found in a record which according to both Bühler and Fleet is earlier than As'oka and it is also found in Asoka script, it cannot be said that the *n* with straight bottom line is older in evolution than that with the bent one. It is more probable that the evolution is from a bent to a straight line and that the older form reappears or is preserved in the Western and Mathura scripts where the official Mauryan script is rejected early. Dealing with the other inscription, it should be noticed

¹ Cunningham noticed it, as his reading 'chu' shows.

² J. R. A. S., 1-98, p. 389.

³ Ency. Brit. XIV, p. 623:—"From before the time of Asoka we have an inscription on a relic vase from a stupa or relic mound at Piprahwa in the Basti district, United Provinces, which preserves the memory of the slaughtered kinsmen of Buddha."

⁴ J. R. A. S., 1898, p. 339.

that the *kh* of Aśoka without a body, which is the form in the majority, is admittedly much later than the *kh* with a body below. "Owing to the use of ink the circle at the foot was converted into a dot" (Bühler, I. P., p. 13). Even the dot disappears in As'oka's letters. It is not possible to derive a *kh* with a triangular base from the bare vertical of As'oka's *kh*, much less it is possible to derive a quadrilateral as our letter has got, from either a circle, dot or straight line. The triangular *kh* of Mathura must be a descendant of an older original which we have now got in our letter. Further, a circular base can be derived from a quadrilateral, but not vice versa. In discussing the *n* in the Nandi inscription Dr. Barnett lays stress upon the letter: "then comes a character which is very instructive, *nam* written with a short stumpy *n* with the *anuvāra* placed directly over the shaft of the *n* exactly as in the Kuṣāna type, and like nothing else on early records". Dr. Barnett is mistaken as to the form of *nam*. Also his assertion that *anuvāra* is placed directly over the shaft of a letter in Kuṣāna times and not earlier is incorrect. See for instance the position of the *anuvāra* in Aśoka's *him*. Writing on Aśoka's letters Bühler also says "finally the *anuvāra* sometimes stands as is generally the case in later times, above the letter after which it is pronounced". On the question of a stumpy *n* also we should note what Bühler himself says "though the shortened letters were by no means unknown to the writers of Aśoka edicts, their constant use for epigraphic documents is, to judge from the available materials,¹ a characteristic of the types of the second and subsequent centuries" (I.P. p. 33). The quotations I give only go to show the inconclusiveness of the argument, and that the caution of Bühler is disregarded; really the points do not arise here. For in our inscription the *anuvāra* is to the right, removed from the bar of the *n*, that is, coming after it as it is pronounced. Nor is our *n* stumpy; what Dr. Barnett has taken to be the *anuvāra* is really the top of the bar.² The whole letter has

¹ Italicization is by me.

² See the relief impression already published; it is a long, connected vertical.

been carved with a point owing to the curve form of the base, and the top having been cut with a point falsely gives the impression of being disconnected and being an *anusvāra*. The real *anusvāra* mark is deeply and clearly incised to the right.

To sum up there is really no late letter in the inscriptions. The evidence is the other way. It should be noticed that our script shows peculiarities of both the Drāviḍi Brahmi and Western Brahmi. For the former see *ḍḥ*, *ch*, *ṣ*. For the real type of Western Brahmi we have not to depend on Girnar which is really the Imperial script. Its early features are to be traced back from the S'aka and Andhra types, admitted by Bühler to be 'retrograde' or archaic (p. 42.) Compare our *n* and *g* with the Nasik letter in Bühler's chart in the "Buddhist Cave Temples;" our *dh* with the Kolhapur and Nanaghat letters, and our *kh* with the Western *kh* with its body to the left instead of to the right. The junction of these two widely apart types of letters, Drāviḍi and Western, at Patna in these statues presupposes a period before which, and a script from which, these systems branched off and differentiated. The Patna script is the only script which unites the wide varieties and brings us nearer the parent script. Such being the case, it is far from being unreasonable to carry the Patna script some two centuries before Asoka.

I should like to say a few words on the Yaksha theory of art critics. We should not forget that our statues are from a group of three statues of the same type ¹ which were found together in the same place inside the ruins of a house or temple. We know from Bhāsa that royal statues were housed in a *devakula* or *valhalla*,

¹ J.B.O.R.S., Vol. V, 103. Hawkins had removed the third figure from the site of the other two. "When I saw the two statues in the new Indian Museum in Calcutta, I then remembered that a broken statue of a similar kind was still standing at Agamkua, just outside the City of Patna,..... As I luckily had a rough sketch of this figure in my notebook, I was able to compare it on the spot with the two tall figures in the Museum, and this comparison at once showed that the broken figure at Agamkua corresponded in attitude, in the position of hands and in every particular of dress with the two colossi."—Cunningham, A.S.I., 15, 1.

and the same word (*devakula*) is found on the statue of the Kanishka group found at Mathura. That several of these *devakulas* or dynastic galleries did exist at Pāṭaliputra is proved from the evidence supplied by the author of the *Vāśavadattā* who describes Pāṭaliputra as he saw it and alludes to the "several *devakulas*" as a chief feature of the capital.¹ According to the Purāṇas there were only four kings of the S'aisunāka dynasty at Pāṭaliputra, the rest having flourished at Rājagriha. The last of these was superseded by the usurper Mahāpadma and probably got no statue. If the Patna statues are Yakshas, as hitherto believed, we will have to presume a gallery of Yakshas, a thing unknown to art and literature. If we analyse the history of the Yaksha theory, we find that it stands on the quicksands of mistakes, belief, and reiterated assertion. Cunningham misread the beginnings of these two inscriptions as *yakha*, one of which, as every one is agreed, has not even the faintest resemblance to the word *yakha*. The form of the first two letters of the other inscription as now disclosed renders the reading *yakha* impossible in the other as well. In Cunningham's time the ancient practice of making statues of kings was absolutely unknown. He could think of nothing but semi-divine yakshas in connexion with the statues, as the statues are not divine, but temporal,—human. When the Parkham statue was discovered it was declared to be a yaksha because, evidently, it resembled the Patna images. Cunningham even alleged that the Parkham also bore a *chauri*, as in his opinion the Patna ones bore it, while both shoulders of the Parkham disprove the existence of a *chauri*.² When now I say that the Patna statues, the basis of the Yaksha-hood of the Parkham, are not yakshas, the Parkham is quoted against me as a positive proof of the yaksha theory. It is proving the unknown from the unknown and moving in a vicious circle. The inscription of the Parkham completely

¹ मुनियुतेरपि मदनप्रसिद्धिर्देवपवनपादपैरुपशोभितम् अदितिजठरमिव
अनेकदेवकुलाध्यासितम् । Like *muni* and *madana*, *devakula* is given in a double meaning.

² Dr. Vogel admits that the Parkham could not have borne a *chauri*.—Catalogue of Mathura Museum, page 83.

disproves its alleged Yaksha-hood, but then it will be said, inscription or no inscription, it is a yaksha; it resembles the Patna images. The prejudice is so great that an art critic has declared that even if my inscriptions read the names of kings as I propose and if they are not contemporary with the statues, he will argue that the statues are yakshas, that only when their yaksha identity was forgotten the royal names were inscribed !¹ He would treat the statues even as pre-Mauryan but decline to accept in face of even positive reading that they are royal statues! This art sacerdotalism, this tenacity of belief, based on facts which do not exist is hard to combat. Every lost cause has its advocates and I do not grudge the yakshas theirs. The determination of the question must rest on the reading of the inscriptions coupled with common sense that if the inscriptions bear royal names the statues are royal, and if the statues are royal they must go back to the period of those whom they represent.

I should add here that Muni Jinavijayaji, the Jain ascetic and scholar, tells me that both lay disciples and ascetics carried rajoharaṇa or chauri amongst the Jains in ancient times.

Before leaving the subject I would mention Mr. Green's opinion that the brown hue which envelops the statues at present is the result of the action of fire. The original colour of the stone is evident from a recent break in the pedestal of Nandi. Mr. Green identifies the stone as Mirzapur (as formerly alleged by me), and says that fire produces the brown colour on Mirzapur which the statues at present bear. Mr. Green is positive that "there is no doubt that the statues have been subject to fire." This brings to mind the burnt state of the

¹ 'However, if, as suggested by Dr. Spooner and Mr. Bannerjee, the inscriptions are of later date than the statues themselves (Mr. Bannerjee asserts that one of the inscriptions cannot be older than 1st century B.C.), then it is quite possible to argue that after the decline of the Yaksha cults, people forgot the identity of the images, and, some time about the first century A.C., wrongly began to call them "Aja-udayin" and "Varta Nandin" and the inscriptions if they do spell out the names of these Saisunaga Kings, as brilliantly suggested by Mr. Jayaswal, may well have been mistaken appellations given in later times to images which represent the Yakshas suggested above.' —Mr. O. C. Gangoly *Modern Review*, October, 1919.

remains at Kumrahar dug out by Dr. Spooner. The find spot of the statues was somewhere near Kumrahar, as Sir Edward Gait has pointed out.

The polish, in Mr. Green's opinion, was a great preservative, and was produced by an external application.

Mr. Green's note.

Figure with head.—The lines of drapery are not continuous being broken against the lettering where the members of the lettering obstruct the direction they might be expected to take. It follows that the drapery and the lettering were done simultaneously as the letters and the drapery are so cleverly interwoven that in simultaneous execution it is difficult to suggest which were marked out or cut first.

The portion below the first two letters is weathered off; the definition of the drapery lines has therefore become indistinct. There is no doubt that the letters originally did exist there.

Figure without head.—One line of drapery shows a stop against the lettering, the remainder appear to be continuous.

F. GREEN,

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(IV)

Argument on the Pre-Mauryan Date of the Statues.

**By Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cant.), Lecturer in Ancient Art,
Calcutta University.**

The Patna Statues in the Calcutta Museum seem to have occasioned a good deal of confusion, and I must hasten to throw as much light as possible on a very difficult problem.

Let us take the Statue marked P.2 in the Calcutta Museum, the thinner of the two Patna figures, with head intact. It has a marvellously broad head with hair on the right and left temples and also behind. The crown seems to be bald. The bareness here is probably not an indication of a head-dress, for head-dresses in early times invariably contained a design and the same design seems to persevere even in Śunga times. The eyes

are wide and long. The cheeks are enormously puffy. The ear ornaments are heavy. The head rises from a ponderous neck, which is enriched by a huge double chin looking like a thick layer of fat growing round the neck. As for the body, it gives one an impression of immense strength, not without its necessary concomitant of fat which gradually increases from the chest to the abdomen. The right arm is missing. So is the forearm of the left hand. Round the arm is an armlet, which is crudely represented. It is delineated by deep incisions into the stone widening somewhat at the edges. It is not a successful representation of jewellery which is made to fit round a well-shaped arm. Round the neck is a band with lotuses on the flat, and is tied up behind like a ribbon. Another ornament passes across the body transversely.

There is gentle modelling all over the body but it is still a body which has eluded the sculptor. This will be quite clear to all who compare this body with the body and the arm of P.1. There is a band just below the navel which may be meant to represent an undercloth. (It is probably not the termination of a diaphanous robe round the body, as it does not pass round.) The lower part of the body is round and heavy but not skilfully modelled. The undulations of the muscles of the thighs have baffled the artist. This is to be compared with the other figure which shows contours of a muscular thigh peeping from under the robe to perfection. The drapery is a cloth with a linear design tied up into various folds. The feet and the lowest portion of the drapery has been broken. It will be observed that an attempt has been made to represent a cloth clinging to the body but not with great success. The drapery still remains stiff and tends to fall straight. The representation has been made by a convention which has been only half-developed, i.e. by a tendency of these lines on the design to meet. The figure has an upper garment pleated and which falls straight at the back. It will be observed that no allowance is made for the contours of the body.

Secondly the back generally has not been modelled with as much care and precision as the front. The representation of the

testes is quite unnecessary and seems to point to the conclusion that it is a human figure and not a semidivine yaksha. The cloth over this part of the body is crude, far cruder than that of the other figure P.1.

P.1. The next figure is that of a broader and a stronger man, of lesser flabbiness and greater strength. The head is missing. The body is modelled with far greater precision. Observe the forearm and all the undulations of the flesh will be noticed. The swell of the body from the chest to the abdomen is more skilful and shows a greater command of the material. The artist has successfully depicted a person of massive strength but with a certain amount of embonpoint. The ornaments are different, the one round the neck is of essentially different design. The armlet is of the dragon variety, and is delineated with far greater precision than in the other figure. There is the same transverse ornament round the body. The line below the navel may be meant to represent the termination of a transparent coat draping the body. More probably it is the undercloth. The drapery round the lower part of the figure shows a great advance in technique. The folds are more numerous and more realistic. The lines are more fluid and less stiff. The same convention is employed to represent drapery closely clinging to the body and following all its contours. It clings far more closely than in the first figure, and the illusionistic effect becomes clear to all who look at the figure from a distance. The advance is most apparent. This is also seen in details, thus by examination of the treatment of the cloth over the testes and round about the groins. The artist has become a master of his material and he employs the same conventions.

A comparison of these two figures leads to the conclusion that the figure P.1 is later than the figure P.2. The drapery alone would prove it. Where the artist in the first figure has only partially succeeded, it has been a triumph with the second. Again the sculptor bestows greater thought and care upon the back of the figure. The modelling—the representation of the contours is much more apparent in the one than in the other.

I am not called upon to pronounce an opinion upon the identification of the statues. But the sculptors seem to have dwelt upon personal characteristics—upon the massive strength of both, but one is stouter and flabbier. It seems to me that an insistence is made upon the '*pathos*' and not on the '*ēthos*'.

Now we come to the most important question whether they are (1) Mauryan, (2) Post-Mauryan, (3) Pre-Mauryan. The Mauryan statues are decadent. A definition of decadence would take me too far into the misty region of the Aesthetic. But a decadence is only possible when the artist has become an accomplished master of his technique, when with the material at hand he can mould the figures to his will. At this stage he loses in constructive facility what he gains in technical quality. He begins to elaborate, thus in representing the body he begins to pay more particular attention to minute muscles and tendons, to particular attitudes, to the smallest details.

Let us recall the Mauryan lion in the Calcutta Museum; it is very characteristic of Mauryan decadence that the tendon round the leg should be delineated, that the manes should fall in congealed ringlets, that the paws should be represented with its full complement of talons and claws. Compare this even with the later Patna figure (P.1). Observe the crudity of the legs; you will search the body in vain for a single muscle. A decadent in dealing with the figure of a stout person would have got endless possibilities out of the folds of flesh. The Mauryan has in fact delineated the pucker of flesh round about the nose. The Patna artists simply represent their ideas by a general modelling; their mentality has not yet begun to grapple with small details.

Let us take the frieze under the Sarnath capital. Take the bull, or the horse, or the elephant. We find an exemplification of all these attributes over again—the enormous hump of the flesh, its wrinkles, its exaggerated correctness. In these Patna statues we easily ascertain that the mentality of the sculptor was not decadent, that his absorption in the general appearance involved a sacrifice of all detail, that his technique

could not cope with a representation of a sinew or a protuberant muscle. Take the hair for instance, it is not in the conventional clusters of the Mauryan lions (which give you the idea of the use of a brush).

Therefore the greater degree of conventionalism in the Mauryan figures points to its later date. Mauryan sculpture shows an exaggeration of the realism found in the Patna statues. I quite realize the dangers that beset a comparison of a figure of a man with that of an animal. But the conclusion is fairly obvious. The adaptation of the frontal aspect with the lateral is complete and perfect in Mauryan, but in the Patna statues it seems only on the path towards the attainment of the desired end. The combination of three lions without any incongruity is a feat which the carvers of the two figures could not have achieved, for the adaptation of one front to one side seems almost to be beyond their powers—and particularly so in the earlier statue. In conclusion the refreshing clumsiness of the statues as compared with the exaggerated refinement of the Mauryans point irrefutably to this conclusion. I may add that the bull on the frieze of the Sarnath capital presents a three-fourths front. This implies a long period of development.

Nor are these statues post-Mauryan. If we take the figures generally considered to be of the Sunga period, we find a large body of crystallized convention. Let us take our examples from Bharhut and Sanchi, assuming the dictum with regard to their post-Mauryan date for the purposes of argument. The body is generalized; the female form is a gentle swell, the male a matter of uniform breadths and depths,—the eyes, the ears, the nose, the ornaments, the head-dresses, the drapery are stereotyped. The artists have already analysed form and have realized generalized contours—mere details have been sunk in these generalizations. There is thus never a representation of a chest muscle nor of a swelling abdomen as in the pre-Mauryan. Every characteristic is stereotyped and universal—the technique has been mastered. Thus artists have become adepts in the representation of the curves of bodies

concealed under the folds of their cloths. Nowhere is the particular characteristic of a figure given, they are all merged in the universal. This is neither the purport nor the intent of pre-Mauryan sculpture.

The polish too is an irrefutable argument.¹

At this stage I think it is necessary to observe that I think the Besnagar statue of a female (also in the Calcutta Museum) pre-Mauryan in date and in fact earlier than either of the two Patna statues.

Besnagar Statue.

Its enormous size and crudity and the lesser success attending the solution of technical problems prove it to be earlier than the Patna figures. The face is hardly discernible; the ear ornaments are huge and clumsy (though of a design which persists). The necklace is similarly clumsy but the artist has failed to make allowance for the curves of the necklace as it falls over the undulating surface of the breasts. This is more obvious in the lower rows, the attempt has been made but not with as much

¹ It is difficult for me to compare the Patna statues with

(i) The Manibhadra at Gwalior.

(ii) The Parkham at Mathura.

I have only seen photographic plates of these two figures, and conclusions based on such evidence would be doubtful. I therefore refrain from much comment thereon.

(1) In the Manibhadra the fold of flesh under the chin and also below the chest represents a different convention from the Patna figures. The treatment of the drapery too varies both frontally and behind; the undulating line under the chest seems to be a graphic portrayal of the folds of a transparent garment. The earlier sculptors were not familiar with these methods. Lastly, the sacred thread alone would indicate a strong line of demarcation.

(2) The Parkham statue too is a distinctive facial type, the eyes are drawn by deep straight lines not almond shaped as in the Patna figure. There are two buds round chest and the whole series of ornaments differs. The undulations of the body here fall into another technical groove—the entire abdomen seems to be lifted from the main figure; in the Patna statues it is not so abrupt, nor so clear and well defined. The termination of the garment about the loins is drawn in a unique way—so are the folds of the *dhoti* where the bending of one knee forward is a new feature.

I speak tentatively with regard to these figures for the reasons mentioned above.

effect as is perceptible in the Patna figures. The breasts are exaggerated and the pucker of flesh is denoted by three lines, but not in the S'unga manner by which time it has become a mere design. An attempt is made to represent the folds in the drapery ; here again it is less evolved than the Patna statues. The cloth falls more heavily and follows the contours of the body more vaguely. There is little, if any, modelling of the body under her attire — we feel rather than perceive thick heavy thighs ; in front the drapery takes the same curves as in the S'unga period, but it lacks the skilful treatment of the latter when it had become a finished design. The knee joints are obviously too large. We see the early attempts of a sculptor in every detail. The hip ornaments prove the same theory. The rings increase in size in front, and have a slight downward inclination but on the reverse side they are arranged in straight lines — the artist has entirely forgotten the contours and the curves of the female figure or rather to adapt the ornament to those curves. There is not the slightest allowance made for any undulation. It will be remembered there is some adjustment in the Patna figure. The drapery terminates in a peculiar manner about the knees. The treatment of the hair is unique ; it is tied up into two tails behind and the head-dress is surprisingly coarse and thick, looking almost like a wig. The adaptation of the frontal to the lateral aspect is also clumsy ; it forms a slight angle.

Lastly, I come to the bull, which has hitherto been designated Mauryan (this is also in the Calcutta Museum). This satisfies all the characteristics of a "memory picture". If the spectator looks at it frontally he gets no idea that it has a body behind it, both the head and the legs conspire to convey this impression. When viewed from the side the spectator similarly thinks it is the side and side alone and not the front which has been portrayed. In other words, there is not the slightest adjustment of the frontal to the lateral aspect. It may not be out of place to remind the reader that Ferguson also with a rare flash of æsthetic instinct observed the archaic quality

of the plants carved on the abacus. He likened them to Assyria. He realized its archaism. A comparison with the typical Mauryan animals will immediately emphasize the distinction. The lions or the bull in relief on the abacus of the Sarnath column are in the typical Mauryan manner; the artist is an absolute master of his material. The bull in relief with his muscles and his crumpled flesh is self-conscious—the other is not, it is naïve. The Sarnath bull presents a three-fourths front; in the other there is no adaptation of the front to the side.

In conclusion, archæologists who had once observed that in India every specie and style of Art was only seen in its fully developed form can hardly bear out their statement now. The industry of the European Archæologists has unearthed a vast quantity of material which inspire these new theories.

VI.—Another Saisunaka Statue (cir. 515 B.C.)

By K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. Brindaban Bhattacharya's note in the Journal drew my attention to the Parkham statue. I went and inspected it in the Mathura Museum. Cunningham says that it bore evidence of "high polish" when he found it. The statue being now in a dark place, I could not ascertain whether or not there are traces of the "high polish," a term employed by Cunningham to denote what is now called the "Mauryan polish." But Cunningham is always right in these matters and we may trust his observation. After its discovery at the village of Parkham it remained there for a long time after Cunningham and has been removed to the Mathura Museum only in recent years.

It bears an inscription round the statue on the pedestal. I examined it carefully and came to the conclusion that there was no trace of a yaksha and that the whole inscription is readable except one letter. The left side which was exposed to light gave me the reading—

Kuṇika Śevāsināgo

Māga[.]naṃ . .

"Kunika Śevāsināgo—of the Magadhas"

This made me pray His Honour Sir Edward Gait to kindly obtain impressions and casts of the inscription for leisurely study. In response to His Honour's request Sir Harecourt Butler had casts and impressions prepared by Mr. Dikshit. I have now utilized these. Their facsimiles will be published in the next number. In the meantime I give my reading of the inscription—

(Right) *nibhadapra-Seni Aj* [ā] . *satru rājo* [si]r[i]

(Front) symbols for 4, 20 (*tha*), 10 (d), Fullstop 8 (*hi* or *hri*)

(Left) *Kuṇika-sevāsi-nāgo Māgadhānaṃ rājā*

The meaning is—

“The Passed-away one (dead), the descendant of Śrēṇi, the Ajāta-sātru (enemy-less) king, S’rī Kuṇika Śevāsi-nāga, king of the Magadhan people.”

“34 (years); 8 (months) ” (reign period?).

The *j* is of the Bhattiprolu variety with the middle stroke downwards and the peculiar mātrā of *o* as in Bhattiprolu *go*; the *a* of Ajātasātru is very big; it is with two curves placed one upon another by a vertical, facing the right, as in the Eran coin; the *g* has one leg very short like the Phœnician. In one *s* there is a long vertical. The *n* in *ni* is like the As’oka mason’s *n̄*: One ā-mark is to the left, and one *s* faces the left.

S’ēṇi, the title of Bimbisāra, is repeated. The king’s both names, Ajātasātru and Kuṇika, appear, as well as the dynastic name. Śevāsi is the original and Śiśu sanskritized. Some Purāṇas give his reign as 35 years. The statue will be dated circa 515 B.C., Ajātasātru having died c. 518 B.C.

VII.—Sisunaga Statues.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E.

Since the publication of Mr. Jayaswal's paper on these statues, a controversy is raging amongst scholars both in India and in Europe. Some are agreeing with Mr. Jayaswal, while some opposing him vehemently. The reason is not far to seek. The prevailing notion is that Indian art derived its inspiration from Persia. But if these statues are really what Mr. Jayaswal says, the prevailing theory would receive a rude shock ; and no one is going to give up his pet theory without a struggle. A time was when Sanskrit was regarded as a forgery of the Brahmanas. But that idea has passed away. Indian arts, histrionic and plastic, were at one time regarded as having their origin in the contact of Greece with India. That idea has also passed away. The present idea is that India owes much of her civilization to Persia. The Aśoka sculptures are said to have received their finish and technique from Persian artists. There is a *prima facie* ground for suggesting this view as the Maurya Empire came into existence after the fall of the Persian Empire. The discovery of the Piprahwa vase with an inscription in a script similar to that of Aśoka and with a polish superior to that on the sculptures of Aśoka threw doubts on the Persian theory. But the adherents of that theory tried to explain away a single instance like that as an anomaly. Some thought that the vase with its inscription belonged to Aśoka's time, but was put in into an old *stūpa*, perhaps at the time of its repairs, and so forth. Up to recent times many people, respectable scholars, thought that India was ever divided into small principalities and could never boast of an All-India Empire. The discovery of the Aśoka edicts all over India from Shahbazgarhi

to Ganjam and from Kalsi in the Himalayas to Siddhapura in Mysore, made the position of these scholars untenable. While orientalists, both here and in Europe, said that the history of the Indian Empire could not go beyond the Mauryas, Mr. Justice Pargiter silently but steadily working through the Purāṇas has constructed a dynastic history of India in the Kaliyuga, and is now working through the Vedas for a similar history beyond the Kaliyuga, and other scholars are, according to their light, investing this skeleton of history with flesh and blood. And no one has worked in this line with greater enthusiasm than Mr. Jayaswal. Receiving his instruction from some of the best historians at Oxford, Mr. Jayaswal has made the best use of his opportunities to pry deep into the history of his country. He has in fact, constructed a detailed history of the S'is'unāga period, that is the period between Buddha and Chandra Gupta. The S'is'unāga history, which was a mere string of names, is now replete with all sorts of human interests as his articles in the J.B.O.R.S. will show. He has taken great pains to decipher the long Hathigumpha inscription because it threw a good deal of light on the Pre-Mauryan days. He has studied the dramas published by M.M. Ganapati S'āstri for the same reason. He has studied the Artha-s'āstra and innumerable other works, having the same object in view. In fact he has left no stone unturned to unveil the past of India of that period. Therefore when he published his paper on the S'is'unāga statues, I thought this was another contribution of his towards the elucidation of that period of history. But the criticisms evoked by his paper made me pause and examine his materials. Some of his critics thought that the characters of the inscription belong to the Kushan period, that is, the first century A.D. or the first century B.C. But at a glance I could see that his critics were not justified because in these centuries Magadha was under the domination of the Andhras, a southern people of short stature, with fat belly and square face. But the statues are more than usually tall, muscularly

built, with round faces and looks, like northerners. Later on, I was on another account studying the dress of ancient Indians. That dress appears to have consisted of Vāsasi or two pieces of cloth, upper and lower (*dhōṭī* and *chādar*), a pair of *upanahs* or shoes, umbrella, *uṣṇiṣa* or head-dress, a pair of ear ornaments, a *niṣka* or necklace. This is the dress given in the *As'valāyana Ghṛya sūtra* to a Brahmana who had finished his education and become a householder. But a very different dress is given to the *Vrātyas* in *Kātyāyana's Śrauta sūtra* (Chapter XXII) while treating of the *Vrātyastoma*, a ceremony for the purpose of purifying people who had no *Śāvitṛi*. The dress consisted of one (1) *Fāsas*, the lower garment only ; (2) *Uṣṇiṣa* or head-dress put on in a slanting fashion (*Tiryannaddhamuṣṇiṣam*). Going to the statues the other day, I found they were clad in one piece of cloth only, the upper part of the body from below navel being left bare. The striking similarity led me to study the dress more closely both of the statues and the *Vrātyas*, as given in *Kātyāyana*. (3) *Dve Dāmanī* or two strings : the *Vratya*-dress was tied in the waist by two strings. And, to my agreeable surprise, I found that the lower garment of the statues is fastened by two strings, the more prominent one going round the waist and being tied with a knot in front of it the two ends of which are hanging over the garment. But the other is not so prominent. I looked more carefully and found that on the left there is another string ; hanging in two folds over the garment. The use of this string is not quite apparent to me, but it is there, and there is not the least doubt about it. It is only in these and nowhere else that *two dāmanī* appear. (4) The ear ornaments are also there. But *Kātyāyana* call these ornaments *karnāli*. They are very prominent and cover nearly the whole of the ears. In shape, size and workmanship they resemble *Dhendis*, which were much in use in my boyhood among women of the respectable classes in Bengal. (5) " *Upenahau* " or a pair of shoes : only one statue has its legs, while those of the other are broken and restored. The statues are barefooted.

(6) "Niṣko Rajataḥ" or necklace made of silver. There is niṣka in the statues. But it is difficult to say whether it is gold or silver. (7) "*Jyāhrodaḥ ayogyam dhanuḥ*", a kind of ornamental bow without the string. The hands of the statues are however all broken. (8) "Agine" or two pieces of sheep's fur or leather with sides untrimmed. These are not found on the statues unless one thinks that the band or scarf which goes round the upper part of the body and hangs behind down to the ankles, represents them. We should recall to mind that our sacred cotton threads really represent original furs or leather. On Vṛātya kings the original ajina might have been converted into paṭṭas.

In any case the statues have most of the articles of dress as given by Kātyāyana to the Vṛātya. Kātyāyana says another thing which is to the point. He says that the dress of the Vṛātya is to be given, at the purificatory ceremony, to a "Magadha-des'īya Brāhmaṇa-bandhu" or a so-called Brahmana belonging to the country of Magadha. So it is apparent that in writing on Vṛātya-stoma, Kātyāyana had the Vṛātyas of Magadha prominently before his mind. In the Purāṇas, too, the Si-s'unāgas are mentioned as "Kṣattrabandhus", inferior or so-called Kṣattriyas. Kṣattrabandhus and Vṛātyas therefore seem to mean one and the same thing. The Vṛātyas are by no means an object of contempt for they are very highly spoken of in the Atharvaveda. In fact, one entire chapter in prose is devoted to the glorification of the Vṛātyas; and the position of that Veda during the Si-s'unāga period was not settled, as even in the early Maurya period Kautilya in the opening chapter of his Arthasāstra speaks of the three Vedas only, Sāman, Rik, and Yajus, and then adds "Atharvavedopi vedah", "Itihāsa-vedopi vedah", thus classing the Atharva-veda along with the Itihāsa.

All these facts point to the conclusion that the Vṛātyas or the Kṣattrabandhus of Magadha were in the pre-Mauryan period making a strenuous effort to be admitted into the fold of the Brahmanic four castes. They had succeeded so far as to get a recognition, however shaky, of the Veda which

favoured them, and they, perhaps, got Kātyāyana to include a chapter on their purification in his S'rauta sūtra¹.

If the date of the Kātyāyana of the S'rauta sūtra could be fixed with any precision, that would go a great way to fix the date of the statues, dressed as they are in the same fashion as his Vratyas. But the precise date of this Kātyāyana is very difficult to ascertain, as there are so many great writers of that name. Yet there are some facts which will tend to show that he belonged to about the Śis'unāga period. It is now well known that Pāṇini and his critic Kātyāyana were both examined and rewarded at Pāṭaliputra in the early fourth or in the fifth century B.C. The Kātyāyana of the S'rauta sūtra must have belonged to an earlier period. For comprehensive works in any branch of knowledge come after the S'rauta sūtras which belong to particular schools or Śākhās of the Vedas.

There is a good deal of controversy about the characters and the language of the inscriptions on the back of the statues. To my mind they are not official records at all, in the sense of official or religious inscriptions. The latter are incised at a prominent place, mostly in front of a statue. But here the letters are on the back and so high that without effort no one can reach them. I, therefore, think they are the sculptor's notes put down

¹ [The Vratyās were an Aryan people, speaking "a somewhat Prakritic form of speech"; they did not conform to the Brahmanic rules of ritual and life; some Vratyas adopted Vedic mode of life and Vedic priests, and for their consecration or purification the sūtras lay down rules; their criminal code allowed no exemption; instead of Brahmins they had *arhants* or *Saints* (Keith, V. I, 2, 342-44). The identification proposed by Mr. Shastri explains why the Śaiśunākas were followers of Arhants (Buddha and Jina). The Śaiśunākas were non-Brahmanical Hindus. The identification is further confirmed by the fact that Manu Smṛitī calls the Licchhavis "Vratyas" and according to the Buddhist sūtras the Buddha mentioned the reliquaries of the arhants of the Licchhavis. Ajātasatru the Śaiśunāka king claimed the relics of the Buddha who was an arhat. This also indicates the Vratya stock of the Śaiśunākas. The Puranic designation "Kshatra bandhu" given to the dynasty is fully explained now. Formerly I had thought that they were so called because of their Buddhist and Jaina connections. The reference is to their Vratya, non-Vedic, original status. They thus differed from the Kshatriyas of the Doab in belief and mode of life. Probably they represented the later immigrants whose history has been traced by philologists (Hoernle and Grierson).—K. P. J.]

there so that the statues at his lapidary may not be confounded with other statues he was cutting, and that they were incised when the stone was just taking the shape of a statue, long before the finishing stroke was given. The scarf going round the upper half of the body and reaching the feet behind comes much later and its furrows and ridges had to be so modified as not to disturb the letters put there for the sculptor's own use. This would explain why in one place the ridge had to be discontinued for a small space to preserve the integrity of a letter and in another place the furrow is to be made deeper, so as not to disturb the incision made for the letter.

In that case the language and the lettering of the sculptor's inscription need not detain us long. It is the work of an ill-educated stonemason, not meant for the general public, far less for scholars.

Mr. Jayaswal's theory has been very severely criticized from the point of view of art. The art critic thinks that these two statues together with the Parkham statue and the Mañibhadra statues of Malwa are all statues of Yakṣas. But the Mañi-bhadra statue is a statue of much later date, and Mani-bhadra is there called Bhagavān an epithet which can never be applied to a Yakṣa, unless we strain very much the meaning of the word Bhagavān. From the way Mani-bhadra is spoken of in the inscription on the statue he seems to be the Bodhisattva Mañi-bhadra of the Buddhists. The analogy of the Mañi-bhadra statue cannot be applied in any case to the statues in question which widely differ from it in age and technique. When I was at Mathura five years ago, the Honorary Curator, Rai Radha Krishna Bahadur told me, pointing to the Parkham statue, that that was another statue of Kaniṣka. I looked into the inscription and read the first three letters as Kanika. I knew that Kaniṣka was called Kanika; for instance, Mātreceta, the poet, writes a letter to Kaniṣka and calls it the Kanikalekha. If that be a statue of Kaniṣka, the Yakṣa theory cannot apply to it and the analogy of the Parkham statue falls to the ground. But it is possible that there might be a vowel mark below K and it may be Kuṇika,

the Jaina name of Ajātas'attru, the contemporary of Buddha and the king of Magadha. In that case that would be another S'is'unāga statue and not the statue of a Yakṣa.

Sir A. Cunningham was full of the Yakṣa theory and so he read the word *yakhe* on the statues. We do not find these letters there. The statues are consequently not yakṣas. The art critic invokes the authority of Mahāmayūri, one of the five Rakṣās of the later Buddhists, which cannot go beyond the the ninth-century A.D. and is unreliable. It can be of no use on the points in controversy. In the Bharut gallery of the Indian Museum, in which the statues in question are kept, are to be found bas-reliefs undoubtedly of yakṣas with their names prominently inscribed; for instance in the gate pillar, there is a bas-relief of "Kupiro Yakho." At the north-western corner on a pillar there is the bas-relief of Suprabho Yakho, with similar dress as that of Kupira yakha—with two horned *pagari*, and *dhoti* between the legs (unlike the round garment of the Patna statues), and other peculiar articles of dress—in each case differing widely from the statues in question. Yet strangely enough, the statues in question are confounded with those of yakṣas.

I am inclined to think that Mr. Jayaswal is absolutely right in his reading of the last four letters of the inscription on statue B namely Vaṭa Nandī. But I do not accept his interpretation, "Vaṭa Nandī" or "Varti Nandī". I would go straight and say it is Vratya Nandi, vrātya being used in good sense. It is easy to convert "vrātya" into "vatta" or "vaṭa". The sculptor would thus remember that this stone is to form the statue of Nandi and that his dress should be that of a Vratya king. The "Varta" or "Vartti" of the Purāṇas and "Vratya" may be connected words, for Mr. Pargiter says that the portion of the Purāṇas dealing with History was originally written in Prakṛt and "Vratya" may have got the form "vartta" or "vartti" therefrom.

The Pratimā Nāṭaka, published by Mahamahopadhyaya Gaṇapati S'āstri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit series in 1915, gives for the first time an idea that in ancient times statues used to

be erected in honour of dead potentates. The places where these used to be kept were called Devakulas, Houses of Gods. But the word seems to have been confined to these symbolical cemeteries. There is a Bengali word "De-ula" a Prakṛt form of "Devakula" which however means single temples and tall temples. Royal cemeteries are still common in Rajputana. They are called "chhatris" or umbrellas. They are erected not only to Rājas but to other illustrious dead and more specially to people dying in war. Royal cemeteries are set apart at one place. Sometimes they contain statues, sometimes they do not. There are royal cemeteries at Jaypur, Jodhpur and other Rajputana capitals. But the place containing the royal chhatris at Bikanir is called "Devagaḍh," perhaps a faint reminiscence of the ancient "Devakula". At this place there are statues of all the Bikanir Rājas, from the fourth downwards. There is another Devagaḍh for the first three Rājas near the walled town. The present Devagaḍh is six miles distant from the former one. The statues are worshipped every day and food is offered to them. The priests are Śākadvīpi Brahmanas¹. They do not object to partaking the food offered to the dead Rājas. The kings who died in wars are presented on horseback, others in a standing posture. Their Ranis who ascended funeral pyres of their husbands are also represented as standing by their husbands.

The Pratimā Nāṭaka cemetery is a few miles away from Ajodhyā in the west, quietly situated in the midst of a grove, in, "a tall building" "higher than a palace". It has no gate, so that any man may come at pleasure and pay respects to their departed rulers without bowing to them and without being pushed aside by any porters. The scene in the drama opens with a Sudhākara or whitewasher clearing the cemetery off pigeons, marking the walls with sandal-paste and chunam, hanging festoons over the doors and spreading sand all over the place. After doing all these decorations the whitewasher retires. These decorations are necessary as a new statue has come to the

¹ Called Sebakas.

cemetery, namely, that of Rāja Daśaratha, recently dead; and the Rānis and ministers are coming to see it.

Bharata was sent for immediately after the death of Daśaratha from Kekayadeśa and he is just approaching Ayodhyā. He is suddenly stopped near the Devakula by a messenger from the Upādhyāyas, who told him to wait a *nalikā* or 48 minutes as the time was not auspicious. Bharata stops, asks the charioteer to let the horses take rest and looks about for a place to rest in himself. He sees the grove near the Devakula and approaches it, enters the building and sees four statues. They are not images of gods but appear to be statues of men of exquisite workmanship. It appeared to him strange that the Kula had neither flags nor divine weapons. He was wondering what it could be. The statues attracted him greatly and he was going to bow to them when the keeper came in and saw Bharata (only a shade different in appearance from the statues). He asked him not to bow. Bharata was struck at the abrupt way of the man and told him why he prevented a good man from doing what was proper. The keeper says that he did so because a brāhmaṇa should not bow to these taking them to be gods; these are Kshatriyas and Ikṣvakus; this is Dilīpa, this is Raghu, this is Aja, and this is Daśaratha. Bharata who was ignorant of the death of his father asked if living kings got statues. The keeper said, no; Daśaratha was dead. At this Bharata swoons and soon after enter the Rānis and ministers. The minister remarks that the man lying insensible is exactly like Daśaratha; and again when he recovered and began to speak, Sumantra remarked that as if the statue of His Majesty (Daśaratha) was speaking.

This exquisitely beautiful scene is the most attractive feature of the Patimā Nāṭaka. I believe with the editor that the drama was composed before Kauṭilya's time for when speaking of the Arthaśāstra it does not know of Kauṭilya's work but mentions the work of Brhaspati from whom Kauṭilya drew much of his materials. Similarly the author mentions many works which are all very ancient and gone out of use in the Maurya period. The reasons for considering the Pratimā Nāṭaka as more ancient

than Kautilya is given in the preface of the editor and I need not repeat them here.

Bharata did not recognize the statues at once. The Keeper had to tell a lot before he came to know who were represented. This is an indication that the Devakula statues had no official inscriptions in the time of Bhāsa, for if they had, Bharata would not require the explanation given by the keeper. The statues seem to have been recognized by the order in which they were arranged, by the peculiarity of their features, and by the symbolical representation of their great achievements. Such symbolical representations are suggested in the speech of the keeper when pointing out each of the statues to Bharata. Dilipa, he describes, as the king who performed the *viśvajit* sacrifice devoting all his valuables to it. About Raghu he says that when he sat there rose thousands of *Brahmaṇās* and pronounced "svati". Inscriptions were not much in use in Devakulas. I believe the statues in question are Devakula statues. Perhaps the sight of these statues at Pāṭaliputra fired the imagination of the dramatist to conceive the Devakula plot of the *Pratimā Nāṭaka*. The statues seen by Bhāsa were all lifelike in expression and features. That is the reason why the keeper found very little difference between Daśaratha in stone and Bharata in flesh when he entered, and that is the reason why Sumantra mistook Bharata in a swoon as another statue of his father. They must have been of the natural height of men.

The inscriptions found in these statues are on the back of each, consisting of eight letters and the sculptor covered them with the scarf. The letters were for his own use and not for the use of the public. Their import is simple. They were to remind him as to whose statue it was. So there are the names, so the words "Bhage" and "Vata". These words were to remind him of the qualities he was to give to the statue. There is the word *Vata*, the statue should have the dignity of a *vrātya* king, and "Bhage" means "power," that is, he should be powerfully built. The word "Sabakhato" is "all dominion",

that is, he should have expression to show that he is the lord of the whole earth, and the word "Kṣonidhiśe", that he should have the look of a king. The inscriptions are obscure to us but they were enough for the purposes of the sculptor. This being the import of the inscriptions the question of strict grammar, style, etymology, syntax or palæography does not really arise.

If these two statues are really those of Aja and Nandi, two S'is'unāga kings, the inscriptions on them would be very nearly contemporary with the inscription on the Piprahwa vase. Let us compare the letter of these inscriptions. The letter *ta* is very nearly the same. In the As'oka *ta* if the vertical line is produced it will bisect the angle formed by the lower lines but in the letter on the statues and in the vase it will not do so. The upper and lower appanages of the letters, the vowel-marks, are very long in the vase and they are not less prominent in the statues. But the vase inscription is official and has a good finish while the statue one is a mere scribble. As regards the lettering of the inscriptions they need not be fine specimens of calligraphy. They are rough and cursive. I generally agree with Mr. Jayaswal in his reading of the letters. They are older forms of As'oka letters. They are nearer the forms of Phœnician letters or letters of the Moabite stone. I will give examples:—*a* is aleph which in Phœnician means a bull, represented by the two horns with a space between; placing it perpendicular we get exactly the form which we have here. Later on, the curve parts became straight. One critic says that the horns emanate from one point but the very first letters of Bühler's chart contradict him. At Delhi the lines do not rise from the same point. Beth is a box with the lid open and the *ba* of "Sabakhato" is exactly a box with the lid open. So is gimel, the ancient Phœnician form, preserved in *ga*; so also in *dha*.

All these considerations of palæography, grammar, and dress lead only to inferences from the known to the unknown. But we have better contemporary evidence, When I was

just finishing this paper I learnt from Mr. Jayaswal that Sir Edward Gait has caused casts to be prepared of the inscription on the Parkham statue. Mr. Jayaswal has kindly shown these to me. They show unmistakably that the statue belongs, as Mr. Jayaswal reads, to Kuṇika Ajāta-s'atru, the son of Vambisāra, the king of the S'is'unāga family. The letters there form an official inscription and are mostly distinct. The statue is not a Devakula statue for in that case it would be found in or near Rāja-griha, the capital of Kuṇika. It is a statue for the purposes perhaps of a memorial in memory of his conquest of Mathura or in memory of some great gift. The discovery of this inscription sets all controversy about the statues in question at rest and destroys altogether the yakṣa theory which had taken such a deep root in Archaeological scholarship. This statue has something like a coat of mail round the chest in addition to the vrātya dress; that also probably indicates that it is not a devakula statue.

VIII—A Copper-plate Grant of Dandi-Mahadevi.¹

By the Late H. Panday, B.A.

This copper-plate has been brought to light by the Hon'ble Mr. Gopabandhu Das of Satyabadi (Puri), to whom I am obliged for permission to edit the inscription on it and also for much valuable information concerning the locality in which the plate was found.

The plate has been in the possession of a Brahman family of Kumurang Śāsan, a village near Bānpur in the Puri District of Orissa, some five miles from the Balugan station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. Accounts differ as to how the plate came into the hands of this family. According to one, the plate was found buried in the now deserted village of Mansinghpur, about seven miles from Kumurang; but no details are now available. The other version makes the present owners the lineal descendants of one of the original donees.² It would be unsafe, however, to place too much reliance on this account and an examination of the record shows that the claims advanced by the present owners of the plate can hardly be substantiated.

The charter consists of a single plate made up of thin sheets of copper beaten together. The rim is raised to afford protection to the inscription and the edges are slightly irregular. On the left side of the plate is a circular seal of the same metal, half of which is fixed to the plate by nails and soldering and the other half is projecting. The design consists of an impression on an expanded lotus flower with the inner petals enclosing it. The seal has the representation in

¹ [The final proof was not passed by the Author.—K. P. J.]

² See Mr. Das's note printed as an Appendix to this paper.

relief of a couchant bull, facing to the left and a conch-shell to its right. These seem to represent the deities Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively. In the space above the bull and to the right of it are the representations of the sun and the moon intended to denote the perpetuity of the gift, and below the bull is the legend 'Śrīmad-Daṇḍi-Mahādevī' in raised letters across the field with two thick lines below it. The legend is supported as it were on a lotus plant, one of the stalks of which rises above it on the right side.

The inscription consists of 22 lines on the obverse and 23 lines on the reverse side of the plate and is throughout well preserved. The first five lines on the obverse are in a "cursive" style while the rest is in what is generally termed the "monumental" style of writing. There is only one omission of a letter in the whole record—that of *na* in line 23. It appears that the inscription was originally inked in by which the slight defects in the carving of the letters were successfully concealed. The shape of the letters bears a family likeness to those in the copper-plate grants of the early Bhanja rulers of Orissa and other copper-plate records of the locality of the ninth to eleventh centuries A.C.

In point of orthography the following peculiarities may be noted : (1) the use of the same sign for *va* and *ba* throughout the inscription ; (2) the occasional use of *sa* instead of *śa*, in lines 2, 30, 33 and 36 ; (3) in two places we have *ṇṇa* instead of *ṇṇa* (*svaṇṇa* instead of *svaṇṇa* in line 24 and *utkirṇaṇṇa* instead of *utkirṇaṇṇa* in line 43). There are a few mistakes of spelling, such as the use of long *ī* for short *i* ; of *na* instead of *na* ; of short *a* instead of long *ā* in line 33 and line 36 ; and of *je* and *ta* instead of *jye* and *tha* in line 36. The mistakes of grammar are confined to the portion enumerating the donees (lines 33 and 34) and the last line of the record (line 45) which do not appear to have formed part of the composition of the compiler of the *prasasti*.

The language of our record is Sanskrit with the exception of the passage at the very end describing the boundaries which probably represents some dialect of the locality. Except the

name of the place from where the charter was issued (line 3) and the formal portion of the grant (lines 25-36) and the portion giving the boundaries of the village at the end (lines 43-45), the entire record is in verse. The genealogy of the family is given in the first verses ; the next are the imprecatory verses which appear in almost every copper-plate grant of the period, and the last verse in line 42 gives the name of the poet who composed the *prasasti*. The style of composition of this *Prasasti* is highly artificial and *Ślesha* has been used *à la naïve*—a feature which renders a satisfactory translation of the text extremely difficult. Following in the footsteps of Professor Kielhorn, I am giving only the substance of the record for the convenience of our readers to follow the original.

Substance.

The “camp of victory” (from which the charter is issued) is Guheśvara Pāṭaka and is described as eternally endowed with the charms of the commencement of autumn. There was a king—a moon on the earth—named Unmaṭṭa Simha who brought peace to the land and pleased his subjects during a long reign, having extirpated all his enemies. From his family were descended many virtuous rulers, the illustrious Gayāḍa and others who were welcomed by the damsels of heaven. In their family sprang king Lolabhāra who was associated with wise men and whose fame spread to all quarters of the earth. His son who followed was king Kusumabhāra who received the submission of conquered kings and whose virtues were known in all the directions. He was followed by his younger brother the mighty Lalitabhāra who bore the burden of sovereignty like Śeṣha himself and the splendour of whose glory encompassed the gloom caused by the defeat of his enemies. On his death was born his son Śāntikara as ruler of the earth who rooted out all the enemies of the realm and restored his people to happiness and attained great fame. He was followed as the Protector of the Earth by his brother Subhākara who was exceedingly prosperous. On his attaining heaven his queen, resplendent with glory and bowed to by all men, ascended the royal throne and occupied it for a long time.

After her, her daughter Daṇḍi-Mahādevī possessed of undiminished strength protected the earth for a long time. She became the ornament of the long line of Kara kings like the streamer on the top of the flag-post (family). She was endowed with personal charms and received the obeisance even of haughty chiefs who were overpowered by her majesty. During her rule there was no clashing of arms; there were no bondmen (or prisoners); there was no vice, and rivalry existed only among the learned; there were no heavy taxes and no cause for alarm.

The devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva), meditating upon the feet of her parents, this queen, Paramabhaṭṭārīkā Mahārājādhirāja-Parmeśvarī Śrīmad-Daṇḍi-Mahādevī, in good health, honours, informs and orders the present and future Mahā-Sāmantas, Mahārāja Rājaputras, etc., etc., in Southern Tosālā and the Mahā-mahattara, Bṛihadhbogī, Pustakapāla and other officers in Kuṅṅada maṇḍala, in Khidiṅṅahāra *viśaya*: "Be it known to you that the village of Kantsarānagarī situated in this *viśaya* up to the junction of Vāsili-chcheda, together with the *uparikara* and *addeśa* with the settlements inhabited by the weavers, gokutas, and distillers, with the fields, ghāṭs, riparian lands, woods, etc. free from impositions or impressments, has been given by Us by way of perpetual endowment and free from taxes, by means of a copper-plate charter, with pouring out of water, given in accordance with the maxim called *bhūmicchekhidrāpidhāna*, for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure, to the Brāhmaṇas Kakā, Dūgaḍa, Vānkulla-Vaivovā, Iśvara, Sarvadeva, Vaṅgeśvara of the Bhāradvāja and many other gotras, on the occasion of *dvādasi* (12th day), to increase the merit of Our own self, Our parents and all sentient beings. Whereupon out of respect for the dignity of righteousness this gift of ours is to be preserved by you. Sam. 100. 80. 7 (187) Jyeshṭha Sudi 13." (The era is not specified.)

[Here follow five imprecatory verses and the benediction that this charter of the illustrious Daṇḍi-Mahādevī may endure as long as the earth, the sky and the nether regions exist. This *prasasti* was composed by the poet Jambhapa (or Jambhala), the son of

the great poet Jayātman. The *Mahākṣhapatalādhikṛita* is the Rāṇaka Śrī Bhūṣhaṇa nāga; the *Mahākṣhapatalika* is Bhogi Padmasena. The engraver is Dāmodara, son of Devadatta. The language of the passage giving the boundaries of the village is not sufficiently intelligible.]

Notes on the above.

(i) The Kara Kings.

The dynasty of rulers to which the donor of the present grant belongs is not known from literature and is not mentioned in the Temple Records of Orissa. Our knowledge of these kings is limited to the information supplied by a few inscriptions which have hitherto come to light. Only seven inscriptions of this dynasty besides the grant which forms the subject of this paper are known to scholars as yet. These are :—

(1 & 2). The grants of Daṇḍi-Mahādevī which were preserved in the office of the Collector of Ganjam (briefly noticed in Sewell's *List of Antiquities in the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, p. 32f., Nos. 216 and 217¹), published by Professor Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 133ff.

(3) The plate of Gayāḍa Tuṅga Deva which was deposited in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, published by Mr. Nilmani Chakravarti in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1909, p. 347.²

(4) The Khandagiri Cave inscription of Sāntikara Deva, edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII.

(5) The Naulpur grant of Subhakara Deva from Darppan in the Cuttack District of Orissa edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV.

(6) The Copper-plate grant of Tribhuvana Mahādevi which was presented by the Chief of the State in Orissa to His Honour Sir Edward Gait, edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri in this *Journal*, Vol. II.

¹ This notice is full of errors. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 133n.

² I am not quite sure though I think it is very likely that the Gayāḍa Tuṅga of this inscription is the same as Śrīmad-Gayāḍa mentioned in the genealogy given in our Copper-plate from Bānpur.

(a) OVERSE.

the REVERSE.

(c) SKAL.

(7) The Dhauli Cave inscription of Śāntikara Deva, edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV.¹

Very little is known as to the extent of the territory over which these kings held sway. This much however is certain that their rule was confined to Orissa which term included the Ganjam District of the Madras Presidency and formed part of the ancient Kalinga. Their period of rule is also not certain and their origin has formed the subject of much speculation. Mr. Banerji thought that the Kara kings were descended from non-Aryan Asuras of Kāmarupa² while Mr. Nilmani Chakravarti saw some connexion between Gayāda Tuṅga of Oḍra and Pratāpa-Dhavalā—a non-Aryan ruler of a small principality near Rohtas in the Shahabad District of Bihar.³ The *prasasti* would lead to the conclusion that these rulers belonged to the lunar race of Kshatriyas. This is supported by the Naulpur grant of Śubhākara where the family is described as Somānvayādavāpta-janma. It appears probable that the name Kara came to be applied to the dynasty only after Kshemaṅkara Deva who is spoken of as Śāntikara in the *prasasti*. Both these names being synonymous (Śānti-Kshema) apparently belong to the same person. The next king Śubhākara Deva also appears to have borne the synonymous name of Śivakara (Śiva-Śubha) which is mentioned in the Naulpur grant of this king.⁴ Śubhākara was the last male ruler of this dynasty. After his death the throne was occupied by his queen—whose name is not given in the *prasasti*—the mother of Daṇḍi-Mahādevī who was probably the last in this line. The name of Daṇḍi-Mahādevī's mother was probably Tribhuvana-Mahādevī if we assume the correctness in this respect of the incomplete grant No. 6 of the list above. The same emblems appear on

¹ I am greatly obliged to Mr. Banerji for having kindly supplied me proofs of his articles on these inscriptions in advance.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV.

³ J. A. S. B., 1909, p. 347.

⁴ Mr. Banerji takes Śivakara to be a different king and father of Śubhākara. That such an interpretation is erroneous is proved by the *prasasti* in the plate of Daṇḍi Mahādevī.

the seals of all the copper-plate grants of this dynasty, namely a couchant bull, the representations of the sun and the moon and the conch-shell. From this it appears that Śiva was the family deity, although some members of the dynasty evidently favoured the Buddhist religion and called themselves Saugata.

(ii) The Kuṅgada maṇḍala mentioned in line 28 of our plate appears to be the same as *Kong-Yu-too* of Hiuen Tsiang. The identification of this country has been already suggested by earlier writers with the Ganjam District. It appears that Kuṅgada maṇḍala was included within the southern Tosalā, one of the divisions of the ancient Kalinga country.

(iii) In the inscriptions of the Kara dynasty we have both Uttara Tosalā and Dakṣhiṇa Tosalā. Uttara Tosalā occurs in the Naulpur grant of Śubhākara and the grant of Tribhuvana-Mahādevī and Dakṣhiṇa Tosalā in the copper-plates of Dandī Mahādevī. Tosalā occurs in literature as the name of a country in association with Mosalā.

COPPER-PLATE OF DAṆḌI-MAHĀDEVĪ.

TEXT.

Seal.

श्रीमद्दण्ड महादेवौ ।

Obverse.

Line 1.

सस्तिथ्यस्तजलाभविभ्रमधरैः श्वेतातपचोत्तरै-
रश्वीयश्रुतिचामरैश्च हसितव्याकोशकाशोदयैः ।
उ-

Line 2.

हामैः मदसौरभैश्च करिणाम्ना[क्लि]*मसत्तच्छदा-
मोदैः सन्निहितां सदैव स(श)रदारम्भ श्री(श्रि)यन्वि
भ्रतः । (॥)† [1]

Line 3.

श्री गुह्येश्वरपाठकनिवासिविजयस्तन्वावारात् ॥
सर्व्वाशापरिपूरणाधिकरुचिर्यस्तापमस्तन्नय-
न्नानन्दं कृ-

Line 4.

तवाङ्मनस्य मनसि प्राप्तप्रतिष्ठश्चिरम् ।
सद्गुणः प्रतिरोधि येन च तमो निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं
श्रीमानिन्दुरि-

Line 5.

वावनीपतिरभूदुन्मदृसिंहाश्रयः ॥† [2]
तदंशादभवन्ननिन्दितगुणामुक्तामयाः सद्गताः
सद्गुताः [सु-

* This is the most difficult letter in the whole record. Its exact value is somewhat doubtful.

† The metre is *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- Line 6. ख]* श्रौतलाः क्षितिभृतः श्रीमन्नयाडादयः । ॥
 ये नीत्वा हृदयप्रतापशमने देवाङ्गनाभिः स्वयं
 कण्ठा-
- Line 7. श्लेषसुखस्थितिप्रणयिनो हाराभिरामाः कृताः ॥† [3]
 तद्वंशेऽभवदूर्जितः कृतवृधप्रौतिः प्रतीतोदयो
 देवःशत्रुवधू-
- Line 8. मुखेन्दुतरणिः श्रीबालभारोन्मपः ।
 यस्याक्रम्य गुरुप्रतापशिखिनः पृथ्वीभृतः प्रोद्धता-
 न्दूरं
- Line 9. सर्वदिगन्तरेषु तरसा स्खैरं प्रसस्युः कराः ॥ [4]•
 तस्यात्मजः प्रणतपार्थिवचक्रचूडा-
 निर्याजरोपि-
- Line 10. तपदस्त्ररितार्थनामा ।
 विस्तारिसौरभगुणोदयपूरिताश-
 लस्मादभूत्कुसुमहार इति क्षितीशः ॥‡ [5]
- Line 11. अभृत ललितभारः क्षामभरं भूरितेजा-
 स्तदनु तदनुजन्मा व्यूढभोगीन्द्रलीलः ।
 अगयदम-
- Line 12. लिमानं यद्यशःपूरमुच्चै-
 रपि रिपुहृदयभिराङ्गनाभिः ॥§ [6]
 तस्मिन्पे दिवमुपेयुषि

* The form of this letter makes the nearest approach to ॐ but the word thus formed is not quite easy to explain in the context it occurs.

† The metre is *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

‡ The metre is *Vasantatilakā*.

§ The metre is *Mālinī*.

Line 13.

तत्तनूजः

शास्तावनेरजनि शान्तिकराभिधानः ।

येनोद्धृतैस्त्रयिखिलदुर्म्मदकण्ठकेषु

रेमे य-

Line 14.

थासुखमपास्तभिषा जनेन ॥* [7]

तस्य प्रशस्यचरितार्जितभूरिकीर्त्ति-

र्विन्धम्भराविभुरभूदनुजस्ततो-

Line 15.

पि ।

श्रेयोभिरेकपदमित्यखिलैः श्रितामो

यः श्रीशुभाकर इति प्रथितो यद्यार्थम् ॥* [8]

तस्य त्रिपि-

Line 16.

वृषजुषः परमेश्वरस्य

देवी समस्तजनतानतपादपद्मा ।

सिंहासनं शशिकरामलकीर्त्ति-

Line 17.

गौरी

गौरीव गौरवपदं चिरमध्यरोहत् ॥* [9]

ततो दण्डिमहादेवी सुता तस्या महीयसी ।

महीम-

Line 18.

ह्रीनसामर्थ्या चिरकालमपालयत् ॥† [10]

अविच्छिन्नायतिप्रांशौ वंशे करमहीभृताम् ।

चिह्न(द्)भूता पताके-

* The metre is *Vasantatilakā*.

† The metre is *Anushṭubh*.

Line 19. व या व(ब)भूव विभूषणम् ॥* [11]

लावण्यामृतनिःस्यन्द सुन्दरं दधती वपुः ।

या राजचन्द्रलेखिव विलसत्कीर्ति-

Line 20. चन्द्रिका ॥† [12]

तस्याः प्रतापनतदुर्मदशत्रुभूष-

नेत्राम्बु (म्बु) धौतनवयावकमण्डनापि ।

पादाम्बु(म्बु)जद्यतिरत-

Line 21. किंतमन्वरञ्जि

मञ्जौरलघुकुरविन्ददलोरुभासा ॥‡ [13]

उद्यानेषु शिलीमुखावलिरवो हारेषु सुक्तास्थि-

Line 22. ति-

दीर्घासङ्गरुचिस्तुषारकिरणे विज्ञेषु सदेष्टता ।

राक्षौ तीक्ष्ण करग्रहः कुमण्डिषु त्रासोदयः केवलं

Reverse.

Line 23. कान्ताकुन्तलसन्ततौ कुटिलता यस्याः प्रभुत्वे भुवि ॥§ [14]

रम्यालोकोत्सुकितनयना(न)॥न्द प्रीयूषवर्त्तिः

सेवा स-

Line 24. कृत्तितिपतिसभापद्मिनी राजहंसौ ।

कालेयोद्भग्नपितसुहृतालम्ब(म्ब)न खम्ब(म्ब)यष्टिः

सा निःशेषप्रण-

* The metre is *Anuṣṭubh*.

† The metre is *Anuṣṭubh*.

‡ The metre is *Vasantatilakā*.

§ The metre is *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

|| This न is omitted in the original.

- Line 25. विसृमनो गन्दनोद्यानलक्ष्मीः ॥* [15]
परममाहेश्वरी मातापितृपादानुध्याता परमभट्टारिका
महाराजा-
- Line 26. धिराज परमेश्वरी श्रीमद्दण्डिमहादेवी कुण्डलिनी ।
दक्षिणतोसखायां वर्तमानभविष्यन्महा-
- Line 27. सामन्तमहाराजराजपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्यौपरिकरिक-
विषयपतितदायुक्तकदाखण्डपाशिक स्थानान्त-
- Line 28. रिकानन्यानपि राजप्रसादिनश्चाटभटवल्हभजातीयानाकु-
ङ्गदमण्डले खिडिङ्गहार विषये महाम-
- Line 29. हत्तर वृहद्भोगिपुस्तकपालकुटकोलसाद्यधिकरणं यथाहं
मानयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति ॥
- Line 30. विदितमस्तु भवतामेतद्विषयसम्ब(म्ब)द्धः कंत्सरा-
नगरिग्रामः वासिंली†च्छेद ग्र(स)न्धितः
सपरिकरः
- Line 31. सोद्देशः सतन्त्रवायगोकुटश्रौण्डिकादिप्रकृतिकः सखेटघट-
नदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मकः सर्वपी-
- Line 32. डावर्जितोऽलेखनीप्रवेशतया भूमिच्छिन्नापि(पि)धान-
न्यायेवाचन्द्रार्कक्षतिसमकालं मातापित्रोरा-

* The metre is *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

† This letter may be read either as ख or ष.

- Line 33. तमनः सर्वसत्त्वानां पुण्य(ण्या)भिवृद्धये भारद्वाज च
(आ ?)दि नानागोत्रेभ्य(भ्यः) कका दूगढ । वाङ्मुल-
वैवोवा । इ-(ई)
- Line 34. स्व(श्च)र । सर्वदेव । वाङ्मेस्वर । एभिः(भ्यः)
ब्राह्मणेभ्य(भ्यः) दादसिवेलायां हस्तोदकेनास्माभिस्ताम्रशा-
- Line 35. सनौक्यात्तयनीवीधर्मणाकरत्वेन प्रतिपादितः । तदेषास्-
द्धर्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः परिपा-
- Line 36. लनीया । सम्वत् ३०० + ८० + ७ (३८७)*
जे(ज्येष्ठ)(ष्ठ)शु(सु)दि १३ (॥)उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे ।
व(ब)हुभिर्वसुध(धा)दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [॥]
- Line 37. यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥† [16]
माभूदफलप्रज्ञा वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः ।
खदानात्फ-
- Line 38. लमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने ॥† [17]
खदत्तां परदत्ताम्बा(त्तां वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् ।
स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पिष्टभिः
- Line 39. सह पच्यते ॥† [18]
व(ब)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन संक्षेपादिदमुच्यते ।
खल्पमायुश्चला भोगा धर्मो लोकद्वयक्षमः ॥† [19]

* The date is expressed in symbols. The exact value of the first symbol is slightly doubtful.

† The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

- Line 40. ति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोलां
अग्रिमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च ।
अखिलमिदमुदाहृतञ्चव(बु)द्धा
नहि .
- Line 41. पुरघैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥* [20]
यावत्पातालभूखर्गाः समुजङ्गनरामराः ।
श्रीमदण्डिमहादेव्यास्ताव-
- Line 42. आसनमस्त्रिदम् ॥† [21]
प्रशस्तिः शस्तवचसा कविनेह महाकवेः ।
कृता जम्भण‡ नाम्नेयमात्मजेन जयात्मनः ॥† [22]
- Line 43. महाक्षपटलाधिष्ठत राणकश्रीभूषणनागः ।
महाक्षपटलिक भोगिपद्मसेनः । उक्तीसं(णं)
दामोदरेण
- Line 44. देवदत्त(त्त)स्य पुत्रेण ॥ ग्रामः प्रसिद्धकाले‡[म्बु]र॥
वृक्ष एकताल‡ शो[ट्ट]॥वन्धसमुद्रकरवंध्वः पूर्वे सेतु पश्चिमे
पयाड
- Line 45. एते** सि(सी)मा पर्यन्तः । ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्य(भ्यो) दत्तः ॥ ॐ

* The metre is *Pushpitāgrā*.

† The metre is *Amuṣṭubh*.

‡ This letter can also be read as ञ.

§ The letter can also be read as ण.

॥ There is a mark like superscript *ra* between र and ह.

¶ The exact value of this letter has not yet been determined.

** Read एतत्.

Appendix.

Note by the Hon'ble Babu Gopabandhu Das, M.A., B.L.

The copper-plate was in the house of Haladhar Sārangi who died about a year ago leaving one adopted son, Govind Sārangi. The family has been living for generations in Kumuraṅga Sasan, a village near Bānpur in the Puri District and some five miles from the Balugaṇ station on the Puri section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. In Orissa a Brahman village originally set up by a king, or queen, or some distinguished minister and made a gift to a Brahman, is called a Śāsana, the Brahman who receives the gift being called the Pānigrahi. From the name therefore it appears that Kumuraṅga is a royal gift, but whether it is identical with the village named in the copper-plate is doubtful. There is evidence that the plate has been in possession of the same family for some more than 64 years. In 1854 it was in the hands of Haladhar's father, Dasarath Sārangi who obtained the title of Kavichandra from a local chief in recognition of his merit as a poet. Some Sanskrit and Oriya poems are known to have been composed by Dasaratha Sārangi.

According to some people the plate was buried under ground in village Mānsinghpur, but when and by whom it was recovered is not known and cannot be ascertained. Mānsinghpur is a deserted village some seven miles away from Kumuraṅga, the ruins being situated within four hills on the four sides. On the north is the village of Gotpalli and a hill, on the west is the Tengalmundia (*mundia* means hillock), on the south is the Golari hill—an important one in the Puri District—and on the east are the Kulai and Hadakhai Mundia. The Sārangi family possesses lands in this Mauza of Mānsinghpur and it is very likely that they originally lived in this village, and it may therefore be identical with the village of the charter. How the village came to be deserted is not known, and unless the boundaries of the present Mānsinghpur correspond with those of the village mentioned in the charter, it is not safe to form any con-

clusion. Be that as it may, the Sārangi family have a genealogy which mentions some of the donees of the grant. This genealogy is found in an old palm leaf manuscript of the Vālmikiya Rāmāyaṇa Sundarakāṇḍa.

1. Iswara Deb Sarma—Sarbadeb Sarma (issueless).

Bakteswar Deb Sarma (issueless).

2. Damodar Deb Sarma

3. Bisweswar Deb Sarma.

4. Gokulananda Deb Sarma.

5. Sankar Deb Sarma.

6. Kaliharan Deb Sarma.

7. Baman Deb Sarma.

8. Sitikantha Deb Sarma.

9. Debananda Deb Sarma.

10. Birbhadra Deb Sarma.

11. Srinibas Deb Sarma.

12. Ramchandra Deb Sarma.

13. Biswambhar Deb Sarma.

14. Gopal Deb Sarma.

15. Krishna Deb Sarma.

16. Govind Deb Sarma.

17. Sudarsan Deb Sarma.

18. Gadadhar Deb Sarma.

19. Dasarathi Kavichandra Deb Sarma.

20. Haladhar Deb Sarma.

21. Govind Deb Sarma (Adopted).

The present owner is the twenty-first in descent from Iswara Deb Sarma, who is one of the donees.

I am told many inscribed copper-plates are to be found on the Bānpur side. That they are not made known by the people is due to their fear that they will be deprived of these. That this fear is not imaginary may be gathered from the following. It is said that during Mr. Tailer's settlement of Khurda many copper-plates were produced before the settlement magistrate which were never returned to their owners. This is corroborated by the following extract from the note on a copper-plate published by Mr. Rangalal Banerji, Deputy Collector of Cuttack,

in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLVI, part I, 1877 :—

“The document was found by me in an old box in the Record office along with a number of old deeds of grants in the Devanagari, Persian, Bengali, Marhati and Oriya characters. There were the remnants of a vast variety of such documents filed by the original holders before the Collector, Mr. Kerr, in 1810 when the province was settled for the first time. No proper register was kept regarding these important records and there was nothing to show by whom they had been filed.”

The sense of loss and consequent pain which was felt by people who were deprived of their copper-plates—in many cases the only documents which entitled them to their holdings—may easily be imagined. It is little wonder that the descendants of these people guard their charters with so much care and are unwilling to part with them or even to show them to outsiders.

IX.—The Panchobh Copper-plate of Samgramagupta.

By J. N. Sikdar, M.A., and Amareswar Thakur, M.A.

(I)

This inscription, which is published here for the first time, was discovered in the village of Panchobh, situated about five or six miles to the west of Laheria Sarai, the chief town of the Darbhanga District in the Province of Bihar and Orissa. It was found by a peasant some 10 or 12 inches below the surface of the earth, while he was levelling the ground for the purpose of cultivation. The spot where it was unearthed and its surroundings are still full of mounds covered with brick-ruins which bear traces of an ancient site. After its discovery, the plate remained in the possession of the cultivator till recently it has been brought over here by Mr. J. N. Sikdar for the purpose of depositing it in the Patna Museum.¹

The inscription contains 30 lines of writing—29 full lines and one line only 4 inches long, incised on one side of a thick copper-plate measuring about 15 inches long and 13 inches broad. The writing space covers an area of about 14" × 10". The surface of the plate is quite smooth and the edges are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims to protect the writing. With the exception of a few letters which have been partially damaged by corrosion, the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation and may be read with certainty almost throughout. The engraving has been done with great care and does not, as usual, show here and there marks of the engraver's working tool. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " throughout, with the exception of those occurring in lines 2

¹ We offer our best thanks to Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, former President of the Patna Museum Committee, and Mr. D. N. Sen, Principal, B. N. College, for their kind help and encouragement.

and 3 where they are larger than the rest. Towards the middle of the side whence the writing begins, the plate is projected some 6 inches upwards to form an ornamental top in the shape of a heart which contains the royal seal. The seal is circular, about two inches in diameter, and fixed with a pin which is soldered at the back. It has in relief on a depressed surface, across the centre, a legend giving the name of "Sri Saṃgrāma Gupta" and in the upper part a representation of a bull facing towards the proper right in a slightly recumbent posture. The inscription leaves a space of about 3 inches at the bottom and abruptly comes to an end before the last sentence is completed.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, and excepting lines 1 to 13, which constitute the formal part of the grant, the whole is in verse—the metres employed being mainly the Śārdūla and Anuṣṭubh. The characters belong to the Eastern variety of the Nāgarī alphabet which Bühler has described as Proto-Bengali. They are of the same type as those in the Deopāra Praśasti of Vijayasena. A few forms, the A, Kha, Ga, Na and Bha, bear a close resemblance to those used in Vaidyadeva's land grant of A.D. 1143, while some, for instance, the Ja, Na, Tā, Tha and Sa appear to be later developments more identical with those of Bhimdeva's record in about A.D. 1200.

As regards orthography the text calls for few remarks. Some of the peculiarities met with in the inscription are noted below : (1) One sign is used throughout for B and V. (2) The letter Va is doubled after the anusvāra in Saṃvatsare in line 5. (3) The consonants are doubled in conjunction with the preceding R, as in Arkka and Sarvva l. 13 and Vininggata l. 11 but not in Kārya l. 13 and Sūrya l. 18. (4) The anusvāra is throughout indicated by a small point placed above the line. (5) The superscript R is not employed in the conjunct Rṇṇa in Churnṇa. (6) The initial Ā is represented by a vertical line without a top-stroke in Āushya l. 12. (7) The same sign is used for Ā and half T, both of which are denoted by a vertical line curved a little at the bottom. The text appears to have

been carefully prepared and hardly contains any grammatical mistake.

The inscription records the grant of a village named Vanigama situated in the district of Jambūvani made by the Paramabhittāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parmeśvara and Mahāmāṇdalika Saṅgrāma Gupta, who is described as the lord of Jayapura and the most devout worshipper of Maheśvara. The donee is a Brāhman of Sāṇḍilya gotra, Kumāra Svāmin by name, learned in the Yajur-Veda and having the three *pravaras* of Sāṇḍilya, Asita and Devala, son of Kṛishṇāditya and grandson of Śrī Rāma, who hailed from Kolāñcha. No particular occasion is mentioned for making the grant except that it is made on account of great favour shown to the donee. The greater part of the inscription is taken up by an account of the ancestors of the donor which gives the following genealogical table :—

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| (1) Yajneśa Gupta. | |
| | |
| (2) Dāmodara Gupta. | |
| | |
| (3) Deva Gupta. | |
| | |
| (4) Rājāditya Gupta. | |
| | |
| (5) Kṛishṇa Gupta. | |
| | |
| (6) Saṅgrāma Gupta. | |

It is, however, noticeable that while Rājāditya Gupta is credited with all the Imperial titles of Saṅgrāma Gupta, Kṛishṇa Gupta is dismissed with the only epithet of Rājaputra which seems to indicate that he met with a premature death in the lifetime of his father. Though one or two verses have been devoted to each of the royal personages, no historical fact is referred to in the inscription which may lead to their definite identification. The mention of "Gupta Varṇa" as referring to the dynasty to which the king belonged, is however suggestive of the fact that the royal line might have been in some way connected with the later Guptas of Magadha.

The charter is issued from the Royal Camp of Victory and mentions the designations of some officials, most of which occur in the grants of the Pāla and Sena Kings of Bengal. It is dated on 9th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārtika in the 17th year of the reign of the King. No era is mentioned, but on palæographical grounds the inscription may be assigned to a period not later than the twelfth century A.D.

Appendix.

[Editorial.—The reading of the copper-plate has been kindly compared with the original and a few corrections suggested by Mr. R. D. Banerji, Poona. On the find of the plate the Collector of Darbhanga has made inquiries resulting in the following information:—"Amiri Choudhury says that he was digging when his *kodali* struck against something hard, and he found a copper-plate The copper-plate was found by Amiri Choudhury in the south-west corner of his field in *mauza* Kali in the zamindari of the Maharaja of Darbhanga The field in which the copper-plate was discovered is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Amiri's homestead land in Panchobh. The nearest *basti* is Kali about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile off. There is a raised site known as Bangāli Dih east of the field about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the place of discovery and a similar site about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to the east in *mauza* Panchobh. This site is said to have been much higher, but has been greatly levelled down.....A further inquiry discloses that the said Amiri Choudhury found the plate about four years ago." ¹

The plate is of little historical importance. The record is not dated. The places mentioned in the plate are probably in the district of Monghyr, *Jayapura* being represented by the present day *Jayanagar* ² and *Jambūvanī* is probably connected with the modern name *Jamui*.

Mr. R. D. BANERJI has sent in the following note on the plate:—

"The mason at first attempted to incise the record in letters

¹ Letter, dated 17th June 1919, from the Collector of Darbhanga to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle.

² J.B.O.R.S., Vol. V., p. 297.

of a smaller dimension but gave up the idea after incising the first sixteen syllables. The characters of the grant resemble those used in the grants of Lakshmanasena of Bengal, and on palæographical grounds it would be difficult to assign a date earlier than the second half of the twelfth century to this record.

"The seal of the grant shows the *lāñchhāna* of the family, the bull-couchant, which is confirmed by the use of the word *Vṛishabhadhvaja* in connexion with *Rājādityagupta* and the donor. The characters of the seal are of the same type as those of the grant, cf. *ga*, *ma* and *pa*. The seal was cast and therefore looks older.

"The use of the title *Mahāmaṇḍalika* along with the Imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*-*Mahārājādhirāja*-*Parameśvara* in the case of *Samgrāmagupta* and his grandfather *Rājādityagupta* indicates that the family had been at first feudatories of the *Pālas* or *Senas* and assumed titles of independence after the decline in power or the downfall of their suzerains.

"On palæographical grounds it may be stated with assurance that these local rulers assumed independence after the downfall of the *Senas*, when the sons of *Lakshmanasena* were quarrelling among themselves just before their expulsion from *Lakshmanāvati* by the Muhammadan freebooters under* *Muhammad-bin-Bakhtyār*.

"The mention of the word *Guptavarṇa* 1. 15 may possibly indicate that these local rulers were descended either from the Imperial *Guptas* or from the later *Guptas* of *Magadha*, of which fact they, however, seem to have retained a very hazy impression.

"The form of the grant is peculiar. The beginning is in prose but later on the entire genealogy is given in verse. Though this form of a grant is not altogether unknown in Indian epigraphy, it is rather antiquated for a twelfth century record.

"The metrical portion of the inscription provides us with the name of six generations while the prose portion mentions only two, so it is quite possible that *Rājādityagupta*, the grandfather of the donor *Samgrāmagupta*, was the feudatory chief who assumed independence.

“A noteworthy point in the grant is the mention of the village or town Kolañcha whence Bhaṭṭa S'rī Rāma, the grandfather of the donee, had emigrated. Kolañ ha is mentioned in the more authentic *Kārikās* on *Kulasūtra* or genealogical works of Bengal as the place whence the five Brāhmaṇas, who were invited by king Ādiśūra for the performance of a Vedic sacrifice in Bengal, originally came. Many conjectures have been made by modern commentators on genealogical works of Gaudīya or Bengali Brāhmaṇas and it has even been suggested, if my memory serves me correctly, that the name may be a corruption of some other name. The mention of the place in a twelfth century record confirms the statement of the ghāṭakas of Bengal about its spelling and its existence though the locality will remain doubtful until fresh light is available.”

The plate is now in the Patna Museum —ED.]

TEXT.

Line

श्री संग्राम गुप्तः

1. ॐ स्वस्ति परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज
2. ॐ स्वस्ति परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर . परम
माहेश्वर वृषभध्वज सोमान्वयजार्जुनवंशोद्भव जयपुरपर
3. भिस्वर महामण्डलिक श्रीराजादित्यगुप्तदेवपादानुध्यात राजपुत्र
श्रीकृष्णगुप्तसुत परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर
4. र परममाहेश्वर वृषभध्वज सामान्वयजार्जुन वंशोद्भव जयपुर
परमेश्वर महामण्डलिक श्रीमत् संग्रामगुप्त देवपाद प्रवर्द्धमान
विजय रा
5. ज्ये सप्तदशसंवत्सरे कार्ति^१कृष्णनवम्यां तिथौ श्रीमज्जय
स्वन्ध्वारात् अयमेव महाराजाधिराज महामण्डलिक श्रीमत्
संग्रामगुप्तदेवो विजयो । जम्बूव
6. र वषयप्रतिवृत्तरेणमाग्रानि समुग्र्य (ग) ताशेषरात्री
राजपुत्र पात्रमहासाधिविग्रहिक महाव्यूहपति महाधिकारिक
महासुद्राधिकारिक
7. महामहत्तक (र) महापोलु पत्ति (ति) महासाधनिक महाच
पटलिक महाप्रतोहार महाधर्माधिकारणिक महाकरणाध्यक्ष
वार्त्ति नि (नै) बन्धिक महाकटुक म
8. हौथितासनिक^१ महादण्डनायक महादानिक महापाञ्चकुलिक
महासामन्तराणक महाश्रेष्ठिदानिक धूलिदानिक घटपाल खण्ड
पालनरपति गुल्मपति

^१ [Of. the grant of Mahāmāṇḍalika Śvaśaḥśa discovered by Mr. A. K. Maitra of Rajshahi.—R. D. B.]

9. नौवलव्यापृत गोमहिषाबिबडवाध्यक्षादीनन्यानपि राजपादोय
जीविनो मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च मतमस्तु भवताम् ।
उपरिलिखित
10. ग्रामोयं खण्डितचतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः सपत्निकः सजलस्थलः
साम्प्रमधूक सगर्तोषरः सगोप्रचारः सनिमुभृष्टक (सनिम्बृष्टिक)
सोपधिनिधानाः (नः) सलोहलव
11. शाकरः समस्तपीडोपरिकरवर्जितो अचाटभटप्रवेशो महता-
नुग्रहेण साण्डल्यासित-दैवत्यप्रवराय कोलाञ्चविनिर्गत
भट्टश्रीरामपौ
12. त्राय भट्टश्रीकृष्णादित्यपुत्राय यजुर्वेदविदुषे । (आ) युष्म
• बटुक भट्ट श्रीकुमरस्वामिशर्मणे । युगादौ विधिवत् स्नात्वा
ताम्ब्रशासनीकृत्य प्र
13. दत्तो यथाक्त फलकामैरस्माभिसुद्युष्माभिः सर्वैरेवाज्ञा श्रवण
विधेयैः समस्तप्रत्यायापनयः कार्यः भाविभिश्च
राजभि राचन्द्रार्कक्षित्युदधि
14. कालं परिपालनोयः अत्र भूपते ब्रह्मानुकीर्तनश्लोकाः
यङ्गतिर्हृषभध्वजे यदभ वज्रिणु स्तपस्याश्रित
स्तोत्रः शङ्करसङ्गरी विजयिनो विद्याभरौशाद्य (या) ।
15. रामा गुप्तवती समुद्रतनया येनात उच्चैस्तरो
वंशो गुप्तवृषध्वजार्जुनजयैर्युक्तो नृपाणामयम् ॥
तस्येन्दु स्फुरदुग्रनिर्मलकुले भूपाः प्रतापान्विता
धर्मा
16. प्राक्तमकीर्तिभूतिविभवे देवा इशवभुः ।
कान्ता मुक्तवसुन्धरा परिसरो भीत्येव रत्नाकरो
येषां भूरि कडार पौरुषद्वतो दूरं स सारोत्तरः ॥
ते

17. सु स्वर्गमुपागतेषु पृथ्वीनाथो बभूवान्वयौ ,
यं युद्धाध्वरवीरदारणरसाद्यन्नेस्य (ग्र) गुप्तं जगुः ।
वःणव्रातनिघात चर्णं मृतनाक्षयात् क्षितैश्चाः क्षयं
18. यस्मा जगमुरसौ ततो जय इति ख्यातो विपक्षान्तकः ॥
सूर्यः सज्जनपङ्कजे सुरगुरुर्वाक्यार्थचिन्ताविधौ ।
चन्द्रः स्त्रीकुमुदाकरे मलयजः सन्तापदुःखक्ष ।
19. येसिंहो वैरिकरीन्द्रवृन्ददलने राजा ततो जायत
श्री दामोदरगुप्त एव निखिलस्मा ख्यातकीर्त्तिं प्र (१) यः ॥
जज्ञे वारिपुरन्दराग्निमरुता मघं गृहीत्वेव यः
20. सेनाक्रान्त (न्त) वसुधरा गुहभरप्रोत्ता (त्ता) सिताहोश्चरः ।
यत्कीर्त्तिः कुलटेव विश्वमखिलं कुन्दावदाता ततः
सोयं ताक्ष (२) सट्टच्च विक्रमगतिश्चामुण्डराजो युवा ॥
सा
21. वर्णिस्तपनादिवौषधिपतिर्ज्ञातः समुद्रादिव
प्रद्युम्नो मधुसूदनादिव गुहः संहारकारादिव ।
रामः पङ्क्तिरथादिवा मरपुरीनाथादिवे
22. न्द्रात्मजः तस्याङ्गङ्गिण (३) देवगुप्तनृपतिः सत्यावतारः स्वयम् ॥
पुत्रस्तस्यवभूवभूपतिसभाप्रीङ्गीवीरव्रतो
दृष्यहैरिविदारणस्फुरदतिस्फा
23. रौजसामाश्रयः ।
धुन्वानो धनुररबुद्ध्वनि युधित्वासार्यकी विदिषां
रत्नादेव इति प्रतापदहनो ज्वालाकरालो नृपः ॥
नानाकाव्यकथा विनोदनिक

(1) The reading may also be प्रया : ; प्रयस्=mean effort, striving.
(2) ताक्ष्यं ?
(3) The reading is tentative.

Line.

24. यथावा प्रजापालकः

शश्वत्कुक्कुलौककस्यविटपी शृङ्गा (ङ्गा) रदीचागुहः ।

आवासो विनयस्य साधुचरितस्याप्याश्रयो योभवत्

वेदधस्य निके

25. तनं प्रियगिरां स्थानं स्थितिरालयः ॥

मर्यादां जन (स) धेः प्रतापमिनतः शक्रात् समभ्युन्नतिं

राहोराक्रमणं गुरोर्विनयितां तेजस्वितामग्निनतः ।

जथा

26. हैकधनुर्वरेनानरपति योऽरातिवञ्चस्वने

वाचं कांचिदुदीरयेदभिमतं सोयं सुखश्चाविणाः (एः) ॥

य तावत् पृथु पाथवंशजनना भव्यान्पास्तत्

27. कृतिं रक्षिष्यन्ति कुलक्रमादिति ब्रूमोन्यराजान् प्रति ।

तत्तत्काल भुवामपिचित्तिभृतामेषास्व इर्मधू *

र्मत्वेव परकीत्तः (र्तयः) सुकृतायानेनावि

28. लोप्याः क्वचित् ॥

भवन्ति चात्रधर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः

अन्नदानात् परं नास्ति दानं स्वर्गफलप्रदं ।

अन्नं हिजगतः प्राणाः तदन्नं भूमिसंग्र(ग) तं ॥

अन्नदा

* Metre is faulty. स्य रद्धर्मधू ?

29. नात् परं प्रायो भूमिदानं वरं जगुः ।

दाने च यत् फलं प्रोक्तं पालने च ततीधिकं ॥

राजन् भूमिं प्रयच्छान्यैः प्रदत्ताश्च नु पालय

असारे पि च संसारे

30. जीवितस्य फलद्वय

पालनं परकीर्त्तिनां स्वयं कर्त्तृत्वमेव च

अमु (सुं) दत्तां प्रयत्नेन परिरक्ष युधिष्ठिर ॥

महीं महीभृतां ¹

¹ [The portion not inscribed is दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपातनम्—R. D. B.]

TRANSLATION.

Om, good be unto you, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja. Om, good be unto you, from the victorious camp, on the ninth day of the dark-fortnight, in the seventeenth year, in the kingdom of ever increasing victory of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara Saṁgārāma Gupta, best of the devotees of Maheśvara, having the bull as his royal insignia, born in the family of Arjuna of the lunar race, the lord of Jayapur, the supreme Lord of Maṇḍalas, son of the illustrious prince Kṛishṇa Gupta who meditated on the feet of the glorious Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāj Parameśvara Rājāditya Gupta, best of the devotees of Maheśvara, having the bull as his royal insignia, born in the family of Arjuna of the lunar race, lord of Jayapur and the Supreme Lord of Maṇḍalas.

• This Mahārājādhirāja Mahāmaṇḍalika, the illustrious and victorious Saṁgrāma Gupta Deva pays respects to, informs and instructs all those that are assembled in the village Vanigamā situated within the district of Jambuvani, the queen, the prince, the prime minister, the minister of peace and war (Mahāsandhi-vigrahika), the chief master of military arrays (Mahāvyyūhapati), the chief superintendent of offices (Mahādhyakṛika), the keeper of royal seal (Mahāmudrādhikārī), lord chamberlain (Mahāmahat-taka), the superintendent of the stables for elephants (Mahāpilu-pati), the superintendent of military supplies (Mahāsādhānika), the chief keeper of records (Mahākṣhapatalika), the chief of the warders (Mahāpratihāra), the chief justice (Mahādharmaadhi-karaṇika), the chief officer in charge of documents (Mahākaraṇā-dhyakṣha), the intelligence officer (Vārtti), the writer of grants (Naivandhika), Mahākatuka, Mahantthitāsanika, the Chief Magistrate (Mahādandanāyaka), the officer in charge of royal gifts (Mahādānika), the chief of the five guilds (Mahāpañcakuḷika) great feudatory rulers (Mahāsāmantarānaka) the officer in charge of money gifts (?) (Mahāśreshṭhādānika), the officer in charge of the gift of ploughed lands (?) (Dhūlīdānika), the keeper of mountain passes (Ghaṭṭapāla), the superintendent of (municipal) wards (Khaṇḍapāla), the rulers (Narapati), the officer commanding

a "gulma" squadron (Gulmapati), officers of the navy and superintendents of kine, buffaloes, goats and mares, and others in the service of the king :—

Be it known to you all, the aforesaid village 'partitioned (from all other villages', bounded on four sides, free from oppression and taxation and not to be entered into by regular and irregular troops, is awarded, as a matter of great favour, by me, desirous of gaining merit as stated in the shastras, to the venerable and long-lived Kumara Svāmī of S'āṇḍilya Gōtra, versed in the Yajurveda and having the three *Pravaras* of S'āṇḍilya, Asita and Devalya, son of the venerable Krishṇāditya and grandson of the venerable Sri Rāma hailing from Kolāñcha with land and water, with suburbs, with mango and Madhuka, with pits and barren lands, with grazing grounds, Nimba and deserted gardens.....and with salt and iron mines.

Now by you all, who are obedient to our behests remission of all kinds of taxes is to be carried into effect and this grant is to be observed as long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the sea endure.

[Here follow the verses eulogistic of the royal dynasty.]

As this family was devoted to Vṛishadhvaḥja (Maheśvara), as it achieved victories through penance, as it had a tough fight with Śaṅkara, as it won from Iśa (Maheśvara) the secret of gaining victory and as it was protected by the damsel born of the sea (Lakshmi) by reason of which this dynasty became exalted—this line of rulers became reputed as Gupta, with the insignia of the bull and famous for the victory of Arjuna.

In his (Arjuna) family which shone with a lustre like that of the moon, which was powerful and stainless, the mighty kings resembled the gods in virtue, valour, fame, power and wealth.. (They were) the lords of the wide world. The vast sea rich with precious things shrunk at a distance, as if through fear, of their great and overwhelming prowess.

After these kings departed into the land of the blessed, a scion of the family became the master of the earth, who was

styled Yajñesya Gupta, as he was full of the ardour for vanquishing heroes in the sacrifice of war. He, who was a death to his foes, was called Jaya as the (antagonistic) kings met with their extinction on account of the total annihilation of their forces, smashed with the strokes of his innumerable arrows.

Of him was born the illustrious king Dāmodara Gupta, of world-wide fame and glory, who was to good men as the sun is to lotuses, like the preceptor of the gods in comprehending the meaning of sentences, to women as the moon is to lilies, like the Malaya-breeze in removing sorrow and affliction and like a lion in trampling down his foes who might be fitly compared to the strongest elephants.

From birth he had in his composition the quintessence of Varuna, Indra, Agni and Mṛut. He caused the king of the snakes to tremble with the stupendous weight of the earth trampled upon by his soldiers. For which reason, his fame is fair as the whiteness of the Kunla flower. That fierce prince resembled Tāksha (Tārkshya?) in his prowess.

The king Deva Gupta, who was truth incarnate, was born of him as Sāvarni of the Sun, the Moon of the Sea, Pradyumna of Madhusudana, Guha of the Great Destroyer (Śiva), Rāma of Daśaratha and Jayanta (lit. the son of Indra) of the lord of the land of immortals.

A son was born to him named Rājāditya, firelike in majesty and fierce with the flames of his power, whose deeds could appal the assembly of kings. He was the repository of far-spreading prowess, which was aflame with the victory over arrogant foes. He was an adept in the art of striking terror into his foes while twanging the string of his bow which sounded like thunder.

As the touchstone is to metals, so was the king to various Kāvya, discourses and pastimes. He was a wish-yielding tree to the distressed and an adept in the science of love. He was a repository of modesty, a receptacle of good deeds, a storehouse of learning, a fountain of sweet words and an abode of decorum.

He derived propriety of conduct from the ocean, heroic spirit from the sun, prosperity from Śakra, spirit of aggression from Rāhu, modesty from Guru and power from Fire. The king unrivalled in archery, whose voice was like the sound of thunder to his foes, is speaking these agreeable words to those who listen to him with pleasure. Those who will be born in the long line of solar kings will also observe this deed from generation to generation. This I enjoin on other kings as well. The subsequent kings with a view to gain merit should abstain from the nullification of what has been done by another king, considering it to be of the nature of a spark of fire.

[Here follow verses laying down religious injunctions.]

There is no higher gift than the gift of food, which entitles one to have an access to Heaven. Food is the life of the world, food ultimately comes from the earth, therefore next after the gift of food is considered best the gift of land. The observance of the gift yields greater merit than the gift itself. Therefore, you should, O king, make gift of land and observe those made by others. Two things—making gifts oneself and respecting those made by others—constitute the usefulness of life in this ephemeral world. O Yudhiṣṭhira, protect the land which has been made a gift of. The earth of the lords of the earth—

X.—Travels in Bihar, 1608 A.D.

By Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S.

Introduction.

Abdul Latif (son of Abdullah Abbasi), an inhabitant of Ahmadabad (in Gujrat), on his patron Abul Hassan (the father-in-law of Shah Jahan) being appointed *diwan* of Bengal early in A.D. 1608, accompanied him on a river trip from Agra to Rajmahal and at the end of the year again from Rajmahal to Goāsh in the Murshidābād District and thence by land to Ghoraghat. He took accurate notes of what he saw during his travels and wrote them in a book years afterwards in the reign of Shah Jahan, when his patron Abul Hassan, now surnamed Asaf Khan, had risen to be *wazir* of the empire.

His book is of unique value as giving us the topography of Bihar early in the seventeenth century, and supplementing the very short account incorporated in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (ii. 150 of Jarrett's translation), which was composed twenty years earlier. Through the help of a friend at Delhi I secured access to what is probably the only copy extant of Abdul Latif's travels.

Abdul Latif had previously made a tour of Khandesh and Berar (page 3). The extreme speed with which his patron travelled to take up his new office in Bengal, prevented him from seeing more of Bihar and giving greater details.

The Bihar portion of his travels is translated below. In two places the text is hopelessly corrupt.

Voyage down the Ganges.

On 6th May, 1608, we arrived at *Chausa*, an ancient village on the bank of the Ganges and the commencement of the province of Bihar. Its ferry is very famous. Here some severe battles were fought between the imperial troops and the Afghans early in the reign of Akbar. It was at this ferry that the well-known disaster to the army of Humayun took place at the hands

of Sher Khan Afghan. We halted here. It was formerly well-peopled, but is now in a decayed condition with few habitations. Above it, the *Karmanāshā* falls into the Ganges. The Hindus of old never set their feet in its water, it 'being their superstition that whosoever sets his foot in its water loses all his merit [for good deeds done in life]. Hence its name [of *Karmanāshā* or "destroyer of good deeds"]. Its water is extremely distasteful and disagreeable to the sight. A look at it turns a man's bile cold,—not to speak of his merits.

From this place *Sahserām*, containing the tomb of Sher Khan Afghan, is 16 *kos*. Two marches from it is *Rohās*, the height, spaciousness and grandeur of which is famous, so that there is no fort like it in the world. Its circuit is 14 *kos*, its height [? path for ascent] exceeds 3 *kos*. On its top several thousand *bighas* of land are cultivated, besides several gardens. Some tanks full of water and flowing springs are contained within it.

On 9th May we reached the river Diwā [i.e. Gogra],¹ a broad and deep stream which passing by Bahraich and Oudh, falls into the Ganges 8 *kos* above Patna. Āre [i.e. Bonas], Gāngi, Son, and Gandak,—all big rivers, mingle with the Ganges from 15 *kos* above Patna to the foot of that city. Besides these there are many *nālas* and brooks coming from all sides, but they are not worth mentioning. Hence, below Patna the breadth of the river in the rainy season becomes nearly 3 *kos*, and it forms a vast and voluminous united stream.

On 10th May we reached Patna, the capital of Bihar. Patna stands on the right hand and *Hajipur* on the left hand, a little above Patna, on the bank of the Ganges. In former ages the ancient city of *Bihar*, 16 *kos* from Patna, was the capital of this province. I have heard from trustworthy men of this country that Bihar [town] is a place of grace, where many holy men and saints repose [in their graves]. Even at the present time some good men live here, one of them being Shaikh

¹In Rennell's *Bengal Atlas* (1781), sheet 11, the Gogra bears the alternative name of *Dewāh*. But it falls into the Ganges 52 miles above Patna. So the eight (*hasht*) *kos* of the text should be read as *bist* or twenty.

Humayun, a man of religious abstraction, who has done and is doing many [acts] contrary to custom [? superhuman deeds]

Hilsa is a village, in the jurisdiction of Bihar, and containing the tomb of Shah Chaman Chishti. It has a lofty dome on which a pitcher, called *kalas* in the Hindi tongue, has been fixed, which turns in one direction at all hours. Some good men have seen the phenomenon, and I am writing what they have told me.

In the course of ages the people have turned [from Bihar town] to Patna, by reason of its being on the bank of the Ganges, and taken up their residence here. In short, *Patna* is the capital, residence of the Governor, and best [city] of the province of Bihar. One side of it is bordered by the river and three sides by *kucha* walls of fortification. In the reign of Akbar it was wrested from the possession of the Afghans after a good deal of fighting and a long siege. Mun'im Khan, surnamed Khān-i-Khānān, besieged Dāud Afghan—their chief and formerly lord of Bihar and Bengal—in this fort a year and a half, but could not conquer him till the Emperor himself marched hither with his army and undertook the task.

Patna is a very sweet (*latif*) city and honoured (*sharif*) place. By reason of its air, it is a place of perpetual spring (*hamishā bahār*). Its water is perfect in taste and agreeableness [to the stomach]. Its inhabitants are extremely healthy and robust. In spaciousness and good appearance (*nek tarāki*) the city resembles Ahmadabad, “the best of the cities of Hind,” [our author’s home!] All kinds of articles needed by men for food and clothing are twice or thrice as cheap and abundant here as in other places. In truth, it is a place fit to live in; hence many traders and comfort-loving men have chosen it for their home. In no other city of India can be seen so many men of ‘Irāq and Khurāsān, as have taken up their residence here.

Jahāngir Quli Khan (formerly Lāla Beg), who has recently died in Bengal, had, during his Governorship of Bihar, widened

and cleared the bazar of Patna. Though he was a man of haughtiness and rough behaviour, yet, through God's grace, the bazar and lanes of Patna gained splendour and currency [i.e. popularity with the public] from him. May this act be the cause of his pardon [in the next world] ! The late Nawwab Mirzā Yusuf Khān, during his viceroyalty,* built here a bath of extreme delicacy and purity, consisting of several rooms, always full of water.

The late Sādiq Khān, also, has left a mosque as his memorial. Nāwwāb Asaf Khān, the present *wazir* of the empire, has constructed a beautiful Governor's residence overlooking the river, inside the fort, and a neat garden outside the city.* * * Mirzā Shamsuddin Husain (son of Nawwab Azam Khān) who has now gained the title of Jahangir Quli Khan, had laid out a delightful garden outside the city.

Leaving Patna we halted at *Mungir* on 17th May. It has a *pucca* fort and a large town. But at this time its population had greatly fallen off. It stands midway between Bihar and *Ghati*, the gateway of Bengal [i.e. Sikrigali]. Its outside is better than its inside. Early in the reign of Akbar, the imperial army was long cantoned at Mungir for effecting the conquest of Bengal, and many battles were fought between them and the Afghans in this region. At Sitākund, two *kos* from Mungir and two or three arrows' flight from the river, there are two springs,—one hot and the other cold. The coldness of the one sets the teeth on edge like ice and the warmth of the other turns the bile into the water of hell.

Next day we reached *Mashan*.¹ This village is situated at a distance of half a *kos* from the river, and is an ordinary (*sahal*) place ; but it has two hillocks, one in the midst of the river and the other on the bank, facing each other, so that there are few places on earth equalling it in airiness. How can I describe the charm of its mornings and evenings and the beauty

¹ " Fakir's rock ", near Sultanganj, midway between Mungir and Bhagalpur, in Rennell, sh. 15, 16. See also Byrne's *Bhagalpur Gazetteer*, p. 175.

of its moon-lit nights, which exhilarate the spirit and freshen the life of man ? * * *

On the hillock by the river's edge, a pious man has built a beautiful mosque. For the last 30 years a *darvish* has been engaged in prayer here. A room has also been built for drinking water (*ābdārī*). What a charming retreat, no better can be found for a *darvish* ! * * *

On 5th June 1608 we arrived safe and sound at Akbar-nagar [i.e. Rajmahal], the capital of Bengal and the end of my journey by river. * * *

Akbarnagar, known also as *Ag-mahal*, was an ordinary village before the accession of Akbar. Its name is explained in the following way : Gaur was the capital of the former rulers of this country ; and whenever they set out on travel in Bihar their advance-tents were sent to this place ; so the people called it *Ag-mahal* [or "advanced palace"]. Similarly, on the further side of Tānda there is a village popularly called *Pāch-mahal*, to which the advance-tents [of the Sultans of Bengal] used to be sent, whenever they marched to Orissa or Bhāti (Deltaic Bengal). The common people, however, call it *Ag-mahal* ¹ because most of the houses here are thatched with straw and *hogla* and easily catch fire. Early in the reign of Akbar many battles were fought in this tract between the imperial army under Khān-i-Khānān Mun'im Khan and Khan-i-Jahan Turkman (Hassan Quli Khan) and Daud Afghan, the ruler of Bengal and Bihar. Daud after his defeat at Patna fled here, and was slain by the imperialists. As Akbarnagar commands the route to all parts of Bengal, it was frequently the camping ground of the imperial army. Rajah Mān Singh made it the seat of the Governor, because it stands on the skirt of the hills and so remains safe from the enemy's hands when at the end of the rainy season all other places of Bengal are flooded and the enemy with their flotilla. (*nawwāra*) can occupy them,—and also because it excels

¹ *Ag-mahal*—(1) *Agra* (before) mahal ; (2) *agni* (fire) mahal. *Pāch* (Bengali)

—Sanskrit *paścchāt*, behind.

the rest of Bengal in climate. He built here a fort and mansions. From that time all people have called it *Raj-mahal*. As the Rajah colonized the place in the name of his late Majesty, it is styled *Akbarnagar* in the official papers.

During the rainy season, its environs are covered with water for a distance of a hundred or two hundred *kos*. Therefore, to protect it from flood an embankment (*āl*) has been constructed exceeding four *kos* in length, while the breadth is half a *kos* at places and a quarter *kos* at others. The city is inhabited along the length [of the embankment]. Few of the places [? wards of the city] are renowned ? *Shahpur* and *Shaikhpur*, facing each other, were peopled by the late Prince *Shah Murād* and *Shaikh Abul Fazl*, by building thatched houses for passing the rainy season in. Heavy rain and too many rivers in Bengal. * * *

Sagarpura ¹ is a *pura* (ward) of the city of *Akbarnagar*. Here are two hillocks opposite each other. One of them is called *Rānā Sagar*, after the uncle of *Pratāp*, the Rajah of *Chitor*, who colonized it; the other is called *Agar* from his brother. The two places are now called *Agar-Sagar*. They resemble *Korah-Ghatampur*.....(?)

Mir Murshid Ahmad, surnamed *Bahāri Ruhullah Wajih*, is buried on the top of the hillock of *Sagarpur*. *Rānā Sagar*, having dreamt of his condition in a dream, built a dome over his grave. * * * On Friday nights there are large gatherings at this holy place.

After the departure of Rajah *Mān Singh* and *Rānā Sagar*, this region belonged to the *diwān*. Whosoever becomes *diwān* of Bengal, resides here. * * *

Formerly *Rānā Sagar* had built beautiful houses in the Hindu style here. After him, when *Wazir Khan* lodged here, he had thrown the *hogla* below (?) and given some amount of neatness to the houses. But the houses were not worthy of the residence of high grandees. * * *

¹ Probably *Pir-pahār*, three miles north of *Rajmahal*. Another hillock, a mile west of the town and two miles south of *Pir-pahar*, is crowned with the *Jama masjid*.

When Nawwāb Mu'taqad Khān arrived at Sagarpur, he immediately began to construct a *toshakhkhāna*, containing two treasure rooms (*makhzan*) in the middle and two halls (*diwān*)—one in the south containing two rooms (*huzra*) and the other in the north—as rooms cannot be triangular,... of one size ? [text corrupt here]. A raised platform (*chabutra*) with a chair (*kursi*) and yard has been placed before each hall, with extreme spaciousness and neatness. Around it are four walls. On the left is another building on the edge [of the river ?] with a courtyard and some rooms. Now the place is fit for the abode of the great. * * *

His companions also built and repaired as the time required.

On 7th December 1608 I left Akbarnagar in the train of Nawwāb Islām Khān (the new Governor of Bengal) by boat for the *Bhāti* province.

XI.—Translation of Maharajah Kalyan Singh's Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh.

III.

By Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan.

The arrival of General Cotes from England ; his displeasure with Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan on the insinuation of Maharajah Ram Narayan ; his censure at the hands of the Council on the complaint of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan, and his ultimate departure to England ; the ultimate fate of Maharajah Ram Narayan.

After the departure of His Majesty to the province of Oudh, Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan made efforts to arrest Ram Narayan. It was at this time that Major Cotes came to Patna as General Cotes. He was a major at the time when the English were at war with Serajuddaulah. After the English victory he went home and now came to Patna in command of the English forces there.

At Patna Ram Narayan met him and informed him that Meer Kasim Khan cherished hostile intentions both against him (Ram Narayan) and the English. The Major believing his allegations to be true went to the camp of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan at daybreak with only a few followers to ascertain the true state of things. But he was much annoyed to find everything quiet. He found His Highness asleep in the female apartments and all things quiet in the camp. He left an Englishman to apologize to the Nawab for his coming at so early an hour and went home quite disgusted at the trick played by Ram Narayan. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan soon got up and saw the gentleman whom Major Cotes had left in his camp. This treachery on the part of Ram Narayan exasperated the Nawab, and he submitted a complete report of the incident to the Council at Calcutta, seriously complaining against the conduct of Major Cotes. The Major also went to Calcutta. The Council

disapproved of his action and he had consequently to go home. In reply to his representation the Council at Calcutta wrote to the Nawab, giving him full powers regarding the administration of Azimabad and authorizing him to check and audit the accounts of Ram Narayan. Finding some defalcations in his accounts, he arrested Ram Narayan, kept him in custody, and confiscated all his property, and seized all he could lay hands on. He also squeezed as much cash and assets as he could from the servants and dependants of Ram Narayan. Having finished this business, he repaired to the fort, and busied himself in the work of general administration. He then picked a quarrel with Maharajah Shitab Rae. The Maharajah was a shrewd man of business. He kept himself aloof from the Nawab, remained in his house with his armed retainers and kept on communication with the Nawab from there. At last through the intercession of Major Creek Khan Bahadur, the Nawab was made to agree to the Maharajah's going to Calcutta and to his acting according to the directions given him by the Council at Calcutta. Hence it was that the Maharajah in company with his companions and attendants left for Calcutta by river.

He appeared before the Council and represented his case. Nothing could be proved against him, and he was therefore given the permission of living in state at the place he liked best. Messrs. Ellis and Neston were coming to Patna as members of the Council at Patna and the Maharajah was asked to accompany them.

Having finished the work of civil administration, Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan devoted himself to the reorganization of the military department and placed it under the command of Gurguen Khan. He thus equipped a strong army, admitting into it some of the veterans of the upper provinces. He appointed Mohammad Naqi Khan Tabrezee the Faujdar of Beerbhoom and deputed him also to look after the discipline of the new army. He appointed Syed Mohammad Khan his deputy in the Bengal province and Maharajah Raj Bullubh his deputy in the province of Bihar. Maharajah Ram Narayan he dismissed.

He punished the refractory and unruly zemindars of Bihar, such as Kamgar Khan, Sunder Singh, Bunyad Singh, Pahalwan Singh, etc. In short the Nawab put new life into the different departments of administration, and setting matters right to his entire satisfaction, proceeded to Shahsaram. Here also he chastised the refractory zemindars, confiscated the properties of those who were most turbulent, and even killed some of those who were most dangerous, and having restored complete peace and order in the place, he repaired to the fort of Rohtas. He arrested Shah-mal the officer in charge of the fort, kept him under surveillance, placed the fort in charge of his trustworthy men, returned to Shahsaram, and from Shahsaram proceeded to Azimabad. At Azimabad he imprisoned Raj Bullubh, and appointing Rajah Naubat Rae in his place, proceeded towards Monghyr. He made Monghyr his capital, fortified the place, and lived there with ease and comfort, and in right royal style. He fixed two days in a week for the administration of justice, as was customary with the former kings. He himself presided as a judge and decided cases most impartially. His administration was vigorous and strong. He was ever anxious to administer even-handed justice, so much so that whenever it was brought to his notice that big zemindars had forcibly taken lands from poor tenants or poor zemindars he punished the usurpers, and gave back the lands thus seized to those who were entitled to them.

The meeting of Mr. Henry Vansittart with Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan; the departure of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan to the Sarkar of Champaran; the advance of Gurgeen Khan to Nepal; the night attack of the Nepalese; the return of Gurgeen Khan, and the rupture between Gurgeen Khan on the one side and Shamshuddaula and Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan on the other.

Mr. Henry Vansittart Shamsuddaula was at this time in Calcutta. He left Calcutta for Monghyr with the object of seeing the Nawab. On his way he paid a flying visit to Burdwan and Murshidabad, and arrived at Monghyr on the 5th Jamadul-Awwal 1176, Hijri. The Nawab went to receive him at a distance of three miles from the city and gave him a right royal

reception. He accommodated Mr. Vansittart in the building constructed by Gurgeen Khan on the Sitakund hill, and had tents pitched for the accommodation of his attendants and followers. Leaving Gurgeen Khan to attend on his guest he repaired to the fort. The next day Shamshuddaula paid a visit to the Nawab in the fort. The Nawab came to receive him up to the staircase and seated him close to him on the *masnad* and made valuable presents to him. Mr. Vansittart was much pleased with the hearty reception accorded to him. The next day the Nawab paid a return visit to him and invited him to dinner. Mr. Vansittart also presented the Nawab the valuables he had brought from England. In response to the invitation Mr. Vansittart came to the Nawab's residence, dined and attended the nauch party given in his honour. He inspected the new army, organized under the superintendence and command of Gurgeen Khan, and remarked to the Nawab that the army was disciplined in the Asiatic style but was not a match for soldiers trained and disciplined in the European style. It would therefore be unwise for him to try conclusions with an army disciplined in the European style. He should bear in mind that he represented the Indian people, and his defeat would therefore throw discredit on the whole of India and humiliate him in the eyes of the public. Mr. Vansittart also exhorted the Nawab to remain quiet and refrain from acting in such a way as may disturb the existing relations between the English and Indian people and thus cause bloodshed. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan said that some native traders who carried on trade under the protection of the English caused him great loss, while the gain to the English was very little. He would therefore request Shamshuddaula to allow him to arrest these traders with a view to put a stop to their trade. But Mr. Vansittart advised the Nawab to wait and to apply to the Council at Calcutta where the matter would be considered and necessary orders passed. The Nawab instead of waiting till the final decision of the matter, sent an order to his men, calling upon them to act in a manner which may

avoid a crisis till he received a favourable decision from the Council at Calcutta, which he hoped to receive very soon. But his officers could not manage the business in a tactful manner and began to interfere in the trade of the English. This caused a rupture between the Company's servants and the officers of the Nawab. The result was that Mr. Ellis of the Patna Factory arrested the men of the Nawab. Mr. Mane of the Jahangirnagar Factory in his own place arrested the Nawab's officers there and sent them to Calcutta with a recommendation that the offenders might be punished for their illegal and unjustifiable conduct. In the meantime Gurgeen Khan, having heard of the wealth of Nepal through the Cashmiris and Armenians who traded in Lhassa, persuaded the Nawab to send an expedition to Nepal. As the Sirkar of Champaran had only shortly come in to his possession, he himself proceeded to Champaran with a body of troops and sent Gurgeen Khan to Nepal with a strong detachment consisting of sepoys and English artillery. With the help of guides Gurgeen Khan reached the outskirts of the mountains of Nepal. A detachment of Gurgeen Khan forced its way to the first summit of the mountain. As it arrived on the summit in the afternoon it had to pass the night there. The night was dark, and the Nepalese attacked the body under cover of night, killed most of them, and seized their ammunition. The next morning the vanquished soldiers made their escape and arrived in the camp of Gurgeen Khan. The general felt much dispirited and had to make his final retreat and subsequently appeared before the Nawab. The Nawab was much disconcerted and felt much humiliated and had at last to leave the Sirkar of Champaran. He crossed the river at the Hajipur bank and arrived at Azimabad. He did not meet Mr. Ellis, but camped at Bagh Jafar Khan, passing through the eastern gate. He left Meer Mehdi Ali Khan the Faujdar of the Sirkar of Shahabad, who was an experienced soldier, as his Deputy at Azimabad. He took Rajah Naubat Rae with him, and passing through Kyamanyore, etc., reached Monghyr. Here he was informed that the English had imprisoned some of his officers in the districts

of Azimabad and Jabangirnagar. He was much offended and ordered his men to arrest the Gomashtas of the English and send them to him. He went further and submitted representations to the King and the Vizier, through Mirza Shamsuddin, praying for help. In the meantime the officials of the Nawab arrested some Gomashtas of the Company and sent them to His Highness. The Calcutta Council also wrote to the Nawab informing him that he was quite at liberty to apply for the imposition of duties on the goods of English merchants. But the Nawab paid no heed to the instructions contained in this letter and exempted all sorts of goods from duty. He replied to the Company that inasmuch as he suffered considerable pecuniary loss in respect of the goods of merchants under the protection of the Company and the gain from petty trade was comparatively very small, he exempted all goods from duty. Regarding the Gomashtas of the Company who were imprisoned by his men he wrote that he would not release them so long as his servants were not released by the English and sent to him. This enraged the English, but they did not think it expedient to take any immediate steps in the matter. They however sent Messrs. Amiatt and Jessey with a company of sepoys to the Nawab. These officers left Calcutta and proceeded to Murshidabad. Nawab Shamsuddaula wrote a private letter to the Nawab telling him that it was not possible for him to get his request regarding the imposition of duties on English trades granted by the Company but that he might be able to do something for him when a suitable opportunity presented itself. It was therefore that His Highness should give a fitting reception to Messrs. Amiatt and Jessey who were going to him as representatives of the Company. On getting this letter the Nawab consulted Gurgoen Khan. This wrong-headed general gave him bad advice. The Nawab paid no heed to the admonition of Shamsuddaula and acted against the interests of the Company which as will appear proved suicidal to him.

The arrival of Messrs. Amiatt and Jessey at Monghyr; their conversation with Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan and their attempt at laying the foundation of a firm friendship between him and the East India Company.

Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan was perplexed to find that the Calcutta Council and he did not agree on material points. He thought that it was not desirable at that juncture to allow Jagat Seth Mahtab Chand and his brother Maharaja Sharat Chand to remain at Murshidabad. And as there was much difference between the high English officials and Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan at the time, and as Jagat Seth and his brother whom he did not trust, were fully cognisant of it, he also thought it proper to keep them under proper control. He was also afraid that they might go to Calcutta and create mischief. He therefore wrote to Meer Mohammad Taqi Khan to proceed immediately to Murshidabad, besiege the house of Jagat Seth and his brother, keep them in confinement, and after arrest make them over to the Armenian marankar when he arrived with his army and then finally return to his own province. On receipt of the letter Meer Mohammad Taqi Khan proceeded to Murshidabad with his army and besieged the house of Jagat Seth and his brother. In the meantime the Armenian marankar arrived with his army and Jagat Seth and his brother were arrested and compelled to go to Monghyr with the Armenian. On arrival at Monghyr they were brought into the presence of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan. He apparently made friends with them and released them. He ordered a house to be erected for them at Monghyr and permitted them to attend the darbar as heretofore. But at the same time he ordered some of his men to watch them and prevent them going to any other place. In pursuance of the orders of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan, Jagat Seth and his brother laid the foundation of their houses at a place pointed out to them. They passed their lives in a state of utter suspense. During this period the news came that Messrs. Amiatt and Jessey, the ambassadors sent by the Council at Calcutta, had arrived. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan sent his brother Meer Abbas Ali and Raja Naubat Rai to receive them. The

ambassadors entered Monghyr in Zeekad 1176 Hijri and halted in the camp specially pitched for them. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan paid them a visit when courtesies were exchanged. The next day Messrs Amiatt and Jessey, Captain Johnson, Mr. Clayton and other Englishmen called on Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan. He gave them a warm reception ; offered them chairs to sit on ; occupied one chair himself, and made a present of some clothes and jewels to Mr. Amiatt. He saw them down to the staircase on their departure and got from them a promise to dine at his place. Mr. Amiatt with some other Englishmen went to the house of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan at night to dine. They enjoyed the dance and the display of fireworks and then returned to their camps. There were frequent interviews afterwards in which complaints were heard on all sides and in every visit was laid the foundation of enmity instead of that of friendship. In a state of helplessness, Mr. Amiatt and others asked for permission to depart. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan after many changes of mood at last resolved that Mr. Jessey might remain at Monghyr till the time his imprisoned servants might return there after their release. With death staring him in the face Mr. Jessey remained at Monghyr and Mr. Amiatt and others after taking leave of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan started for Calcutta by boat much dissatisfied. Mr. Ellis, senior member, wrote to the officers at Patna that there had been a misunderstanding between him and Meer Mohaminad Kasim Khan of which the inevitable result would be that they would have to go to war. He (the addressee) ought therefore to be careful and cautious, be ready for active service, and do what was possible for him to do.

War between Mr. Ellis and Mir Mehdi Ali Khan, Governor of Azimabad, and the retreat of Mr. Ellis and his arrest by Ram Nidhi, ruler of the District of Saran, who sent him to Monghyr ; destruction of the house and the murder of Mr. Amiatt at Murshidabad under the orders of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan.

When the letter of Mr. Amiatt reached Mr. Ellis at Azimabad who himself harboured ill-will towards Meer Mohammad Kasim

Khan, he was sure that on the arrival of Mr. Amiatt at Calcutta he would receive orders to go to war with Meer Mohammad Kasim. Mr. Ellis wrote to Major Carson who commanded the army at Azimabad to march with his army that very night and attack the fort and take it by the next morning. He got wood and bamboo ladders made through his servants and kept them safely in his house. He called Dr. Fullerton who was in the city of Patna and informed him of his intentions. Major Carson arrived at his house with his army before midnight. He came out of his house and fixed the ladders near Barbanaki Khirki. The whole of the English army then entered the city. The English were divided into two sections, one proceeded to Gurhatta through Nauzarkatra and the other proceeded to the fort of Azimabad by the rampart near Pachhim Darwaza. As soon as the army entered the city, guns and cannons began to fire. Some of those persons who were appointed by Meer Mehdi Ali Khan to guard the city wall, opposed the invaders, and were wounded. The news of the arrival of the English troops reached Mehdi Ali Khan. On that very night he took those men with him who were on the spot, ordered them to arm themselves, and somehow or other went as far as Gurhatta and met the English troops. In about a quarter of an hour most of these men were wounded and slain by the cannon of the British army and the remaining fled as fast as they could. They came out of Purab Darwaza in a great panic and did not stop till they reached Fatwah. They stopped there for some time before deciding to go to Monghyr. On arriving within the walls of the city, they began to enter the houses of the people and plunder them. This state of things lasted for about six hours. While Meer Mehdi Ali Khan was halting at Fatwah another army which Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan had sent for his assistance and which was guarding the city walls, arrived. With the help of that army Meer Mehdi Ali Khan returned towards the city and entered it. He met the English army again. From both sides the English army received such injury by the firing of the guns and arrows

that it could not stand. They fled from there and came out of the city and encamped. The fort of Azimabad again came into the possession of Meer Mehdi Ali Khan. His army collected in large numbers at Barbanaki Khirki and began to cannonade the British army. Mr. Ellis could stand no longer and with the rest of his army came out of the fort during the last part of the night and escaped towards Bankipore. The next morning Meer Mehdi Ali Khan came out of the fort with the army which had arrived in the beginning and the army of Tallanga which had arrived at that time and started for Bankipore to meet the English army. Mr. Ellis was informed of this, and finding his army unable to resist, embarked with it on boats and proceeded towards Chapra, and from there went towards the river Sarjoo, which was the boundary line of the province of Shujauddaulah. Here Ram Nidhi the Faujdar of the district of Saran attacked Mr. Ellis in company with Shimroo and his comrades who came from Buxar with troops. Although Mr. Ellis had three battalions with him he could not oppose successfully. He was taken prisoner by Ram Nidhi and sent to Azimabad. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan was at first quite depressed to hear of the capture of the fort of Azimabad by the English army and of the flight of Meer Mehdi Ali Khan; but he was very much delighted to learn of the defeat of the English by Meer Mehdi Ali Khan, of the flight of the British and of the capture of Mr. Ellis by Ram Nidhi in the vicinity of Chapra. He came to his court in the morning. The courtiers presented themselves to congratulate him on his recent military successes and made presents to him. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan issued a proclamation and sent it to all his subordinates declaring that there was no more friendship between him and the English and they might therefore be killed wherever found. This order reached Murshidabad and Mr. Amiatt and the other Englishmen who had arrived there were killed by the army. The heads of persons thus killed were sent by the military officers to Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan. On the same day Syed Mohammad Khan, a lieutenant of Meer Mohammad Kasim

Khan, pillaged the houses of Englishmen in Qasimbazar. Mr. Ellis and other Englishmen with cannons, guns and other arms and furniture of the Bankipore house, which had come into the possession of Ram Nidhi, ruler of the district of Saran, were sent to Mehdi Ali Khan who in his turn sent them to Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan who put the arms he received under the custody of Gurgeen Khan, and other things into his storehouse. He imprisoned Mr. Ellis and other Englishmen, and asked Sheikh Farhat Ali to guard them and to make suitable arrangements for their comfort, as they were men of high position and had held high offices. When Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan felt convinced that there was no other alternative but to fight with the English, he wrote to Mohammad Taqi Khan, ruler of Birbhoom, and Syed Mohammad Khan, Deputy Governor of Murshidabad, and other chiefs within his jurisdiction that he was not on friendly terms with the English and thought it politic to fight them and that therefore they ought to be ready for action.

When the letter reached Mohammad Taki Khan, ruler of Birbhoom, he made every arrangement for war and with all his army speedily started from Birbhoom for Cutwa. Having reached there, he encamped with his army. When the letter reached Syed Mohammad Khan, Deputy Governor of Murshidabad, he also made every arrangement for the campaign and sent his chiefs—Jafar Khan, Alam Khan, Sheikh Haibatullah Khan—and the chiefs of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan to assist Mir Mohammad Taqi Khan. Mir Mohammad Kasim Khan himself made preparations and kept himself ready for action.

Consultation of the members of the Council with Shamsuddaulah for the reappointment of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan as Subedar of Bengal and the engagement of Meer Mohammad Taqi Khan on behalf of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan against the English and an account of the subsequent events.

When the news reached the Council at Calcutta that Mr. Amiatt and other Englishmen had been killed by the army of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan at Murshidabad, they were

furious. The members of the Council assembled and hotly discussed the matter with Shamshuddaula whom they thought to be in sympathy with the Nawab and advocating his cause.

With a view to exonerate himself from blame, Shamshuddaula made a note on a piece of a paper stating that it would be politic to wage war after Mr. Ellis and other European gentlemen were released and removed from the clutches of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan; for otherwise the Nawab would kill all the Englishmen who were imprisoned at the time of the commencement of hostilities.

When the members of the Council perused the note of Shamshuddaula, they felt confirmed in their opinion that he was pleading the cause of the Nawab, and as a matter of course, got irritated. They therefore recorded a note of dissent and asserted that they would not be satisfied until the unprovoked and cold blooded murder of Mr. Amiat was fully avenged. Shamshuddaula then read his note with the note of dissent and put it into his pocket, and addressed the Council: "I have been in consultation with you. Yes, it is necessary to fight with Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan". He then took the members of the Council with him and went to Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan and offered him the Subedarship of the province. After a long discussion and repeated refusal, Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan took a vow from the members to support him whenever their support was needed, and finally accepted the offer. This done, he made preparations for action against Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan and with the officers of the Company went out of Calcutta. As he was proceeding he sent two battalions of the English army ahead. Haibatullah Khan and Alam Khan who were encamped on the other side of the Bhagirathee near Plassey with 500 soldiers of Meer Mohammad Taqi Khan thus came face to face with the two battalions of the English army. Hostilities commenced, but the musketry of the English army proved too powerful for the forces of the enemy, which could not stand and fled.

Next day the English army crossed the Bhagirathee and met the forces of Meer Mohammad Taqi Khan. As the arrangements made by Meer Mohammad Taqi Khan, were most defective, his army was cut to pieces.

On hearing this terrible news, Syed Mohammad Khan, Deputy Governor of Murshidabad, left all the property of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan on the spot, and started with his men for Monghyr without a single fight with the enemy. Two or three days after, on the 12th of Muharram 1177 Hijri, Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan with his own and the British army entered Murshidabad and occupied the palace and took possession of all the property of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan. The citizens, young and old, appeared at the court and made presents and congratulated him on his conquests and his accession to the throne. His accession to the throne was proclaimed throughout Murshidabad by beat of drum. After staying for five or six days at Murshidabad and having made arrangements for another campaign, he came out of Murshidabad and started for Monghyr with his army, accompanied by the British military officers.

On hearing the news of the death of Meer Mohammad Taqi Khan and the flight of his army and the victory of the British forces Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan got very nervous. But he summoned his courage and went on steadily with his work. He first wrote to his Sardars, such as Sheikh Haibutullah Khan and others, asking them to await the arrival of fresh reinforcements. He then sent a force to Haibutullah Khan consisting of Asadullah Khan, with 6,000 or 7,000 horse, Shamroo with 8 battalions and 16 pieces of cannon and Meer Nasir, the head of the Benedarans. This reinforcement reached the camp of Haibutullah Khan, and the combined force remained anxiously waiting for the English army. Sher Ali Khan, the Faujdar of Purneah, also joined the army. The English force together with the army of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan also arrived in time to meet the forces of Meer Mohammad

Kasim Khan The fight began on Tuesday the 21st Muharrum. The troops of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan took the offensive, and opened fire and commenced cannonading. The English army, as usual, remained stationary and inactive for a time. As soon as the Nawab's army, advancing, reached the range of the English cannons, the English army opened fire with such deadly effect that the Nawab's army was completely routed and so much demoralized did it become that it fled, pell-mell, from the battlefield and rested only at the Oudh Nallah, where another detachment of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan's army was stationed.

XII.—Birth, Childhood and Puberty and Death Customs of the Pabri Bhuiyas.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

The commencement of each successive stage in the life of a Pābri Bhūiyā, as of almost all tribes and castes, is marked by ceremonies intended either to relieve the individual from the harmful spiritual influences peculiar to the out-going stage or to assimilate his nature to the new state of life he is entering and making the entry into the new state safe and prosperous. The various ceremonies observed at the different stages of a Pābri's life except marriage are briefly described in the present paper. An account of the marriage customs will be given in a future paper.

Birth.

An expectant mother has to take certain precautions to protect herself and particularly the child in the womb against evil spirits. She may not go to the jungles and hills and in fact she may not leave the *basti* except to go to the stream for bathing purposes. She is not allowed to see smoke rising from a cremation so that *masani* and *churni* spirits that frequent a cremation ground may not do any harm to her and the child in her womb.

In cases of difficult labour, vows are made to Dharam Deotā (the Supreme God) and to Basumātā (the Earth goddess) to facilitate delivery. **Difficult Labour.** The head of the family addresses the deity saying, "Thou didst generate the child in the womb; now bring it out safely. We shall offer thee *akshat* (*arua* .rice) and *situl* (molasses) or *pondra* (fowl) (as the case may be) in case of safe delivery; otherwise (in the event of miscarriage) blame will attach to Thee." A few days after birth, when mother and child have been ceremonially purified, the vow is

fulfilled by offering the promised sacrifices and offerings. In a case of difficult labour, covers of all vessels in the house are taken out and thrown away to facilitate delivery through sympathetic magic. No male is permitted to enter the hut during labour pains and before delivery. The delivery takes place in a portion of the hut set apart as the lying-in compartment.

As soon as a child is born, the navel string is cut by the father's mother (*aji*) or by some other woman standing in the same relation, in a classificatory sense, to the baby. She receives about half a pound of rice for her labour, and on the occasion of the child's name-giving ceremony gets a pot of boiled rice and meat called *sutra-hāñdi*. The umbilical cord is buried by her outside the house. The babe is washed in tepid water shortly after birth. In the case of a male child, the navel string is severed with an arrow, in the case of a girl with a knife or a splinter of bamboo.

For eight days after parturition, the parturient woman gets only rice and fried *nim* (*Melia azadirachta*) leaves and salt for her meals. She is not permitted to take either pulses, vegetables, fish or flesh. So long as the child cannot sit up, she may not take fish, flesh, pumpkin, and the *biri* pulse as these are believed to cause sickness to the child.

The ceremonial impurity of a parturient woman is removed by instalments. Thus, after eight days from delivery, when the clothes and other article used in the confinement room are purified by washing, and not before that, the members of the family may take drinking water at her hands, but she may not yet cook food for them nor enter the kitchen. After the child is named, some time after the eighth day and before the thirteenth day of its birth, members of the other Pärri families may take drinking water from her hands, and cooked food from the other members of the family but not yet from the parturient woman herself. The other taboos continue as before. On the day of the name-giving ceremony, old cooking vessels are cast away and new vessels used. It is only after four months from

Ceremonial Impurity.

the birth of a son and five months from the birth of a daughter that the final purification takes place. Relatives are entertained at a feast; and from that time she may enter the kitchen, cook food for members of her family and her tribe, and they may all take food and water at her hands. Until this final purification, the husband of the parturient woman, like the woman herself, may not approach the seats of the deities when any puja is being performed, nor may he offer any sacrifices.

A child born with one or more teeth is believed to bring ill-luck to its parents, and, it is said, is generally suffocated and thrown into a stream. Twins (*johōra chhōwā*) are much prized. To avoid the death of an infant whose elder brothers and sisters died prematurely, the mother of the infant leaves it in a manure-pit saying—"All my children die prematurely. What shall I do with a fresh child? Here I leave it". Another woman who is there, exclaims "This child is mine", and forthwith takes it up in her arms and carries it home. Subsequently the mother of the child brings it back from the house of the other woman.

Name-giving (Nam-Tōrā.)

On a day between the eighth and twentieth day from the birth of a child, a name is selected with the following rites. All the Pāpri women of the village are invited to the house, and some of them cook rice and pulse in earthen vessels for a feast. No meat may be cooked or eaten that day at the house. Some near *kutumb* woman (agnate) of another family prepares a sort of pudding by boiling rice flour with sesamum seeds (*rāsi*). This is offered first to the ancestor-spirits, and then a bit of it is given to the child to eat, and then the rest of it is eaten by all the women present. The floor of the hut is cleaned with cowdung and water, and on a spot so cleaned a circular diagram is drawn with turmeric powder. Inside this circle is placed a jug of water mixed with turmeric powder. Elderly women sit down in front of this vessel but outside the diagram. One of them drops into the water of the jug a grain of

sesamum together with a grain of rice, and at the same time pronounces the name of a certain relative of the child. If it is a male child, the first grains of sesamum and rice are dropped in the name of the paternal grandfather of the child. If the rice sinks into the water, the woman says, "No, he (the grandfather) has not come". If the rice floats, it is taken out and placed on the head of the child, the woman saying, "Yes, he has come." If the first grain of rice sinks down, another grain of rice and one of sesamum-seed are dropped into the water in the name successively of one paternal grand-uncle after another. If still the rice sinks, names of father's paternal grandfathers and grand-uncles are tried in succession. When ultimately the rice floats, the woman exclaims, "Yes, he is come!" And the name of the relative at whose name the rice floats is selected as the name of the child. If the rice does not float at the name of the father's grandfather or grand-uncles, the same process is repeated in the names of other deceased agnatic relations one after another while fresh grains are dropped in the name of each; and the name at which the grain of rice floats, is the name selected. In the case of a female child, the father's mother is first named, then father's aunts in succession, then the father's grandmother and grand-aunts, and so on. In the case of both sexes it is only after the names of dead agnatic relations are exhausted that the names of maternal relations may be taken. All the names taken must be those of deceased relations; for the child is supposed to be the reincarnation of some dead relative.

After a name has been selected, relatives and tribe-fellows of the family may take food in the house, but no food cooked by the mother of the baby will be eaten by them until four months from the birth in the case of a male child and five months in the case of a female child. Besides the name thus selected, some children get pet names or nicknames. After the clothes used by the mother and child have been sent to the washerman's (Dhōbā Behārā's) house, the father of a first child will fasten a new thread round his wife's neck. The Pabris

whom I questioned about the object of this thread-tying, could assign no other reason for it except that it is an ancient custom.

Disposal of Milk-teeth.

Cast milk-teeth of children are thrown away 'by a parent or brother or sister saying, "Here! take this old tooth and give a new tooth in its place".

First Hair-cutting.

From two to five months after the birth of a child, the hair (*janam-bār* or 'natal hair') of the child is shaved for the first time by the *māmu* or mother's brother, and the father or mother of the child takes the hair to the nearest stream and casts the hair into the water. The child is then bathed by the mother. The mother's brother bathes and is then regaled with liquor and treated to a feast. He is presented with a new cloth for his offices. Neither tattooing nor cicatrization is practised by the Pābris.

Ear-piercing.

At the age of four or five years, when the child is able to walk about, a paternal grandmother or grand-aunt pierces its ears with a thorn of the *samudrar phera* or *phani-mansā* bush. When the pain consequent on such ear-piercing abates, either a small reed or a thin piece of wood is inserted into each hole to widen it or brass *mudras* (ear-rings) are worn. No feast is given to relatives nor are any other rites observed.

Menstruation.

A female is considered ceremonially unclean and is under a taboo for a week after every menstruation. During this period she is not allowed to touch any cooking utensils or water vessels; nor will any male member of her family or tribe, not even her husband, take food or drink touched by her, nor sit down on the same mat or other seat with her. Women alone may drink water touched by her and sit on the same mat with her, but even they will not eat food cooked by her. She has to sleep on a separate mat by herself. On the eighth day she will herself wash her clothes in ashes and hot water, and then take a bath. Then she will anoint her body with oil and turmeric paste and with a fragrant paste made of pounded *Sabitri gandhā* and blossoms of the *Champā* flower.

Training in the Dormitories.

Boys and girls sleep with their parents till about their seventh or eighth year after which they are admitted into their respective dormitories. The common dormitory for the Pābrī boys of a village is called the *Maṇḍa-ghar* and that for girls the *Dhangrīn-bāsā*. In some villages the *Dhangrīn-bāsā* is adjacent to the *Maṇḍa-ghar*, and in a few villages the *Dhangrīn-bāsā* and the *Maṇḍa-ghar* has only one partition wall between them. In some villages, however, the common *Dhangrīn-bāsā* no longer exists but the girls of the village sleep in the house of some lone widow or are distributed in more than one such house. When public officers or other important personages visit the village or a party of Pābrī guests come to the village for marriage negotiations or other purposes, they are accommodated in the *Maṇḍa-ghar*, and the boys sleep either in the *Melā-ghar* or some other vacant hut in the village.

In these dormitories, boys and girls are trained in habits of obedience and instructed in their duties to their elders and superiors and also in dancing and singing. The older boys exercise authority over the younger boys of the dormitory who have to fetch water in the morning and bring tooth-picks for the older boys to wash their faces and clean their teeth; they have to sweep the floor of the *Maṇḍa-ghar* every morning and clean it with cowdung and water, and bring wood from the jungle and keep the wood burning at night to keep the *Maṇḍa-ghar* warm; they have to shampoo the legs of the older boys and run their errands. The elder boys allot these duties to different batches of boys in turns. They are instructed by the older boys in their duties to their elders and superiors and in the different tunes and melodies of their songs and in playing upon the *chāṅg*. One or two of the older boys act as leaders of the dormitory boys, chastise them when they neglect their duties or otherwise go wrong. They may expel a member of the dormitory found in intrigue with a *kutumb* (agnatic) girl. It is the leaders who decide as to the village where they are to go for dances on any particular night.

The elder girls exercise similar authority over the younger girls. The latter have to perform similar duties for their dormitory and for the elder girls as the younger boys have to do for their dormitory and for the older boys.* The older girls instruct the younger girls in the different steps of the *chāng* dances, in the different tunes and melodies of their songs, and in the way they should behave themselves to the boys of other villages who come to dance with them in their village and to whose villages they themselves go for dances.

Sickness and Death

All sickness is believed by the Pābris to be the infliction of some offended or mischievous spirit. A protracted illness is attributed to the *Maśāni* blauts or the spirits of persons whose manes have not been ceremonially taken back to the house. The ancestor-spirit, though ordinarily beneficent, may cause illness to some member of the family if the *bhitar*, or the inner tabernacle set apart for them, is polluted by the intrusion of some ceremonially unclean person. Other deities may cause sickness if there is any defect or renissness in the periodical offerings or sacrifices to them. *Bāutis* or the familiar spirits of particular individuals may also cause illness and even death, but generally they afflict only members of the house where they have their seats. They ordinarily cause minor ailments such as sores and abscesses on the neck or feet of persons entering their *āstkāns* or seats while such intruders are ceremonially unclean; but sometimes they may even cause some fatal illness to such intruders. Vows of sacrifices are made to them to make them forbear. *Boṛām*, *Gāi-srī* and other village-deities may cause epidemics when offended, but they ordinarily protect the village from epidemics and other misfortunes. *Chitrāngi* is a minor spirit who afflicts people with night-mares. The patient shakes off the *Chitrāngi* spirit by turning round on his bed and thus rids himself of a night-mare.

The friends of a sick man call in a spirit-doctor called the *Rāurīā* to find out which particular spirit is responsible for the

trouble. The methods of the *Rāurīā* will be described in a later chapter. In the case of any affliction through a *Masāni* spirit, the *ningchhā* ceremony is performed by the *Rāurīā* waving four times over the head of the patient four grains of rice wrapped up in a leaf and throwing the bundle away while bidding the *Masāni* spirit (who is addressed by name) to depart. In the case of an infliction by the ancestor spirits, they are promised an offering of *jāu* (rice-pudding) cooked in a new earthen vessel and are asked to return into their *hānṛia* or earthen vessel in which they are believed to reside inside the *būtār*. In cases of epidemic, the Dihuri makes offerings of water to *Boṛām* and *Gāi-arī* and to other gods of the village and the adjacent hills. Certain roots and herbs are also administered to the sick. These folk-medicines will be described in a subsequent chapter.

When all remedies fail and the sick man dies, the corpse is laid with its head to the south and is besmeared with oil and turmeric paste. Those who can afford to do so cover the corpse with a new cloth, but do not take off the old cloth which the deceased had on. The corpse is carried out of the house face upwards and feet pointing north, wrapped in a mat and tied to a wooden pole. While the corpse is being taken out of the house, the women increase their wailing. As soon as the corpse is carried out, one or more women clean the floors and courtyard of the house with cowdung and water and throw away all earthen cooking vessels. Females do not go to the burial-place or cremation-ground.

A person killed by a tiger is cremated, as otherwise, it is believed, the tiger which killed the man will carry off the corpse. Persons who die of snake-bite, a fall, cholera or small-pox, must be buried. Corpses of other persons may be either buried or cremated. Except in the case of a person killed by a tiger, burial is more usual. A pit about six feet long and three feet deep is dug, and the corpse let down into it. Ear-rings and necklaces, if any, worn by the deceased, are buried with the corpse; but bracelets and other ornaments are taken off. The

eldest son of the deceased first throws a handful of earth into the grave and then other sons do the same; next the *kutumb*s and then the *bandhus* perform the same rite in honour of the deceased. Finally all fill in the grave with earth. Pieces of stone (*Pāṭhar gāddi*) are piled over the grave, and over these stones thorny twigs and bushes are spread so that wolves and other beasts may not disturb the grave. In the case of a cremation the corpse is laid on the funeral pile with head to the south; the eldest son first puts fire to it and then the other sons, next the *kutumb*s, and finally the *bandhus* put fuel wood over the corpse. When a pregnant woman dies, the child is taken out of the womb and buried at some distance from the grave of its mother.

When the men return from the burial-place or cremation-ground, as the case may be, they have their nails pared and the hair round the scalp shaved by some *Bandhu*. All *kutumb* males in the village, young and old, have their nails pared and the hair round their scalps shaved. But the widow and daughters of the deceased need not get their nails pared. The clothes of all the men who attend a burial or cremation as also those of all members of the deceased's family are made over to the *Dhobā Behārā* for washing; and they all wear new or washed clothes, and those who have none borrow such clothes from some neighbours. The *Dhobā Behārā* washes the clothes with hot water and ashes and puts them out to dry. The clothes are brought back the same evening or next morning when rice is given to him to boil and eat. A feast is provided to all relatives—*Bandhus* as well as *Kutumb*s. Only *Bandhus* may act as cooks for this feast. When the relatives take a few days to collect the necessary provisions for a feast, the various purificatory observances such as the shaving of the head and paring of the nails of all people tainted with death-pollution as also of the members of the family of the deceased and the changing of old clothes for new ones are similarly delayed.

Except in the case of a woman dying in childbirth or during pregnancy, and of persons who have been killed by tigers, or have died of snake-bite, fall, cholera, and small-pox, the shades of other dead people are conducted back to the house either on the third, fifth, seventh, ninth or eleventh days from the day of death with the following rites: At sunset a party of relatives—either *kutumba* or *bandhus* or both—of the deceased start from the deceased's house and proceed in the direction of the grave or cremation ground. One of the party carries either two sickles, one in each hand, or a brass cup in his left hand and a stick in his right hand, and another carries a new earthen vessel containing rice-flour, and a third man carries an earthen vessel in which goat's flesh has been cooked. When the party arrives at the boundary of the village, three sticks are planted into the ground in the form of a tripod, and the earthen vessel in which goat's flesh has been cooked is placed over it and smashed into pieces. While the vessel is being broken, the men call aloud the deceased by name and cry, "Come, come! Do thou enter the hut". Then the spirit attracted by the smell of the cooked flesh, is believed to come there and enter the earthen vessel containing rice-flour, and is carried home. The man with the brass cup strikes the cup with the stick, or if the man carries two sickles he strikes one against the other. When they reach home, the people in the house ask them, "How has the spirit come?" Then some one examines the rice-flour and looks out for the footprints of the animal which is believed to have carried the spirit on its back. Something resembling the footprint of an elephant, or a cow, or an ox, or a cat, or an ant or some other animal is always imagined to be present in the rice-flour, and the man exclaims, "See! Here is the footprint of the spirit's vehicle! The spirit has ridden home on such-and-such (names) an animal." The rice-flour is now burnt and eaten by the seven men who have brought the spirit home. A fowl which was left in the *bhitar* or inner tabernacle before the party went to fetch the spirit is now sacrificed and its blood offered to

the ancestor spirits. Then some *kutumb* or agnate of the deceased puts rice on a leaf-plate placed on the floor of the *bhitar*, and offers the rice first to the spirits of all the ancestors and other members of the family who predeceased the person whose shade has just been brought home, and finally to the new shade or spirit. From the day of burial or cremation until now, every day, a son or younger brother of the deceased has been carrying a leaf-cup (*dōnā*) of boiled rice to the boundary (*gāon-mūr*) of the village and putting it down on the ground for the nourishment of the spirit of the deceased.

After these sacrifices and offerings have been made to the shade now installed in its old home, the members of the family become freed from death-pollution. Until now they have been under a taboo; no member of the tribe would take food or drink water at their hands. On the first day of pollution, their meals are cooked for them—or at least the cooking-pot is put upon the hearth—by some agnate of theirs not belonging to the family. In some villages during all these days of pollution they are provided with food cooked at the houses of their neighbours.

Birth and Death Customs among the Khāṇḍait Bhuiyās.

The Hinduized Bhuiyās of the plains, under the influence of Brāhman priests, have modified their ancient customs relating to birth and death to some extent. They now observe only eleven days of ceremonial pollution after the birth of a male as well as of a female child. On the eleventh day only the child's parents have their nails pared and the clothes of the members of the family are washed. A Brāhman priest performs a mutilated form of the Hōm ceremony.

To select a name for the child the same method is employed as by the Pābri Bhuiyās.

The Khāṇḍait Bhuiyās have adopted the Hindu custom of ceremonial feeding of the child with rice for the first time. This ceremony is performed in the fourth month of the child's life or later. Some elderly member of the family puts into the mouth of the child a little *kshir* or rice boiled in milk after a portion has been offered to the gods. A feast is provided to relatives.

On the fifth, seventh or ninth year of its life a Khaṇḍāit Bhūiyā child has its ears perforated. A barber perforates the ears with a metal pin. Relatives are entertained on the occasion but no religious rites are observed.

The more well-to-do Bhūiyās practise cremation whereas the poorer Bhūiyās bury their dead. But, rich or poor, all must bury the corpse of women dying during pregnancy and the corpses of members of their families who die of cholera or small-pox or snake-bite. In the case of the corpse of a pregnant woman, the child is taken out of the womb and buried separately at some distance from each other, as among the Pābris; in some places the corpses of the woman and the embryo are buried on opposite banks of a stream for it is believed that spirits cannot cross a stream. The shade of the deceased is invited back to the house and incorporated with the *pitrūs* or ancestor-spirits with similar ceremonies as among the Pābri Bhūiyās.

XIII.—Use of Charms in Ancient Indian Literature.

By J. N. Samaddar, B.A.

It is evident from even a cursory glance at the ancient books of the Aryans that they were mightily afraid of two things, Disease and Demons. Disease was, of course, a necessary corollary of living, while Demons, Evil Spirits and the like were the requisite attributes of a primitive people and very likely both went hand in hand, Disease being very often attributed to Demons ¹.

Disease.

The Science of Medicine had not, of course, taken any hold then, and as is the custom with all primitive people,* the best way to escape out of the clutches of the various diseases prevalent then, was to take recourse to charms. Various are the references to the use of charms in the Vedas and specially in the Atharvaveda. Of the many diseases, consumption seemed to be more prevalent than others and was also rightly apprehended. Atharva Book 3, Hymn 11 speaks of a charm² for the recovery of a sick person in extreme danger of death, suffering from unmarked decline and consumption. Book 7, Hymn 85 ³ is also a charm against consumption, while if we are to believe in Book 2 Hymn 3 ⁴ it was already being

¹ "Sickness among animals equally with sickness among men is all but universally believed to be due to possession."—Sir J. M. Campbell.

² Griffith's translation, p. 95.

³ *Ibid*, p. 291.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 50. "So let the plague-destroying plant remove inherited disease." For the use of things as charms see the latter part of this article.

considered as a hereditary disease. Book 2, Hymn 9⁸ speaks of a dangerous disease and of the charm necessary to cure it.

Fever had also taken its hold, for we find in Atharva Book 7 Hymn 106⁸ a charm against fever. Diarrhœa or dysentery was another of the diseases to which the Aryans were liable and for which they had to use a charm. The procedure to be adopted on this occasion was something to be special⁷. The head of a stalk of *Munja* grass (*Saccharum Munja*) was to be tied to a cord; then, perhaps, it was to be suspended from the neck of the patient or to be otherwise attached to his body. "As the discharged arrow hangs between heaven and earth", so the grass was to stand between the patient's ailment and *asrava* (diarrhœa in an acute form or dysentery), that is to prevent the indisposition from developing into serious disease.

In spite of the hard open air labour to which they had to submit themselves, the Aryans suffered from constipation and the use of a charm in Book 1 Hymn 3⁸ is a proof of the same. The Aryans, it seems, suffered occasionally from opthalmic complaints also and they tried to acquire superhuman powers of sight by charms⁹. To cure themselves from insanity they resorted also to charms¹⁰. Charms were also used as

⁸ Griffith's translation, p. 51. This hymn asks *Dasavriksha* (an amulet of ten kinds of holy wood) to save one from the hands of *Grāhi* (a female fiend who seizes men and causes death and disease).

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 384. "May he, the lawless one, who comes alternate or two following days." Fever is addressed here as a Male Deva, though according to Baring-Gould "Pest or fever was formerly and is still among the superstitious people, held to be a female deity or spirit of evil". Book 1, H. 25 speaks of "God of the sickly yellow"—Does it refer to the modern "Yellow Fever"?

⁷ Atharva B. 1, H. 2.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 14. "Let the channels pour their burthen free as of old".

⁹ Book 4, H. 20. The holder of the charm (a plant) "sees in front, sees behind, sees afar away, sees the sky, firmament and earth.".....

¹⁰ Book 6, H. 111.

a preventive against jaundice causing yellowness¹¹, leprosy¹², rheumatism¹³, scrofula¹⁴, cough¹⁵, and pustules¹⁶. Even for a man who was at the point of death¹⁷, charms to secure health, long life, prosperity (and fame) were not wanting¹⁸. Not to speak of curing sufferers, like, Orpheus, the Aryans even tried to recall a departed spirit by the use of a charm¹⁹.

Demons and Evil Spirits]

Demons and Evil Spirits, as I have already said, had also their full share with the primitive Aryans. In the Atharva-veda, Book 1, Hymn 17²⁰; there is mentioned the use of charms against fiends "who rise in troops at night time, when the moon is dark", while the next hymn is a charm "to avert evil spirits of misfortune and wickedness."²¹ Fiends and goblins had to be fought with charms²², while evil spirits in general²³ who ventured to disturb the Aryans had to face charms before they could actually touch their victims. It seems this was a "more than ordinary" spirit for he is distinctly mentioned²⁴ and for whom a charm had to be manufactured. The punishment sought for was evidently exemplary, for he was to be banished to prevent further mischief. There were certain spirits who troubled women only and a charm was designed to exorcise those evil spirits whose jurisdiction was confined to ladyfolk. Charms probably were not fully successful, for prayers had also to be resorted to²⁵.

¹¹ Atharva B. 1. H. 22.

¹² Atharva B. 1:23 and 24.

¹³ Atharva B. 3:9.

¹⁴ Atharva B. 6:25.

¹⁵ Atharva B. 6:95.

¹⁶ Atharva B. 6:25.

¹⁷ Atharva B. 8:2.

¹⁸ Atharva B. 10:3.

¹⁹ Atharva B. 8:2.

²⁰ Griffith's Atharva, p. 29, also B.XI.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²² *Ibid.*, 6:32.

²³ *Ibid.*, 19:36.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 6:113.

²⁵ Atharva B. 8:3.

To combat both disease and devils, a charm was necessary, as we find in Atharva Book XIX, Hymn 36²⁶. Whatever Megasthenes may observe about the veracity and all the other qualities at the time of the great Mauryas, thieves were in existence even in early times and charms had to be manufactured against the undiscovered thief ²⁷.

Charms also had their proper shares combating dreams and nightmare. In the Atharvaveda, there are references to these, at least in three places, to the preparation of charms against evil dreams ²⁸.

There was also the use of charms to increase bodily beauty. Hair had been and will be, of course, always a matter of great consideration and there are references to the use of charms to promote the growth of hair ²⁹. People, as it would appear, were always afraid, from time immemorial, of barber's itch and thus we see the necessity for a charm to accompany the shaving of the beard³⁰. There were also the use of charms to remove (ill-omened) personal marks ³¹ and under this circumstance it is hardly necessary to mention that charms were in existence to remove evil bodily characteristics from a woman ³².

In the Vedic age, charms were also used to win love ³³ and specially to win a maiden's love ³⁴ and further, to win and secure a girl ³⁵. Charms had also to be invented to win

²⁶ This was an amulet produced by "a hundred men", which could chase "hundred consumption", "hundred she-fields, a hundred of *gandarbhās* and *apsarases*, a hundred of dog-mated nymphs".

²⁷ Atharva B. 7-95.

²⁸ Book 6-7 (a charm against dream), 7-100 (a charm against nightmare), 7-101 (a charm against the same).

²⁹ Atharva B.6-30 and 6-137.

³⁰ Atharva B.6-58.

³¹ Atharva B.1-18.

³² Atharva B.6-1.

³³ Atharva B. 6-7 and 8 and 2-30.

³⁴ Atharva B.3-25.

³⁵ Atharva B.1-34.

the obedience of subjects, while they were also employed to win the favour of the serpents of all the regions under heaven.³⁶

Miscellaneous Charms.

I now give a short list of charms used for various miscellaneous purposes :—

- (1) Charms on the occasion of the erection of a newly built house by which all the malignant spells and charms, by which the various parts of the house are tied and bound, are removed ³⁷.
- (2) Charms to remove sterility and to assure the birth of male children ³⁸.
- (3) Charm against witchcraft ³⁹.
- (4) Charm against poison ⁴⁰. Each stanza of the hymn is to be repeated as a charm to the poison or disease which it specifies.
- (5) Charm to win success in gambling ⁴¹.
- (6) Charm against fear ⁴².
- (7) Charm for the restitution of an expelled king ⁴³.
- (8) Charm against tigers, wolves and other creatures and charm for the discomfiture and destruction of hostile priests ⁴⁴.
- (9) Charm to secure victory ⁴⁵.
- (10) Charm to effect the reconciliation of estranged friends ⁴⁶.
- (11) Charm for the destruction of vermin ⁴⁷.

³⁶ Atharva X.4. Snake charms are referred to also in later times frequently. Kathasaritsagar and Buddhist books often refer to them.

³⁷ Atharva B.9.3.

³⁸ Atharva B.3.23.

³⁹ Atharva B.5.14.

⁴⁰ Atharva B.7.50.

⁴¹ Atharva B.2.2.

⁴² Atharva B.2.15.

⁴³ Atharva B.3.3.

⁴⁴ Atharva B.5.8.

⁴⁵ Atharva B.5.20.

⁴⁶ Atharva B.6.43.

⁴⁷ Atharva B.6.50.

(12) Charm against jealousy ⁴⁸.

(13) A battle charm ⁴⁹.

There were also the use of charms to inaugurate the construction of a house and on starting on a journey ⁵⁰.

Things used as Charms.

Various were the things used as charms. Lead was a powerful charm against fiends for it verily repelled all sorts of them:—

“This overcomes Vishkhanda, this drives the voracious fiends away:

“By means of this I have overthrown all the pisāchi’s demon brood.

“If thou destroy a cow of ours, a human being or a steed,

“We pierce thee with this piece of lead so that thou mayst not slay our men” ⁵¹.

There was also the use of ointment for protection from all sorts of evils, that “rends and crush sorcerers” ⁵².

Amulets of various kinds were used. An amulet of shell is mentioned in Atharva B. 4. H. 10. This shell was produced from the rain that fell into the sea from the windy sky and the iridescent hues of its living came from the bright flashes of lightning. This amulet, it may be mentioned, was used by kings, accompanying investiture ⁵³. Another amulet consisted of three strands or threads, one of gold, one of silver, and one of iron ⁵⁴,

⁴⁸ Atharva B. 7.46.

⁴⁹ Atharva B. 9.8.

⁵⁰ Atharva B. 7.60.

⁵¹ Atharva B. 1.16. Vishkhanda is frequently mentioned in the Atharva, though it is nowhere clearly defined. It may be rheumatism in the shoulders (*skandha*).

⁵² Atharva B. 4.9.

⁵³ Griffith’s translation p. 142.

⁵⁴ Iron and steel have everywhere and at all times since the days of Ulysses been powerful against ghosts and bad spirits. The importance of iron as a charm is well known, says Sir J. Campbell. “The unique spirit-saving power of iron is shown by the dread of iron attributed to even the highest guardians.” Walhouse has also observed that “the tooth or claw of a tiger worn on the neck or near the coins, wearing an iron ring set with pearls are powerful charms against demons.” Cf also Elsworth—The Evil Eye.

each of which contained three protective powers, that is one for each of the vital airs on which the life of the wearer depended.⁵⁵

Pieces of wood are mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* as being used as charms⁵⁶. An amulet of wood called *Dasavriksha*, made of ten kinds* of holy wood, was employed in the process of recovering a patient. Amulets of various sorts were also used as charms to secure the supremacy and success of a dethroned king on his restoration to power⁵⁷. Amulets of wood were used as charms to secure the defeat and destruction of the wearer's enemies⁵⁸. Amulets of gold were efficacious as charms accompanying investiture "for life, for glory, for long life lasting through a hundred autumns"⁵⁹. While amulets of *Parna* (*Palasa*) were used by a king to "strengthen his position and confirm his authority"⁶⁰.

Plants are frequently mentioned as being used as charms. The efficacy of these plants depended in a great measure upon the difficulty of procuring them. Even superhuman powers of sight could be acquired by the use of plants and charms:—

"Through thee, O God-like plant,

"May I behold all creatures that exist,

"Three several heavens, three several earths,

and these six regions one by one"⁶¹.

The *Varana* tree (*Crataeva Roxburghii*)⁶² is referred to in the *Atharvaveda* and also *Sami* tree (*Prosopis Spicigera*)

⁵⁵ Atharva B.5. H.28.

⁵⁶ Atharva B.2, H.9.

⁵⁷ Atharva, B.1, H.29. Also Rig. X.174.

⁵⁸ Atharva B.3, H.6. Amulet of Asvatha wood (*Ficus Religiosa*).

⁵⁹ Atharva B.1, H.35.

⁶⁰ Atharva B.3, H.5.

⁶¹ Atharva B.4, H.20. The plant here referred to, has not been identified, though according to Griffith, "its virtues resemble those attributed in England to Euphrasy, or Eyebright, the plant with which, together with Rue and three drops from the well of Life, the Archangel Michael 'purged the visual nerve' of Adam and enabled him to look into the distant future."

⁶² Atharva B. 7, H. 85.

which is regarded as a holy tree and is mentioned in connexion with the promotion of the growth of hair already referred to ⁶³.

Herbs are also every now and then mentioned as being fit for charms. Of these *Kusa* is distinctly mentioned, both in the Rig and Atharvavedas ⁶⁴. Certain other herbs were of great efficacy when used as charms :—

“I hold these herbs within my hand,
The spirit of disease departs ere he can
Seize upon the life”.

Other References.

To readers of the Mahabharat it is hardly necessary to refer to the incident of Kasyapa Rishi who could have saved Parikshit from being beaten by the Snake King Takshaka, by his charms and mantras.

Chanakya in his *Arthasastra* ⁶⁵ speaks of the application of charms, while *Sukraniti* also speaks of charmed instruments ⁶⁶.

The great Buddha was very much against anybody's showing miraculous powers ⁶⁷, yet he could think of referring to the *Gandhara* charm well known for the single purpose of making oneself invisible and cause the rain to fall. We find a reference to the use of a charmed jewel, which was given by Bodhisatwa and which had the power of setting up a household and main-

⁶³ Atharva B. 6, H. 30. It is found in all parts of India and is supposed to possess magical virtues.

⁶⁴ Rig. X-97. Atharva B. 2, H. 7.

⁶⁵ Book XIV, Chap. III.

⁶⁶ P. 250. Professor B. K. Sarkar's edition.

⁶⁷ *Kevaladdha Sutta*. Kevaladdha, a young householder comes to the exalted one and says “This Nalanda of ours, Sir, is influential and prosperous, full of folk, crowded with people devoted to the exalted one. It were well if the exalted one were to give command to some brother to perform by powers surpassing that of ordinary men, a mystic wonder. Then would this Nalanda of ours become even so much the more devoted to the exalted one”. But Buddha was against it.

tain a wife and children, give alms and do other works⁶⁸. Dice was used in the age of the Jataka as a charm⁶⁹ and charmed threads and charmed sand were used as charms for safety on a journey⁷⁰. Mention is also made of herbs being used as charms⁷¹.

The Jataka also refers to a charm for raising the dead to life and to bring to light buried treasure⁷². Other Buddhist books also refer to the use of charms, including *Brahmamangala Sutta* which mentions various charms and exorcists the latter fact being also referred to in the *Milinda Panha*⁷³. We are also indebted to the latter for a reference to charm in the following :—

“Suppose O King, any *Siddha* (accomplished one) on intoning a charm and saying ‘Let a mighty rain now fall’ were to bring about a heavy rainfall by the intoning of his charm would there, in that case, be any cause of rain accumulated in the sky by which rain could be brought about?”

“No, Sir. The charm itself would be the cause”⁷⁴.

⁶⁸ *Jataka* 1.75. In the *Maha Vagga* of the Vinaya we find King Udena knowing a charm of wonderful power over the hearts of elephants. And a condition precedent to the right learning of the charm was the possession of a certain potent herb picked under a certain conjunction of the stars.

⁶⁹ *Jataka* 3.359. “It is interesting to note that the Prophet Muhammad ordained a belief in magic; at the same time he declared the practiser of magic to be an unbeliever”.—Sir J. M. Campbell. *Indian Antiquary*, 1900 (p. 49).

⁷⁰ *Jataka* 2.243.

⁷¹ *Ibid* 1.96.

⁷² *Ibid* 2.243.

⁷³ *Milinda*, p. 38. Exorcism was one of the most important functions of the old Buddhist priest and it is still the chief employment of the Jain Gorgi. Incidentally we may quote Sir J. Campbell “In Europe, the early Christian church had a special staff of exorcists. In the middle ages, the Roman Catholic priests practised exorcism. The power was at first claimed by the reformed churches. The clergy of the established Church of England after the sixteenth century seldom exercised it, although Dissenting ministers continued to exorcise till the eighteenth century. In England Roman Catholic priests are the only clergy who still claim the power.”

⁷⁴ *Milinda*, p. 181.

In the *Ambalika Sutta* reference is made to Kanha who went into the Deccan, learnt mystic verses, and "charmed" the king, so that the King could not let fly his arrow⁷⁵. There is also the story of the Brahman Velabbha knowing a charm. This charm was precious beyond all price. For, if at a certain conjunction of the planets, the charm was repeated and the gaze was bent upwards to the skies, straightway from the heavens there rained the seven things—gold, silver, pearl, coral, cat's-eye, ruby and diamond⁷⁶.

In pure literature mention is also made of charms. *Mudra-rakshasa* speaks of charms. In *Sakuntala* we find mentioned the amulet on the hand of Dushyanta's son⁷⁷, while *Raghu-vansa* mentions Dilip being charmed. In *Harshacharita* we read of magic hair ties : Bairabacharya had his black amulet, while even the great King Harsha did not escape wearing an amulet of mustard⁷⁸. Charms are also mentioned in *Ratnavali* Act I. Bilhan's *Viramanikya* mentions that "the lying-in chamber was secured by powerful charms and efficacious herbs"⁷⁹. Charms are frequently mentioned in *Kathasdrisagura*, while in *Swapna Vasavadatta*, the minister Yangandharan gave a charm to Queen Vasavadatta which transformed her into an old woman.

Counter Charms.

There was also the use of counter-charms⁸⁰. Imprecation and malignity could be counter-charmed and so could the spells of an enemy as well as the magical incantation of others⁸¹.

⁷⁵ It is interesting to note that old Scandinavian women used to give charms which made the holder of the charms "wound-proof".

⁷⁶ Note that even ascetics were supposed to know charms. *Jataka* 4-449.

⁷⁷ *Sakuntala*, Act VII.

⁷⁸ *Harshacharita* Chap. IV.

⁷⁹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1876 (p. 318). Professor J. N. Sarkar in his *Shivaji* (p. 428) mentions that Shivaji's first wife tried all kinds of charms to win back Shivaji's affection.

⁸⁰ *Atharva* 2.7. Sir J. M. Campbell writes that "In India, witches, sorcerers and enchanters practice both white, i.e., healing, and black, that is harming, magic." (*Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*).

⁸¹ *Atharva* B. 2-11 ; B. 4-19.

The *Jatakas* also mention a counter-charm against raising the dead to life ⁸².

Conclusion.

It may be said in conclusion that with the increase of man's control over his surroundings, the belief in charms has decreased considerably, but it cannot be altogether denied that it has died away in any country whatever ⁸³. In India, where the presence of *Madulies* not only on the bodies of children, the weight of which in some cases becomes rather heavy for the wearer, but also on the bodies of grown up, educated men it is manifest, but it is manifest in other countries of the world as well.

⁸² *Jataka* 1:150. 321, 5:31.

⁸³ Sir J. M. Campbell observes "The belief in spirit possession and in the spirit theory of disease is still common in rural England. These diseases are cured, that is, the spirit who causes the disease, is scared by a charm". The same authority observes "Of Muhammadan nations the Afghans believe in the virtue of talismans. The Arabs and Egyptians too make use of magic to find hidden treasure, to gain a knowledge of the future, to get children, to secure love, to cure and to kill a rival". *Indian Antiquary*, 1900, p. 49.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I—The Gupta Pillar at Bihar.

By J. N. Samaddar.

Some four years ago, while I had been to Bihar, I saw in the compound of the Subdivisional Officer, the famous sandstone pillar bearing Gupta inscriptions as well as some modern writing in English, standing in an inverted position.

One mile due east from the famous Dargah at Bihar and inside the northern gate of the old "fort" (the site of the ancient monastery) of Bihar, this sandstone pillar was found bearing two inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty. Mr. Ravenshaw appears to have first discovered it eighty years ago. Subsequently it was removed and set up in a reversed position with its base in the air and its summit in the ground. When General Cunningham saw it he found it fallen. It was then removed by Mr. Broadley, the then Magistrate of Bihar, from the place in which it lay half buried in the ground and "set up on a brick pedestal opposite the Bihar Court House." This broken monolith "about fourteen feet high and oval in shape" (A. S. R., Vol. 1) and containing two Gupta inscriptions was inscribed with the names of Earl Mayo, Viceroy of India, George Campbell, Governor of Bengal, and a number of other European officials, and eight names of *Municipal Commissioners* of the place! This was done in April, 1821.

When the late Dr. Fleet saw it he found "the column standing in the middle of a house, the roof of which is supported by it and the last eight lines of the inscription completely hidden and rendered inaccessible by a wooden structure placed on the top". (Fleet : *Gupta Inscriptions*.)

The wooden structure has since disappeared and the column according to the latest information, kindly supplied by the Sub-

divisional Magistrate of Bihar, is still in that inverted position. The inscriptions are becoming more and more indiscernible.

May I, under the circumstances, suggest that some effective steps may be taken to prevent further decay, and if it is thought necessary, to remove this, the only Gupta pillar of our Province, to the proposed site of the Patna Museum?

REVIEWS.

I.—“The Beginnings of South Indian History”.

By Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Professor of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras, published by the Modern Printing Works, Mount Road, Madras, 1918, pp. 11+362, small 8vo.

This small volume represents the lectures delivered by Professor Aiyangar at the Madras University in 1918. The work contains real contributions to Indian History and adds to our existing knowledge. The light thrown on the “Mauryan Invasion” of Southern India from the Tamil authors of the first century A.C. is a very welcome confirmation of Tāranātha who attributes a large conquest of the South to Bindusāra and his Prime Minister Chāṇakya.¹ According to the Tamil authors cited by Mr. Aiyangar the armies of the “newly-installed (*vamba*: ‘new’) Mōriyas” descended from the Konkan into the territory of the prince styled Nannan and reached the Podiyil Hill, south-west of Madura; their rolling cars came up cutting their way along hill slopes (page 89). The advance portion of the invading army was composed of the *Kosās*. There are references in the poems alluding to resistance, sometimes successful, offered by the southern princes to the “Aryas” (p. 96), which probably explains the semi-independent status of the southern states in the time of Aśoka. Some part of the Telugu country had been very likely conquered already by the early Nandas, which is asserted by a mediæval inscription (cited by Rice) and now supported indirectly by the known history of Nandi-Vardhana, the conqueror of Kālīṅga. Chandragupta’s taking up residence at Chandragiri is probably another link in the chain of the close

¹ This datum was noticed for the first time by the present writer in 1918 (*Modern Review*): “Bindusāra who is described as a somewhat shadowy figure by V. Smith actually extended the Empire to the Deccan. (This is on the authority of an unnoticed passage in Tāranātha’s History).”

Magadhan association with the South. The evidence now supplied by Professor Aiyangar from the early literature of the South gives a more definite outline to the history of the Mauryan Draviḍa. Pāṇḍya was clearly independent, but Kerala was not so, nor was the country of the Satiya-putra. The whole of the Chola-land was not completely outside the Maurya empire. The Kerala and Satiya-putra States were evidently under the Mauryas as sub-states. This, in my opinion, explains their omission from the Thirteenth Rock Proclamation where Chola, Pāṇḍya and Tambapanni appear but not Kerala and Satiya. In this connexion Professor Aiyangar's important equation of Aśoka's *Mahisha-maṇḍala* with the territory of Erūmai-yūrān of the classical Tamil should be noticed. Erumai was an ancient king of Kuḍanāḍu ("parts of Mysore and Coorg"). His name stuck to the country as *Erumai-nāḍu*; it has a good translation in the Sanskrit *Mahisha-maṇḍala* (p. 97). This identification ought to set at rest the controversy about Mahisha-maṇḍala.

Mr. Aiyangar has some interesting things to say of the South on her economic growth in his lecture entitled "The Dawn of the Christian Era." The Draviḍas built "lighthouses to warn ships, and one such is described at the great port at the mouth of the Kavery." A regular brick tower or a big palmyra trunk, carrying on the top a huge oil lamp, guided the Tamil mariners (p. 114).

A large portion of the book is devoted to the consideration of the chronology of the Tamil literature and the age of the *Sangam* or Tamil academy. Mr. Aiyangar revises the views of former scholars. He at the same time discusses various incidents of historical importance referred to by contemporary authors. In his last chapter Mr. Aiyangar disposes off once for all the incorrect theory that the week days in Sanskrit denote a period about 400 A.C. and later.¹ They were taken from Babylonia not from Europe. Likewise the learned author shows that Hindu signs of the Zodiac correspond more to the Mesopotamian symbols than to the Greek ones.

¹ See also *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 182.

Tamil literature has a good deal yet to tell us. The translation of the *Bṛihat-kathā* in Tamil, for instance, fixes the date of that great work. The translation was made in the second century of the Christian era (p. 153). Speyer's argument for a late date (third to fifth century) on the ground of its ascribing supernatural powers to Nāgārjuna, which shows in his opinion a considerable interval between Nāgārjuna and the work, deserves little attention. Shivaji was credited with supernatural powers by contemporary writers of the Moghul Court. That could not make his contemporaries posterior to him. The Tamil evidence is decisive for the book being dated between Nāgārjuna and the second century, i.e. about the first century A.C. Mr. Aiyangar's notice (p. 57) of the reference to Vikramāditya, saviour from the Mlechchha trouble, in the *Kathā-saritsāgara* and the *Bṛihat-kathā* is very important. It would be quite worth the trouble to compare the passage in the Tamil translation as he proposes. Somaśeva, the author of the *Kathā-saritsāgara*, avowedly says that he is only translating the *Bṛihat-kathā*, and there is no reason, as Mr. Aiyangar argues, to doubt the assertion of the author. The existence of Vikramāditya before the second century A.C., borne out by the *Bṛihat-kathā*, confirms the popular tradition and displaces modern ingenious theories about him. On the evidence pointed out by Mr. Aiyangar he was not a Mlechchha (as Kanishka undoubtedly was) but a destroyer of the Mlechchhas, as the Hindu tradition believes.

Mr. Aiyangar deals with his subjects critically and nowhere the historian in him is lost in a technical investigator.

K. P. J.

II.—Mr. Panna Lal on Mr. Bhandarkar's Lectures.

Mr. Panna Lal, I.C.S., writes from Almora about Mr. Bhandarkar's Carmichael lectures for 1918:—

“ In the first lecture, he says that Choda, Kerala, etc., were not known to Pāṇini, but were known to Kātyāyana. He then says that Choda (the people) gave to the Sanskrit language the word Chora (a thief). If this be so the verb चुर, to steal, must be later still. But Pāṇini has in one Sūtra (I think), चुरादिभ्यो णिच्. I am in camp and have not a copy of the Ashtādhyāyī with me, so I cannot speak with certainty. If I am right Bhandarkar's whole position crumples up.”

Mr. Panna Lal is right that such a Sūtra exists in Pāṇini. It is चत्वाय, etc. III.1.25.—K. P. J.

Obituary.

Haranandan Panday.

Mr. Haranandan Panday passed away on the 24th November last at Jabulpore on his way back from the Poona Conference of Orientalists. He fell a victim to the war influenza. By his death the Society has lost a young member of high promise. At the time of his death he was 29. He took his B. A. degree from the Patna College in 1912, and obtained a scholarship in the Archaeological Department. He had his first lessons in Epigraphy from Professor Ramavatara Sharma at the Patna College and his training in excavation from Sir John Marshall. He was particularly strong in numismatics and architecture.

Mr. Panday had begun to do creditable epigraphical work. Some of his results are published in our Journal. He discovered last year a unique capital at Vaiśālī, evidently of Aśokan time, with small bulls at its sides carved back to back. He conducted with success an excavation at Belwa in the Saran District in this Province and brought a number of mediæval sculptures to the Patna Museum. The finds from his other excavations in Saran (a number of silver-coated, punch-marked copper coins and various other interesting remains) were unfortunately lost in transit. Mr. Panday always breathed sighs of regret whenever the matter was mentioned. Recently he prepared a cast of the Hathigumpha inscription for the Patna Museum. He was working at a Devanāgarī edition of the Divyāvadāna and had completed a similar edition of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta. He has also left behind an archaeological map of Bihar which awaits publication.

Mr. Panday was an enthusiastic student of Petrie. The slightest deviation from Petrie's canon in excavation would call forth Mr. Panday's uncompromising condemnation. He expressed admiration for the method of Sir John Marshall.

Mr. Panday was a man of this Province, having his home in a village near Buxar. His untimely death deprives the Province of a scholar, a sportsman, and a literary figure, and the Society, of a member who took keen interest in its progress and always rendered it willingly assistance and co-operation.

K. P. J.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

I.—Lecture by Professor Foucher.

To members of the Society Professor Faucher, Honorary Member, delivered a very interesting lecture, illustrating it with lantern slides, on the Buddhist Art of Borobodour, on the 29th November 1919. His Honour Sir Edward Gait presided. The lecture was greatly appreciated. A large number of visitors also attended the lecture.

The Council is thankful to Dr. Caldwell, Principal of the Patna Collge, for lending the hall of the College Laboratory for the occasion and to Professor A. Mukherji for his assistance in reproducing the slides.

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